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**Index and Syllabus of Volume Five  
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# Index and Syllabus of Volume Five

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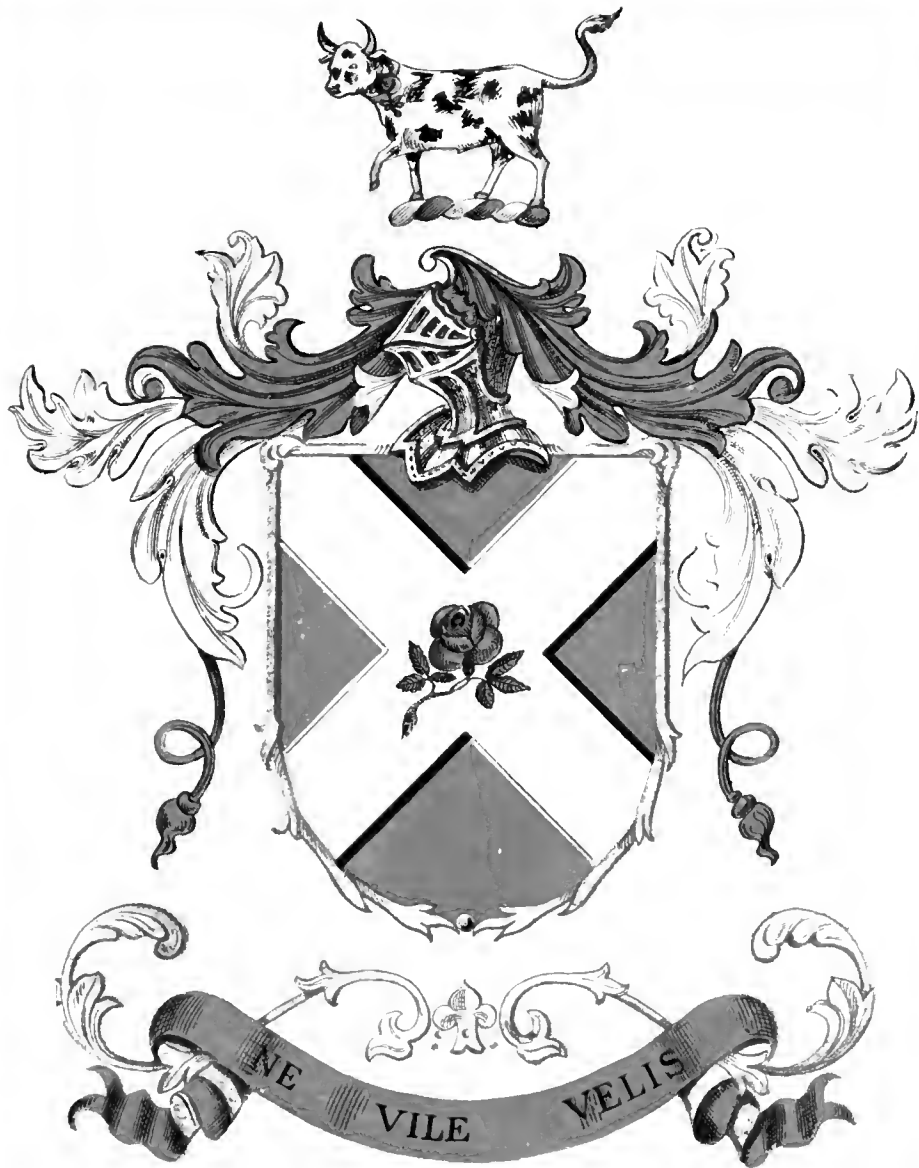
WASHINGTON, GEORGE, SILHOUETTE OF. Historic Silhouettes in America. Original

Profile of George Washington, Treasurer for Many Years in a Private Collection at Boston. On the Back is this Inscription: "The Within are Profiles of General and Mrs. Washington, Taken from Their Shadows on the Wall. They are as Perfect Likenesses as Profiles can Give. Presented to Me by My Friend, Mrs. Eleanor P. Lewis, at Woodlawn, July, 1832." Signed, Elizabeth Boardley Gibson. Mrs. Lewis was Great-Granddaughter of Mrs. Washington ..... 185

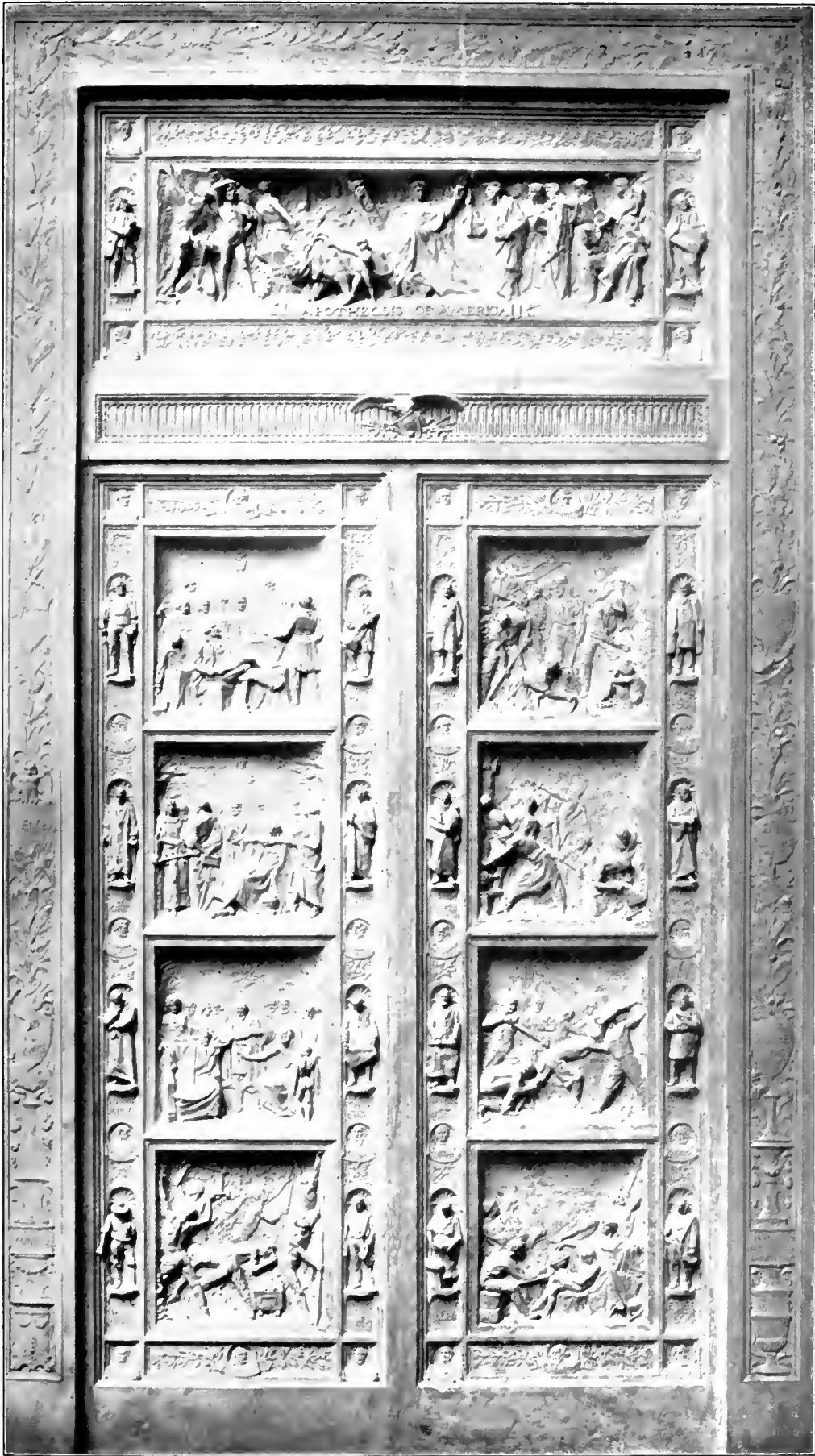
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THE FUTURE OF AMERICA—Bas-relief in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the University of Wisconsin, symbolizing the progress of man through the generations under the beacon light of Knowledge, in which the fetters of Intellect are unchained and Civilization steps out into the broad, clear paths of ethical betterment and greater human achievement. By Victor D. Brenner, sculptor





# The Journal of American History

VOLUME V  
NINETEEN ELEVEN



NUMBER 1  
FIRST QUARTER

## 1811—American Centenaries—1911

Anniversaries of Great Men and Events in the Building of the Nation & Founders of Political and Economic Thought & Scientists and Discoverers who Contributed Their Lives and Abilities to the Furtherance of the World's Progress


**T**HE beginning of a year always marks an epoch in the world's civilization. There has never been a year that did not present to the world some man or woman with a new idea that was destined to revolutionize social or political conditions. The twelve months just beginning will be rich in revelations—for man's greatest achievements are yet to come. Civilization has only just begun. In a single year humanity received the gift of Darwin and Gladstone and Lincoln, whose centenaries were recently observed in these pages. The year of Nineteen Hundred and Eleven is to observe the centennial anniversaries of other men who served humanity and then passed away only to be succeeded by more and even greater minds. Among the hundredth anniversaries about to be observed are those of Charles Sumner, the advocate of Universal Peace and the champion of human liberty; Wendell Phillips, "whose passionate love for justice showed him that the liberation of the slave must be followed by the emancipation of the wage-earner and the emancipation of woman"; and Horace Greeley, the publicist, who held a firm grasp on public opinion and helped shape the destiny of his nation. This is the centenary of James M. Gillis, who first made astronomy a practical science; James Kelly, the inventor of the bessemer process for converting melted cast iron into malleable steel; and fifty or more others who left a great inheritance to civilization. While the American people are looking forward to the great secrets that are to be revealed during this year it is well to look back for the moment and pay tribute to those who through their public services are now reaching the first century of historical record.



AMERICAN SHRINES—State Library at Richmond, Virginia, which contains the parole signed by Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, at close of American Revolution—Among its relics is the original Virginia Bill of Rights



AMERICAN LIBRARIES—State Library and Supreme Court Building recently dedicated at Hartford Connecticut—This structure contains many original documents relating to the foundations of self-government as laid in New England—Photograph taken by Mr. Frank F. Chudoba for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY



# American Spirit on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Civil War

Magnificent Greeting from a Carolinian Governor to the States of the Union as They Clasp Hands Across the Years in United Brotherhood & Strength of American Character and Stability of American Institutions as Portrayed in the Historic Words on this Semi-Centennial

BY  
HONORABLE WILLIAM WATSON KITCHIN  
GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

On this semi-centennial of the American Civil War, the world will watch with interest, and historical import, the sentiment that exists on the American continent fifty years after the greatest fratricidal war that civilization has ever witnessed. It is the privilege of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, as the national repository, to record one of the first memorial expressions in which may be found the national spirit of the time. It is a memorial greeting delivered by Governor Kitchin, of North Carolina, to Governor Stuart, of Pennsylvania, and a commission of eminent Northerners, who went to North Carolina to dedicate a monument to the Pennsylvanians who fell on battlefields at Salisbury in the old Confederacy. It is recorded in these pages by authority of the governors.—EDITOR

**I**N the name of the people of North Carolina, I gladly welcome you to this state. You come to honor the soldiers of Sixty-one. In honoring the dead, you honor yourselves and the republic for which they fought. They and their brave comrades by sacrifice and courage made your pilgrimage hither easy and pleasant, while their pilgrimage to the South was difficult and bitter. In the sixties their army required four years and four thousand miles of travel beset by danger and death to go from Washington to Richmond, but, my fellow countrymen, they made the trip, where none but our fellow Americans could have succeeded. Then we extended our arms to resist your hostile march, and now we extend our hearts to encourage your peaceful invasion. Then, realizing that you could not be prosperous and happy without us, you fought to prevent our separation, while we thought we could be prosperous and happy without you. We all now realize that both sections are prosperous and happy with each other, and with the united energies, resources, courage and patriotism of the North and South, our republic is the mightiest, wealthiest, and most triumphant country the sons of men ever served.

The state that furnished more slain in battle, and a greater proportion of her white population as soldiers than any other state of the Confederacy, this day rejoices to have in her borders the distinguished representatives of the Union on whose soil was fought the greatest conflict of that ever memorable struggle—the conflict that decided the destiny of the continent.



# Greeting from a Carolinian Governor

No great people ever built monuments to unworthy causes or unworthy men, and from Maine to Texas marble and granite and bronze point skyward in memory and in honor of American valor, patriotism, and sacrifice. What matters it whether they commemorate Northern or Southern heroism, whether Lee or Grant, whether blue or gray? They all typify noble, sincere, brave American impulse, spirit, endurance, devotion to duty, love of country, and fidelity to faith, the highest qualities of a great people. These have the sanction of history and the reverence of mankind. What matters it now that we fought our brothers in the days of childhood? What matters it now that a half-century ago our states fought with the passion of mortal combat, if they but fought like men, if they but won immortal renown, if they but had the admiration of the world in the manner, energy and spirit of the contest. The Red Rose and the White Rose are no longer antagonistic. Our republic is more harmonious and more united in the bonds of commerce, interest, mutual esteem and confidence than in the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Adams; than when Webster, Clay and Calhoun were its master spirits. In the progressive, developing currents of fifty years the issues of bitterness and the things of passion and hate have disappeared beneath the ever advancing wave of public thought, and are cherished no longer by the patriotic and the brave; while the deeds of glory, the acts that elevate and bless, the things that merit admiration, survive, and increase the ties that bind the hearts of men to our common country.

Pennsylvanians, your monument stands in no enemy's country. It stands in one of Carolina's best cities, among your *friends*, who rejoice that you are displaying the highest sentiment and performing a sacred duty in perpetuating the memory of your heroes, and in proclaiming in sympathetic eloquence their virtuous consecration to the Union. We know that you approve the monument standing in yonder street erected by the love of our great people in honor of our noble dead in a cause we lost, as we approve this monument erected by the love of a great people to the noble dead in a cause you won, both emblematic of civilized man's unconquerable affection and immeasurable regard for those who risk their all for principle, and for it yield up their lives, the supremest test of loyalty. Monuments furnish feeble appreciation of the past, but vast inspiration for the future, therefore let them multiply in the land, North and South, and thereby improve citizenship of our wonderful republic.

Your Excellency, as we were worthy of each other's steel in war, we are worthy of each other's friendship in peace, and this friendship we give unstintedly and without reserve. Again I extend the glad hand to Pennsylvania's governor and his companions, again I wish for you and yours pleasure and success on this patriotic occasion; for Tarheels, generous and true, rejoice with you in this day's exercises. I assure you that the stranger never touched a friendlier hand, and Columbia never knew a truer love than Carolina's.

Stoop hither angels from the skies;  
There is no holier spot of ground  
Than where "undaunted" valor lies,  
By mourning "country" crowned.



ANCIENT LANDMARKS IN AMERICA

Famous old Quincy-Butler Mansion, built in 1680, in Quincy, Massachusetts—This was the scene of many brilliant social functions and gatherings of the early American political leaders in the first century of English civilization on the Western Continent—It was the home of the beautiful Dorothy Quincy of pre-Revolutionary days in America, a type of American womanhood



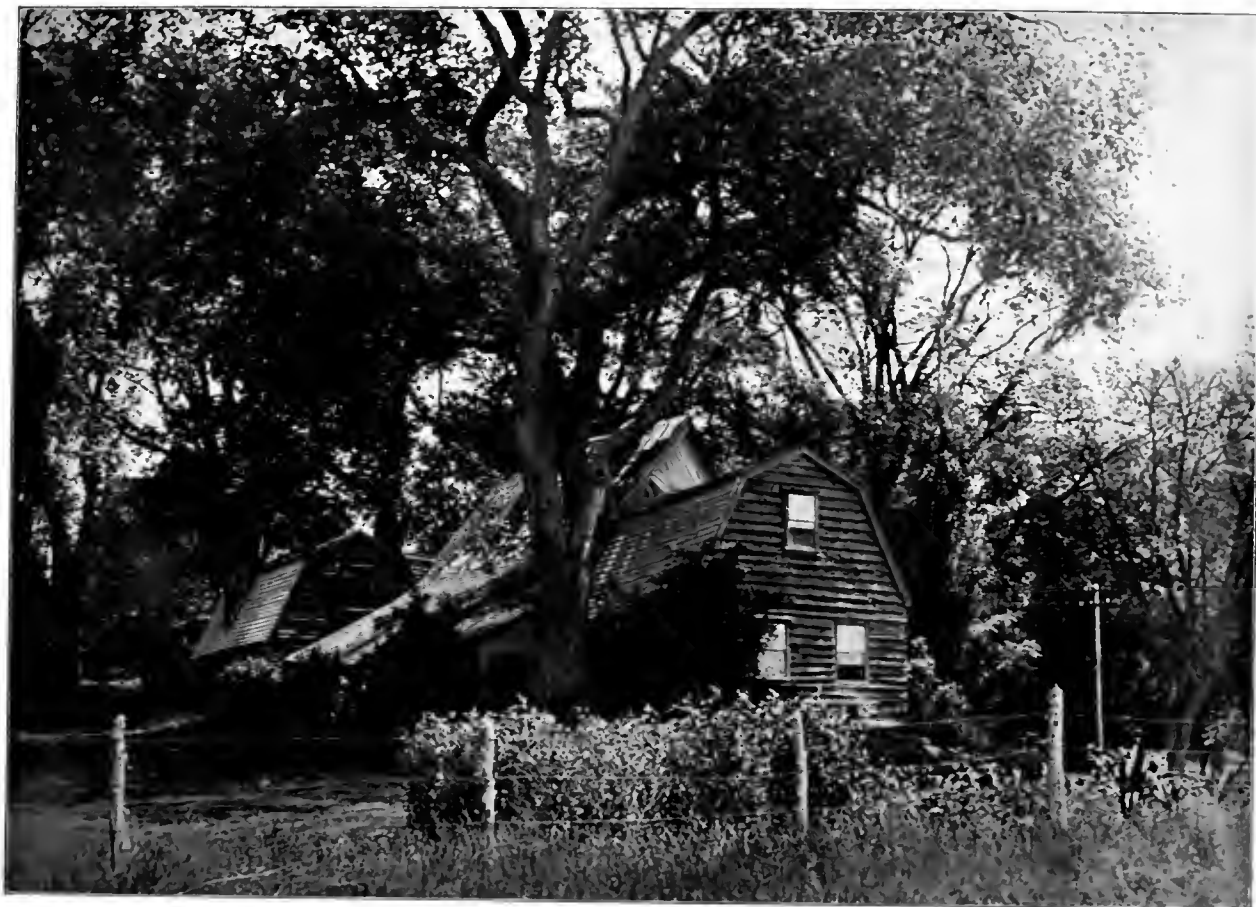
FOUNDATIONS OF THE AMERICAN NATION

Famous old Revere House at Watertown, Massachusetts, built in the early days of Colonial America—It was here that Paul Revere engraved and struck off the Colonial notes authorized by the Provincial Congress, which were the beginning of American finance—It was here also that Colonel Knox, later general, boarded with his officers during the siege of Boston, in 1775



GARRISON HOUSE IN EARLY AMERICA

Famous old Capen House, built at Topsfield, Massachusetts, in 1660, typical of the garrison architecture of the times when the first American colonists were forced to protect themselves against the ravages of the aboriginal civilization which had reigned over the Western Continent from its earliest ages—This is one of typical landmarks of English domination



HOME LIFE IN FIRST YEARS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Famous old Fairbanks House at Dedham, Massachusetts, built in 1636 and known as the most picturesque landmark in America—  
The rambling old structure, over which droop the ancient elms, is still occupied by the eighth generation of the Fairbanks family—It has stood through all the events of nearly three centuries and has witnessed the birth and rise of the American Nation until today it leads the world's civilization





MINUTE-MAN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By H. Daniel Webster, Sculptor

Statue to be erected as a memorial at Westport Connecticut, to the memory  
of the men who stood on the firing-line in the War  
for American Independence

11.

Photographed for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY by permission of the sculptor



FIRST COURT-HOUSES IN AMERICA—Famous old building at Williamsburg, Virginia, which was the scene of early struggles of American jurisprudence against authority of the British crown before the American Revolution



FIRST TAVERNS IN AMERICA—Famous old Swan Tavern at Yorktown, Virginia, where the leaders of the American Revolution gathered in the Old South to discuss affairs that were soon to give birth to a great republic



**FIRST POSTOFFICES AND PRISONS IN AMERICA**—Famous old building at Sewall's Point, Virginia, one of the early depositories for mail in stage-coach days and later used as a place of confinement for moral correction



**EARLY JUDICIAL MANSION IN AMERICA**—Famous old homestead at Williamsburg, Virginia, that was the home of Honorable John Blair, an early judge of the Supreme Court, and is a landmark of American development



MOST HISTORIC CHAIR IN AMERICA—Famous old Speaker's Chair presented by Queen Anne to the House of Burgesses in Virginia, in 1700—  
Now in the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia



HISTORIC MEMENTOES IN AMERICA—Famous old "Warming Machine" used in the House of Burgesses in Virginia in the first century of English civilization on the Western Hemisphere



HISTORIC OLD TOWER IN THE SOUTH

Famous old Bell Tower at Capitol Square, in Richmond, Virginia, where the citizens of the early republic were called to arms and curfew rang its requiem over the homes of the old Southern metropolis when a nation was in the making

Original Photograph in Collection of Egbert Gilliss Handy of New York



# Defense of American Commerce and the Spirit of American Unity

Investigation into the  
Uprising of the Americans when  
the French Harassed the Coast of New England  
Arousing the Spirit of American Unity which Brought its  
Strength to Bear Against America's Strongest Citadel of Conquest.\*  
Researches into the First Siege of Louisburg, in 1745, and Its National Import

BY

HONORABLE HENRY MOORE BAKER, M. A.

Former Member of Congress from New Hampshire  
Judge-Advocate-General of New Hampshire with rank of Brigadier-General—Governor of the  
Society of Colonial Wars—Member of the American Bar Association and  
foremost American hereditary and learned organizations


**A**MONG the wars in America there is none more interesting than that which occurred when the powers of the Old World looked upon the Western Continent as the prey of their ambitions. The story of how the American people struggled against the combined forces of the world, and rose by their own efforts to the highest estate of mankind, has not its equal in civilization. The American Revolution is the greatest epoch-making revolt in the world's history, just as the American Civil War is the greatest Constitutional struggle that political government has yet experienced. While these wars have become American epics, there is but little known about some of the earlier struggles in which American character laid its foundations.

One of the first wars in protection of American commerce and trade occurred three decades before the American Revolution, when the French privateers came down from Cape Breton, Canada, to harass the New England coast. It was then that the true spirit of American unity was strongly displayed and the New Englanders organized an army of more than three thousand to lay siege to the citadel of the foe at Louisburg.

Investigations into the first siege of Louisburg, in 1745, have recently been made by Honorable Henry Moore Baker, eminent jurist and congressman from New Hampshire, who is a descendant of early American warriors who participated in the great struggle. Among his progenitors are such historic figures as Captain Joseph Baker, an early colonial surveyor, and Joseph Baker, a soldier in the American Revolution, who married a descendant of the Scotch Covenanters and became one of the first settlers of Bow. The colonial heroine, Hannah Dustin, is a maternal ancestor. General Baker's investigations have long given him the reputation of a historical scholar. The investigations herein recorded were first laid before the New Hampshire Society of Colonial Wars, of which he is the governor. This is the first national presentation as a matter of historical record, and forms an interesting chapter in the annals of the American people.—EDITOR



## B<sup>e</sup>ginning of the Spirit of American Unity



**A**T the beginning of the eighteenth century England, France and Spain were contending for the possession of the New World. The colonies of Spain were generally in the south and had no essential influence in determining the control of New England or Canada. France had possession of Canada and the territory along the ocean east of the Kennebec, and that fronting on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In addition to Canada, these possessions were known by the French as Acadia, Isle St. Jean, St. Christopher and Isle Royale or Cape Breton.

The English colonies extended from the Kennebec, in Maine, to the southern limit of Georgia. Theoretically, they extended toward the west indefinitely.

The French early in the century planned to extend their settlements in Canada along the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and thence down the Ohio and the Mississippi to Louisiana, encircling, by their stations and forts, the colonies of England with the intention of preventing their growth westward. This plan was larger and wiser than they had the capacity to execute. The French were generally Romanists and the English Protestants—many of them Puritans. Each in time of war with the other, sought the co-operation of the Indians. The French, by their courtesy and fellowship, even comradeship with them, were uniformly more successful in such alliances than the English. Besides this, the Indians were more attracted by the ornate rituals of the Catholic service and mass than by the cold rigidity of the Puritan or other forms of Protestant worship. The French usually had the friendship of the Indians near whom they resided, while the English

and the Indians were generally distrustful of each other and frequently at war. But the English are better colonists than the French, and, from the beginning, their settlements were the more prosperous and populous. They continued to increase more rapidly in wealth and population so that, at the time of Queen Anne's War and King George's War, the English residents in North America were more than double those of the French, and during the so-called French and English wars were at least ten times more numerous.

Whenever France and England were at war their respective colonies were involved, so that for the twenty years preceding the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the Canadian and New England colonies were frequently under arms. Though each nation helped its colonies by powerful armaments, these wars were very exhausting to the colonies, both in men and money, and delayed their growth and prosperity.


Prior to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) England and France held in North America the territory each had colonized. As already stated, the French possessions included Acadia and St. Christopher. By that treaty Acadia, now known as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and St. Christopher, subsequently known as Newfoundland, were ceded to England. The French retained certain fishery rights in Newfoundland, which have occasioned numberless disputes, some of which are not yet harmoniously settled. Port Royal, which the French had fortified, was the only stronghold acquired under the treaty. The English re-named it Annapolis, in honor of their queen.

The French, having been compelled to surrender so much of their territory and valuable fishery rights, became apprehensive of the future. They saw the New England colonies





# War in Defense of Early American Commerce



rapidly increasing in population and wealth, and knew that they were even more hostile to them than England herself. France had parted with an immense domain, yet the hearts of its inhabitants were still French, and yearned for the time when the hated English rule should end. Though the last war had been disastrous to them they were not without hope. They began to prepare for the conflict which both nations knew was inevitable. England endeavored to secure the personal allegiance of the inhabitants of her newly acquired possessions and met with very indifferent success. They were generally willing to swear allegiance to England if their oaths could contain a stipulation that they should not be required to take up arms against their kinsmen, the French, but not otherwise. England would not grant this limitation, and hence its authority was exercised over unwilling subjects, who were a hindrance rather than an aid to the ruling power. Neither England nor the New England colonies erected any new fortifications of importance. They strengthened the defenses built by the French at Annapolis and secured them by a small garrison. They seemed to rely upon their increasing numbers and wealth rather than in special military equipment. The colonial militia, however, was well organized, equipped and disciplined.

The French were not so confident of the increasing strength of their American colonial possessions. They had lost their only stronghold east and south of Quebec.

Among the demands made by England upon France as a condition of peace prior to the Treaty of Utrecht was a stipulation that France would not fortify Cape Breton. This, France positively refused to grant, and the treaty contained no restriction on that point. When France


had recovered from the war sufficiently to make a careful and accurate survey of her losses in America, and to consider plans by which she might redeem them and regain her prestige upon land and sea, she could not forget that she had parted with much of her most valuable territory and the key to the control of the cod fishery, which was becoming more valuable each year. She had come to that period in her new world colonial experience when energetic measures, based upon wise plans, must be adopted and enforced. Nothing seemed more wise and beneficial than the erection upon Cape Breton of a fortress so strong that it could withstand the combined army and navy of England until reinforcements could raise the siege. The harbor of Louisbourg was selected as the place best adapted to this purpose. Elaborate plans were made by Vauban and other eminent French military engineers, and the fortifications were begun in 1720, only seven years after peace had been declared. They were not completed until more than twenty years later, and it is stated that thirty millions of livres, or six million dollars, were expended in their construction. This amount, allowing for the greater purchasing value of money then, would be equivalent to at least ten million dollars now.

The harbor is in the southeast of the island and opens from the ocean through a main channel, easy of access and safe, though only about five hundred feet wide. To the left of the channel there is a considerable expanse of shallow water, interspersed with rocky islands. Upon one of these, close to the channel, a formidable battery was erected as part of the fortifications, and was known as the island battery.

As the channel fronting this island expanded to the east and west, the



## B<sup>e</sup>ginning of the Spirit of American Unity



harbor proper was more than two miles long. Between the west arm and the ocean, a cape or headland extended eastward for a considerable distance, so that its extreme point was less than half a mile from the island battery. The town of Louisburg was built upon a segment of this headland and covered more than one hundred acres. It had six streets running east and west, and seven lying north and south, crossing each other at right angles, thus subdividing it into regular squares.

Along the west or landward side of the town site the strongest fortifications were erected. They extended from the southwest shore of the harbor in a southeasterly direction, about four thousand feet to the ocean, then eastward along the ocean more than a thousand feet, thence northerly to the harbor line and along the south shore of the harbor to an intersection with the principal line of defense—a total distance of about two and one half miles. These defenses included six bastions and three special batteries. The bastions were so constructed as to command every part of the adjacent wall. The king's bastion, or the citadel, contained apartments for the governor, a parade ground, a magazine, the barracks and a chapel. It was a fortress in itself and was constructed to sustain a siege after the other fortifications had been captured or abandoned.


The fortifications were about two hundred and twenty-five feet in thickness and consisted of the slope of the glacis, the banquette, the covert way, the ditch, the parapet, the rampart and the slope of the talus. The ditch itself was eighty feet wide. The top of the parapet was from thirty to thirty-six feet above the bottom of the ditch and twenty-six feet above the town streets. The cannon

were mounted upon the interior ramparts and were discharged through embrasures in the parapet. There were one hundred and forty-eight of these embrasures, but the number of guns actually in position behind them is not definitely known, though some authorities give them as sixty-five cannons and sixteen mortars. In addition to the cannon thus mounted the several batteries had ninety-five guns. There were no guns mounted *en barbette*. Upon either banquette, musketeers could be stationed and could defend the glacis or, shooting across the ditch, could fire upon the enemy if he had succeeded in gaining an entrance upon the covered way. The covered way was a shelter for soldiers or others and served also as a rendezvous for soldiers preparing for a sortie. Outside the landward wall were deep morasses extending to the foot of the glacis. They were impassable in many places and constituted in themselves a substantial defense. The walls enclosing the town were protected upon the harbor side by the Maurepas Bastion, the Battery la Grève, the island battery of thirty-two forty-two pounders and the grand or royal battery north of the harbor and just opposite its entrance, with twenty-eight forty-two pounders and two eighteen pounders.

The walls were built principally of a porphyritic trap, a rock of good quality abundant in the neighborhood. The other materials were shipped from France or bought in the West Indies or in New England. It has been asserted, and probably with much truth, that the French officers in charge of the erection of the fortifications were more thoughtful of their individual prosperity than careful of the integrity of their work. It is said that the stone used was not properly dressed or firmly laid, that



# War in Defense of Early American Commerce



the mortar was made with unsuitable sea sand and, in general, that negligence and corruption were not strangers in the camp. However that may be, it is evident that the fortifications crumbled more easily than friends or foes expected.

Yet in design these fortifications were as nearly perfect as their location would permit. The site of Louisburg was not commanding—it was practically at the sea level. Black Rock on the south, the Green Hills on the north, and the hills on the east above the lighthouse, were each of greater elevation and should have been secured by auxiliary batteries. As they were undefended they served in both sieges as locations for the batteries which beat down the defenses of the town.

Including the garrison, Louisburg usually sheltered about four thousand inhabitants. At times this number was increased by the militia from the surrounding country. The garrison proper seldom exceeded two thousand officers and men. It was, by far, too small to effectively man such extensive fortifications. Evidently the French could not, with such a force, maintain the outside defenses so essential to the safety of the town.

The fortifications were scarcely completed when France, long smarting from her losses under the treaty of 1713, and claiming new grievances, declared war against England on the fifteenth of March, 1744.


Information of the impending war reached Louisburg several weeks before it became known in Boston, and the French, rejoicing in the security of their new fortress, soon began hostilities by an attack, May 24, 1744, on Camso, where there were about seventy-five English soldiers. They were surprised and taken to Louisburg as prisoners of war. The

French, assisted by Indians, then made an attack on Annapolis, and were repulsed.

The New England colonies had viewed with alarm the erection of the defenses at Louisburg. They had kept informed of their progress during erection and had noted their weakness and their strength. They knew they were erected against them and in hostility to their monopoly of the cod fishery. Every colonial fisherman and trader along the eastern coast brought home his story of the growing aggression and insolence of the French, and thus the public mind was kept apprehensive and hostile. The feeling was universal that war was inevitable. It was only a question of how and when. So when the government of Massachusetts was informed that the French had actually begun open hostilities, it declared war against the French and Indians, and offered a bounty for scalps and prisoners.


At the risk of a brief digression from our topic it may be well here to note the remarkable action of Massachusetts in assuming the powers and responsibilities of an independent government by a public declaration of war. She had had no communication with or instructions from the home government. Her action is an anomaly in history and politics and illustrates the self-reliance and independence of the colonists even more forcibly than their capture of Louisburg.

Among those who had definite knowledge of the conditions at Louisburg was William Vaughan, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He had been a skipper and trader along the eastern coast for many years. By many he was regarded as visionary and impracticable. That he was a man of independent thought and






## B<sup>e</sup>ginning of the Spirit of American Unity



great energy seems to be unquestioned. His contemporaries and historians generally have conceded that to him belongs the credit and honor of having originated the scheme of capturing Louisburg by a colonial attack. That the strongest fortress in America could be captured by an undisciplined army of fishermen, farmers, tradesmen and mechanics, with no cannon larger than twenty-two pounders, while the fortress mounted scores of forty-two pounders, was indeed seemingly impracticable and visionary, yet, such was his information concerning the fortress itself, its weak and mutinous garrison and their scanty supplies, that he succeeded in impressing his views upon Governors Wentworth of New Hampshire and Shirley of Massachusetts, who soon became earnest advocates of the expedition. As the French ships bringing supplies to Louisburg, in the fall of 1744, did not arrive until after its harbor was closed by ice, they sailed to the West Indies, leaving the garrison without its usual annual consignment of commissary and military stores. The supplies being limited, the prisoners captured at Canso were released and sent to Boston. When the reports of these soldiers, corroborating the statements made by Vaughan, by their personal knowledge as to the weakness of the fortress and its garrison, were heard and considered. Governor Shirley not only approved but became enthusiastic in his advocacy of an expedition to capture the stronghold upon which France had expended so much effort and money.

In the month of January, 1745, he informed the Legislature of Massachusetts that he had a very confidential and important communication to make to them and asked them to take an oath to receive it in confidence. As the governor was personally pop-




ular and known to be zealous for the welfare of the colony, they assented and took the oath of secrecy. To their amazement he proposed that, with the aid of the other colonies they attempt the capture of Louisburg. They had hoped that the mother country would some time capture it and relieve them of the dangers which threatened their fisheries and commerce, but that they, without experienced officers, disciplined soldiers, or heavy cannon, should attempt such a campaign seemed as preposterous to them as it did to Franklin, who a few weeks later wrote to his brother: "Fortified towns are hard nuts to crack and your teeth have not been accustomed to it. Taking strong places is a particular trade, which you have taken up without serving an apprenticeship to it. Armies and veterans need skillful engineers to direct them in their attack. Have you any? But some seem to think forts are as easy taken as snuff."

The legislators therefore asked time to consider the proposition and soon after rejected it by a decisive vote. The governor was too much in earnest to abandon the expedition at once. He and his friends entered enthusiastically upon the task of convincing the Legislature and the prominent citizens of Boston that the plan of attack was not only feasible but that success was quite probable; that both duty and interest demanded the attempt. The Legislature yielded; a reconsideration was carried and the expedition voted by one majority. The governor lost no time in putting the sanction of the Legislature beyond recall. He issued a proclamation to his people announcing the proposed campaign and wrote the governors of the several colonies, asking their co-operation and assistance. Pennsylvania and New Jersey promised provisions and clothing,



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but none came. The Legislature of New York refused troops, but loaned ten twenty-two pounders, some powder and provisions. These guns were the largest the colonists had, and without them the proposed siege would have been supremely ridiculous. Rhode Island promised troops, but none arrived until after Louisburg had surrendered. Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire furnished all the troops which participated in the siege. The command of the expedition was assigned to Mr. William Pepperrell, of Kittery, in the province of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts. Colonel Waldo, also from Maine, was originally designated as the second in command, but Connecticut, having made that rank a condition precedent to its joining the expedition, General Wolcott, then its deputy-governor and colonel of its regiment, was commissioned next to General Pepperrell in authority.

The work of enlistment was begun promptly and carried on vigorously. From the beginning, the inspiration of the expedition was a strange mixture of religious enthusiasm, commercial ambition, and national hatred. The Puritan ministers were zealous because the French were Catholics and, it was asserted, had images in their churches which they worshipped. On Sunday they preached the Christian duty of destroying such idolatry and establishing the true faith of the Puritan, where heresy had so long prevailed. The week-day prayer and conference meetings emphasized those duties and became efficient recruiting agencies for the army. The great religious revival begun, in 1734, by Jonathan Edwards had been continued by the eminent English preacher, George Whitfield, and all New England was under its influence.

Mr. Whitfield suggested "*Nil Desperandum Christo Duce*" as the motto for the flag of the expedition, and it was adopted. Thus the capture of Louisburg became a New England crusade for the glory of God and the coming of His kingdom among men.

To merchants, ship-owners and seamen the importance of the fur trade, the fisheries and the eastern coast traffic was presented, and the danger to the commerce of New England from the French stronghold magnified and discussed.


All the colonists were hostile to the French, with whom they had been so frequently at war. They recognized them as the hereditary enemies of England, and believed that they had incited the Indians to pillage and murder.

Under such incentives it was not strange that within two months the full quota of men was enlisted, supplies secured, and ships and transports engaged for the expedition. It consisted of four thousand and seventy men. Of these, Massachusetts is generally credited with three thousand two hundred and fifty, Connecticut with five hundred and sixteen, and New Hampshire with three hundred and four. There were ten regiments in all. Connecticut and New Hampshire had one each. That part of Massachusetts now the State of Maine furnished three regiments. Massachusetts proper supplied the other five regiments.

Colonel Samuel Moore commanded the New Hampshire regiment. Potter, in his military history of New Hampshire, and Gilmore, special commissioner of the state, in his report of 1896 on the New Hampshire men at Louisburg, claim that the state furnished five hundred men, or one-eighth of the whole number. I have not been able to justify these claims, and as they do not give the muster



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rolls for that number they cannot be regarded as historically accurate. It is undoubtedly true that there were New Hampshire men enrolled in Massachusetts regiments, but, so far as I am advised, the number so enrolled cannot now be definitely ascertained. The New Hampshire men sailed from Portsmouth, in advance of the others, under convoy of an armed sloop, with thirty men, commanded by Captain John Fernald, of Portsmouth, and arrived at Canso on the first of April, nearly a week before the Massachusetts troops.

The Massachusetts troops on about one hundred and three transports sailed, March 24th, from Nantasket Roads, encountered a severe storm, and arrived at Canso on the 5th and 6th of April. They were convoyed by a fleet of fourteen armed vessels, carrying two hundred and four guns, commanded by Captain Edward Tyng. The Connecticut troops arrived some ten days later.

Preceding these preparations, Governor Shirley wrote to England asking protection for the fisheries of Acadia and New England, but did not suggest any definite offensive operations against the French. Later he asked Commodore Warren, who was in command of the English fleet in American waters and then at Antigua in the West Indies, to join the expedition against Louisburg. This Commodore Warren refused to do without specific instructions from the home government. Soon after his refusal he received dispatches from England directing him to proceed at once to Boston to render the colonies such aid as they might need. While on the voyage he spoke a schooner from Boston which informed him the expedition had sailed, whereupon he changed his course to Canso.

The colonists sailed without any encouragement that the English fleet

would co-operate with them. It was therefore with great joy that they were informed by the English frigate *Eltham*, which came into port on the 22d of April, that Commodore Warren was on his way to join them with three ships of war. His arrival the next day caused renewed confidence and universal rejoicing.

While the troops were at Canso they built a little wooden fort or block-house, upon which some small cannon were mounted, and occupied their time in marching and perfecting themselves in the manual of arms. The ice did not leave Gabarus Bay and the harbor of Louisburg until the last of April.

It was the hope of Governor Shirley that Louisburg could be surprised and captured without a siege. To that end he gave specific directions as to when the fleet should leave Canso and arrive off Louisburg, and when to assault the fortifications. The fleet was to arrive at night and the assault take place before morning while the unsuspecting garrison was asleep. Just how four thousand men and their necessary equipments could be landed upon an unknown shore, and how walls over thirty feet high, which they had never seen, could be scaled in the darkness without disturbing the sentinels or arousing the garrison, the governor very discreetly did not undertake to describe.

The fleet sailed on the 29th of April, on time as directed, but owing to adverse winds did not enter Gabarus Bay, off Louisburg until about eight o'clock of the morning of the next day.


The *Habitant de Louisbourg*, in his account of the siege, writes:

From the first moment we had information about them and in abundant time.

We had the whole winter before us—more time than was necessary to put



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ourselves in a state of defense. We were, however, overcome with fear. Councils were held, but the outcome was only absurd and childish. . . . Nothing was done, and the result is that we were taken by surprise, as if the enemy had pounced upon us unawares.

Whether or not the condition of the French was as is here described, it is certain that they appeared to be surprised, and made only very feeble resistance to the landing of the troops: Pepperrell attempted to land at Flat Point Cove, about two miles from the city, but was met by a detachment of about two hundred French soldiers, whereupon the boats proceeded westward nearly two miles to Freshwater Cove, where a landing was effected before the French could march over the rough ground to oppose them. An engagement ensued, and the French were compelled to retire, with loss. The landing of the troops with their guns, equipments and supplies was no further opposed, and about one half of them were debarked that day and the others on the first day of May. They encamped on both sides of a fresh-water brook, near where they first attempted to land. This camp was maintained throughout the siege.

The army thus stationed upon a foreign shore, and about to engage in a siege to become memorable in history, had the usual organization of that period, the most peculiar of its usages or regulations being that the colonel of a regiment was also the captain of one of its companies. The army had not been organized long enough to become a unit in action, though it was cohesive through its tenacity of purpose. It seems to have been harmonious and efficient, yet there was a freedom and individuality in its operations which in modern times would be regarded as subversive of discipline.

This is manifested in the various requests to General Pepperrell from officers of minor rank for authority to conduct special expeditions or to lead assaults upon some specific battery or outpost. The usual practice seems to have been to obtain authority for the proposed action and then to call for volunteers for the service, or to pass around a "subscription paper" for those to sign who would agree to join in the proposed reconnoissance or attack. Sometimes after the requisite number had volunteered they met and elected their leader or commander. There were also many supernumerary officers, some of whom were not even attached to a regiment. Of this number was William Vaughan, the projector of the expedition, who, though a New Hampshire man, was commissioned a lieutenant-colonel without specific command by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. That he was held in high esteem is evident from a letter the governor wrote General Pepperrell, under date of March 23, 1745, as follows:


I desire you would let Mr. Vaughan, who goes a volunteer to Cape Breton in this expedition, and has been very instrumental in promoting it, both within this and the neighboring provinces, and has the success of it much at heart, assist in your councils, and I do appoint him to be one of it. Your countenance and protection of him, also, so far as is proper, I shall esteem a favor.

The records of the councils held by General Pepperrell show that Colonel Vaughan was regular in his attendance, and that he was an efficient and honored member of them.

General Pepperrell had not fully established his camp when in the afternoon of the first of May he detailed four hundred men, under command of Colonel Vaughan, many of them being from New Hampshire, to reconnoiter north of the town and harbor under the shelter of the



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Green Hills. He passed through the woods north of the Royal Battery and came out just above the northeast harbor, which stretches over the lighthouse point. Here he found many warehouses filled with naval and other stores wholly undefended. Recognizing that those stores could not be transported to camp, he decided at once to burn them. As they were largely composed of tar, turpentine and other highly inflammable materials, they made much smoke, which floated down to the Royal Battery, and the English accounts say, "so alarmed the French that they hastily abandoned it and fled into the town." The French annals deny that they were frightened by the smoke, but admit that they supposed the colonists were in large force back of them and that they were taken by surprise. Having destroyed the stores, Colonel Vaughan sent his command back to camp, retaining only about a dozen men as a body-guard and for observation and scouting service. They spent the night in the woods. The next morning Colonel Vaughan crawled close to the Royal Battery to ascertain as much as possible of its location, condition and garrison. To his surprise he noticed that no flag floated from its staff, no smoke issued from its chimneys and no soldiers were in sight. He sent forward one of his men, who climbed into an embrasure and found the battery deserted. This he signaled to Vaughan, who came forward with his men and took possession of the battery. Upon a scrap of paper, which is still preserved, he sent the following dispatch:

ROYAL BATTERY AT LOUISBURG,

May 2, 1745.

To  
The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Wm. Pepperrell, Esq. General,  
&c.

May it please your Honor to be informed that with the grace of God and the courage of about thirteen men I entered this place about nine o'clock and am waiting here for a reinforcement and a flag. . . .

Yours,  
W. VAUGHAN.

The French had deserted the battery in such haste that they destroyed only a small part of their stores, and spiked their cannon so ineffectually that the colonial gunsmiths, under the lead of Pomeroy, of Massachusetts,<sup>1</sup> had several of them in action the following morning.

The *Habitant de Louisbourg* states in his letter:


The enemy took possession of the surrounding country and a detachment pushed forward close to the Royal Battery. Now terror seized us all. From this moment the talk was of abandoning the splendid battery, which would have been our chief defense had we known how to make use of it. Several tumultuous councils were held to consider the situation. Unless it was from a panic fear which never left us again during the whole siege, it would be difficult to give any reason for such an extraordinary action. Not a single musket had yet been fired against this battery. . . . By order of the council a battery of thirty pieces of cannon which had cost the king immense sums, was abandoned without undergoing the slightest fire. The retreat was so precipitate that we did not take time to spike the guns in the usual manner. So that on the very next day the enemy used them. . . . What I had foreseen happened. From the third the enemy greeted us with our own cannon and kept up a tremendous fire against us. We answered them from the walls, but we could not do them the harm which they did to us in knocking down houses and shattering everything within range.

<sup>1</sup>Seth Pomeroy. Later commissioned brigadier-general. See THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, Vol. 4; Number 3.





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It is stated that the Massachusetts artillerymen, though they had no cannon larger than twenty-two pounders, brought with them a large quantity of forty-two pound balls for use in the French cannon when captured. This extreme foresight on their part has been characterized as "skinning the bear before he is caught," but in this instance the bear consented to the act. As the siege progressed some of these cannon were removed to the batteries erected by the colonists against the fortifications, and contributed much to their demolition.

General Pepperrell was greatly elated by the capture of the Royal Battery, and good cheer and courage ruled the new-made camp. He immediately planned his first battery of investment, which was located on the slope of the Green Hills, about one thousand five hundred and fifty yards from the west bastion. It was begun, says Parsons in his life of Pepperrell, on the third of May. The cannon were rolled along easily on their wheels until they struck the marsh which occupied the front of the land defenses, when they began to sink and were soon immovable. There were no draught horses or oxen, and if available they would have been useless in the morass, as they would have sunk in the bog quicker than the cannon. The reliance of the French upon the natural defenses of the town seemed to be justified. In this dilemma Lieutenant-Colonel Meserve, of New Hampshire, solved the difficulty. He was a ship-builder by trade and may have been engaged in getting the king's masts or other heavy timber over soft places. He suggested that wooden sledges sixteen feet long and five feet wide be built,


with long ropes attached, that a cannon be lashed to each sledge, and then, that a couple hundred men draw it to the desired location.

In four days a battery of six guns was in action. A week later they had dragged four twenty-two pounders and ten coehorns to within less than a thousand yards of the walls. This battery was succeeded by another, at a distance of four hundred and forty yards, and by still another, so near the fortifications that the combatants jeered each other. This last and nearest battery, sometimes called the breaching battery, was erected within eighteen days after the landing. In addition to these fascine batteries, each nearer the walls than its predecessor, and all as nearly as possible opposite the west gate, the Dauphin bastion and the walls between it and the citadel, which they had battered day by day, was the northwest or Titcomb's battery, located on rising ground, capable of intrenchment, just across the west arm of the harbor, a little west of north of the city and about a half mile distant. In many respects it was the most powerful battery of the besiegers. It was composed of five of the forty-two pounders captured at the Royal Battery. These cannon were drawn more than a mile by the soldiers on sledges and were mounted ready for action on the twentieth day of the siege. These guns were directed against the circular battery and the Dauphin bastion, which they practically silenced, leaving the breaching or nearest battery free to accomplish its work. Duchambon, the French commander, said Titcomb's battery did them more damage than any other.





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The colonists erected only one other battery during the siege. It was near the lighthouse, about opposite the island battery and eight hundred yards distant from it. It was advantageously situated on high land and was equipped with cannon found in the water, where they had been dropped by the French. They had not been mounted—another proof of the inefficiency of the defense. They were supplemented by a large mortar brought from Boston. This battery completed the land investment, and with Commodore Warren guarding the entrance to the harbor the city was completely encompassed.

On the seventh day of the siege, when only two batteries had been erected and no breach had been made in the fortifications, General Pepperrell summoned the city to surrender. The *Habitant de Louisbourg* says: "We answered as our duty demanded." Probably General Pepperrell did not expect a surrender at that time, but thought it politic for some reason to make the demand. Yet it is recorded that an order was issued to storm the city two days later, which was countermanded because so many officers and men thought it ill advised at that time.

During the entire siege, the island battery was the source of much anxiety and annoyance to the besiegers. It appears that Commodore Warren did not think it wise for him to attack that battery with his ships of war and that he would not attempt to enter the harbor with his vessels until it had been silenced by the land forces. General Pepperrell needed the cooperation of the fleet, which served the one purpose only of guarding the harbor entrance. Just why the fleet

could not have rendered more efficient service it is difficult to understand. That the island battery was under anxious consideration by the land forces at an early date is shown by a letter written by Colonel Vaughan to General Pepperrell as follows:

ROYAL BATTERY, May 11, 1745.

*Honorable Sir:*

I am awfully persuaded that I can take the Island Battery from this place with the boats that are here, if you think proper to give the taking of the place to myself. I dare to engage with the blessing of God to send you the flag within forty-eight hours from this time, if you think proper to give me orders to conduct the affair entirely by my own judgment; with the concurrence of the party to go with me, I doubt not of success. I think I perfectly know the rocks we have already split on and can avoid them or any other for the future.

If my offer be accepted the sooner I have the order the better, being persuaded I can find men enough that will willingly go with me.

I am, Honorable Sir, with all due respects


Your most obedient servant,  
W. VAUGHAN.

I have not been able to find any reply to this letter or that any action was taken at that time upon its suggestions. As there is no record that Colonel Vaughan led an attack on that battery it is presumed the authority requested was not granted.

It is stated that there were five different attempts to capture the island battery. If so there is no detailed account of them and no specific reports of any but the last one, which was so disastrous to the colonists. This attack was made in the evening of the 26th of May by about four hundred men, led by Captain Brooks, of New Hampshire. It is presumed that he was chosen leader by the men themselves. It is undisputed that he was brave and competent.



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The battery was located upon an isolated rocky island, difficult of approach, well fortified and resolutely defended. The attack was bravely made and well sustained. The boats of the attacking party were sighted by the French soon after they left the lighthouse point and were subjected to a continuous fire. The landing was arduous and the men who reached the defenses were too few to succeed. They were compelled to retreat, having sustained a loss of about sixty killed and more than a hundred prisoners. This was the only failure of consequence which the colonists sustained and the only French victory during the siege.

It has been stated that the French, through the late arrival of their fleet, in the autumn of 1744, failed to supply Louisburg with its annual consignment of commissary and military stores. This failure had caused the governor no anxiety until the city was completely invested by land and by sea. He had hoped that a French fleet would raise the siege; but none came. Only one small vessel had been able to run the blockade and reach the harbor. It brought few supplies. Other small vessels had been captured whose cargoes supplemented the diminishing stores of the colonists.

It appears that the French home government was not unmindful of the needs of Louisburg. Undoubtedly its failure to renew the various stores of the fortress the preceding year was well known and the subject of some anxiety. So, early in 1745, a vessel was fitted out at Brest with all needed supplies and ordered to sail in season to be off Louisburg as soon as the harbor would be free from ice. While in


port this vessel was accidentally burned. Further delay was inevitable. At last the French man-of-war *Vigilant*, a new vessel, for the first time put in commission, manned by five hundred men and armed with sixty-four guns, set sail for Louisburg. It carried stores of all kinds. When it sailed it was not known in France that any attempt to capture the fortress was contemplated, and even had the colonial expedition been known it would have been treated with contempt.

The man-of-war arrived off Louisburg about the 18th of May. The presence of the blockading fleet, under the command of Commodore Warren, was the first intimation the *Vigilant* had that Louisburg was besieged. At that time there was a strong northeast wind very favorable for entering the harbor, the English fleet was miles to the leeward, and had the commander of the *Vigilant* made all sail he probably could have run the blockade. But he did not know the strength of the English fleet and encountering a colonial ship gave chase and was led toward the fleet, so that he was soon engaged with Commodore Warren's principal force. The fight lasted from about the middle of the afternoon until ten o'clock at night, when the *Vigilant*, surrounded by the most powerful vessels of the English fleet, was compelled, like a stag at bay, to succumb to the power it could no longer resist.

The hope of the French for reinforcements was destroyed. Some accounts, like that of the *Habitant de Louisbourg*, state that the French saw the *Vigilant* and knew of its fight and capture. The English represent that the French had no knowledge of the capture until weeks after, when they




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were informed of it under a flag of truce sent them by General Pepperrell, ostensibly to demand better treatment for his soldiers, then prisoners of war, but really to give the French officer who accompanied the flag an opportunity to tell of the capture of the *Vigilant* and the strength of the besiegers, while certifying to the excellent treatment accorded him and the other prisoners of war held by the English.

The colonists were busy—some of their batteries had been in operation for more than a month and all of them for weeks. Large breaches had been made in the walls near the west gate, nearly every building in the town was shattered and the island battery was disabled. It was known that the French supply of powder was nearly exhausted. The fire of the colonists had been continuous and effective; that of the French irregular and generally harmless. The defense became weaker each day, and by the eleventh of June it was evident to friend and foe that Louisburg was doomed. During the entire siege the garrison had been too weak to justify sorties and therefore the colonists had been uninterrupted in their work except as the guns of the fortress occasionally drove them to shelter. The cannon had done their work. The way seemed open to carry the fortifications by assault, and end the siege in glory.

On the 14th of June, General Pepperrell welcomed Commodore Warren to camp to plan a combined assault by land and sea. General Pepperrell was ready to make the land attack, but Commodore Warren, who had done nothing of note with his eleven English ships of war, carrying five




hundred and twenty-four guns, and with all the colonial vessels under his command, except to capture the *Vigilant* and blockade the harbor, was unwilling to assault the island battery or to attempt to run past it with his ships unless the *Vigilant* should be manned by six hundred of the land forces and lead the line of battleships. At first, General Pepperrell objected that he could not spare that number of men from his available force. But Commodore Warren was inflexible and General Pepperrell yielded. The New Hampshire regiment under Colonel Moore volunteered for this hazardous service. It is said that the troops were paraded, the proposed assault communicated to them and that they were exhorted to remain steadfast and show their courage by brave deeds. The soldiers were enthusiastic and answered by cheers. Pending the arrangement of other details the conference was continued until the next day.

Meanwhile the fleet had been brought closer to the harbor entrance and cruised in sight of the fortress. Unusual activity pervaded the camp and the several batteries. The lighthouse battery bombarded the island battery incessantly and it was fast becoming useless as a defense. These activities and the conferences of the two commanders did not escape the notice of the French. The governor, M. Duchambon, wrote General Pepperrell on the 15th of June, proposing a suspension of hostilities with a view to the surrender of the garrison of Louisburg upon such terms as could be mutually agreed upon.

General Pepperrell and Commodore Warren replied at once, saying, his



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letter arrived "at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together, and had just determined upon a general attack."

They granted an armistice until eight o'clock the next morning, at which hour M. Duchambon was to present his formal offer of surrender. The conditions then submitted were regarded as inadmissible and they sent him an ultimatum, which was to expire at six o'clock that evening. Duchambon had no alternative and he sent a hostage with a letter to General Pepperrell, accepting the terms offered, but requesting that his troops be allowed to march out of the town with their arms and colors flying—to be given up immediately afterward. This request was granted.

On the afternoon of the 17th of June, General Pepperrell, at the head of his army, marched through the Dauphin gate into the town and received its keys from the commandant, who had his garrison drawn up in the king's bastion to receive him. The military etiquette of the occasion was punctiliously observed. Each army saluted the other. Then the French flag was saluted and lowered. As the lilies of France fluttered down the flag-staff the cross of St. George arose over the citadel and was saluted by the guns of the army and navy, and the cheers of the soldiers and sailors who had endured so much to secure the triumph and glory of that hour.

About the same time, Commodore Warren sent a party of marines to take possession of the island battery, which had caused him so much anxiety, and then sailed into the harbor with his fleet. Just forty-nine days from the arrival of the colonists in Gabarus Bay they were in possession of Louisburg, and its garrison were their prisoners of war.


The prisoners of war were immediately put on board the fleet, as stipulated in the terms of capitulation, and on the fourth of July a man-of-war and eleven transports sailed with them for France, where they arrived safely.

Thus the expedition born of religious enthusiasm, commercial ambition, and national pride, ended in victory and glory to the assailants. The Fates were propitious. Gibson, the merchant, of Boston, who was of the expedition, says in his diary:


From the first day of the siege until the surrender of the city it was such fine weather that not one single day was lost in the prosecution of the design. Fair weather during the siege and rain and fog as soon as it was over. Every ship coming with provisions, munitions of war and reinforcements was captured by the besiegers.

Every event and detail of the expedition and of the siege, with the one exception of the assault on the island battery, were favorable to the English and unlucky for the French. Even the most preposterous of the plans of the colonists were successful. They succeeded against all military maxims and precedents—even the forces of nature were their allies. The result justified Reverend Mr. Prince, of Boston, who said: "No one in common sense can deny a particular Providence in this affair." And again: "Methinks when the southern gates of Louisburg were opened, and our army with their banners were marching in, the gates were lifted up, and the King of Glory went in with them."

Whatever our views as to special Providences, all agree that the expedition against Louisburg is among the most illustrious of all the exploits of volunteers known to history; that an unusual concurrence of favorable events attended their persistent and



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heroic efforts and that the achievements of that campaign had an important influence upon the future of the English colonies. The watchwords of the hours were co-operation, combination and self-reliance.

In his *Life of General Pepperrell*, Parsons says:

General Pepperrell gave a banquet to his officers soon after taking possession of the fortress. Parson Moody, of York, Maine, the uncle of Mrs. Pepperrell, was the elder and the most prominent of the chaplains present. He was generally very long in all his prayers and addresses. Everybody dreaded to have him say grace, fearing he would occupy so much time that the banquet would become cold. He was so irritable no one was willing to suggest that brevity would be acceptable. Whether or not he had a hint, he surprised his friends and disappointed his enemies by the following: "Good Lord! We have so many things to thank Thee for that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ, our Lord. Amen."

The news of the surrender of the fortress reached Boston about day-break of the third of July. Bells were rung and it is stated in a letter to General Pepperrell under date of July 4, 1745, that "the people of Boston before sunrise were as thick about the streets as on an election day. . . . We had last night the finest illumination I ever beheld with my eyes. I believe there was not a house in town, in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows."

These glittering manifestations of rejoicing were succeeded by a day of public thanksgiving, with services in all the churches. The sermons then preached, so far as they have been preserved to us, are in the flowery and prolix style of that period, but are all devout and thankful.

When England heard of the capture of Louisburg there was great rejoicing, as her arms on the continent had been generally unsuccessful.

This victory enabled her eventually to conclude a treaty in honor, though not one of any especial advantage to her.

The chief of artillery and engineer in charge of the investment of Louisburg was Richard Gridley, who subsequently planned the redoubt for Prescott on Bunker Hill, and had command of the provincial artillery there.

It is said that the same drums which beat on the triumphal entry of General Pepperrell into Louisburg led the march of the patriots to Bunker Hill.

Matthew Thornton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was the surgeon of the New Hampshire regiment at Louisburg.

Upon their return from Louisburg the New Hampshire regiment brought a bell which they had captured, and presented it to the Queen's Chapel in Portsmouth. It has been recast, and is now in the tower of St. John's Church in that city.

The Louisburg expedition cost New Hampshire 26,489 pounds of its money. It was reimbursed by England 16,355 pounds sterling.

The colonists having captured Louisburg were compelled to hold it until troops could come from England to relieve them. This was nearly a year. During that time they suffered much more from inclement weather and from sickness than from all the hardships of the siege. The deaths during that period vastly exceeded those during open hostilities.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between England and France, in 1748, it was stipulated that "all things should be restored on the footing they were before the war."

All the effort and sacrifices of the colonies apparently had been useless. But no worthy effort is without its reward. From the union of the colonies, though they knew it not, a new nation was to be born.



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Original by H. B. Hall from painting by Vanderlyn, giving historical record to the early conception of the landing of Columbus and his crew under the flag of Spain on October 12, 1492, after a voyage of sixty-nine days, with a fleet of three caravels, from the Port Palos, Spain



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE FIRST SHIP IN AMERICAN WATERS


Original by John C. McRae, giving historical record to the scene when Christopher Columbus, standing on the ship "Santa Maria," neared the island of the West Indies on that October day in 1492, and revealed to the old civilization a New World which was soon to beckon the peoples of the earth





## Collection of Historic Engravings

Drama of the Building of the Nation Enacted in the old Prints of the Engravers whose Skill Perpetuated the Actual Vision of the Scenes and Incidents that Laid the Foundation for the Structure of Civilization Today



**T**HE engraver's art is as old as American civilization. It has been contemporary with the rise of the Republic, and is one of the truest witnesses of the men and events that have made history. Engraving is the forefather of photography, and, long before it was known that the lens could record history, the engraver was perpetuating on steel and wood, from memory, imagination, and contemporary narration, the incidents that have distinguished the American people. Many of these ancient engravings now hold a high monetary value and are in the possession of American collectors. If it were not for these old prints, in many instances, there would be no understanding of the personal appearance of the builders of the republic. It was the only way in which portrait painting could be reproduced and placed extensively before the understanding of the people. While the painter's art was that of the *aristocracy*, the engraver's art was that of the *democracy*. So it is that all work, skilfully done, contributes to the annals of civilization. The workman is the contemporary historian, and, while his name may be unknown, the product of his hand or brain stands as evidence of the conditions of society and trade.

It has been the privilege of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY to collect and record hundreds of rare engravings. In its pages several prints are now reproduced that give a broad vision of American progress. Beginning with the old engraving that gives pictorial record to the discovery of America, under the flag of Spain, one feels the spirit of triumph that must have filled the adventurers as they stood for the first time on the threshold of a great and mysterious world, revelations of which were never to be known to them. The engraver again gives record to human emotions and depicts the stately figure of the discoverer of the New World standing on the deck of his ship while his crew falls in homage before him, probably more in gratitude for their own safety than in comprehension of the historical import of that day of destiny.

As one looks upon these old engravings, he goes far back to the very threshold of savagery. He sees the conflict of the races when the American aborigine resented the white man's invasion, and he feels the suffering and privations that are endured by men who clear the path for civilization. The great human tragedy of progress is revealed in these old engravings; the sweep of the centuries from the early explorers, the first crude settlements, the ghastly wars with the Indians, the American Revolution, the second war with Great Britain—they all pass before the vision in a mighty pageant. Thus it is that the services of the engraver may be even greater than that of the historian, inasmuch as he tells in a moment's glance at a single print more than could be related by thousands of written words by the literal historian. The prints herein recorded are from the collection of Mr. Egbert Gilliss Handy and are deposited in the archives of The Search-Light Library in New York.—EDITOR



OLD ENGRAVING OF FIRST MISSIONARY AMONG THE INDIANS

Original by J. C. Buttre, from drawing by J. A. Oertel, giving historical record to John Eliot, the first apostle of the Indians, interpreting the principles of Christianity to the American aborigine in 1646—He issued the first publication ever made in the Indian language, and translated the Bible



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN THE NEW WORLD

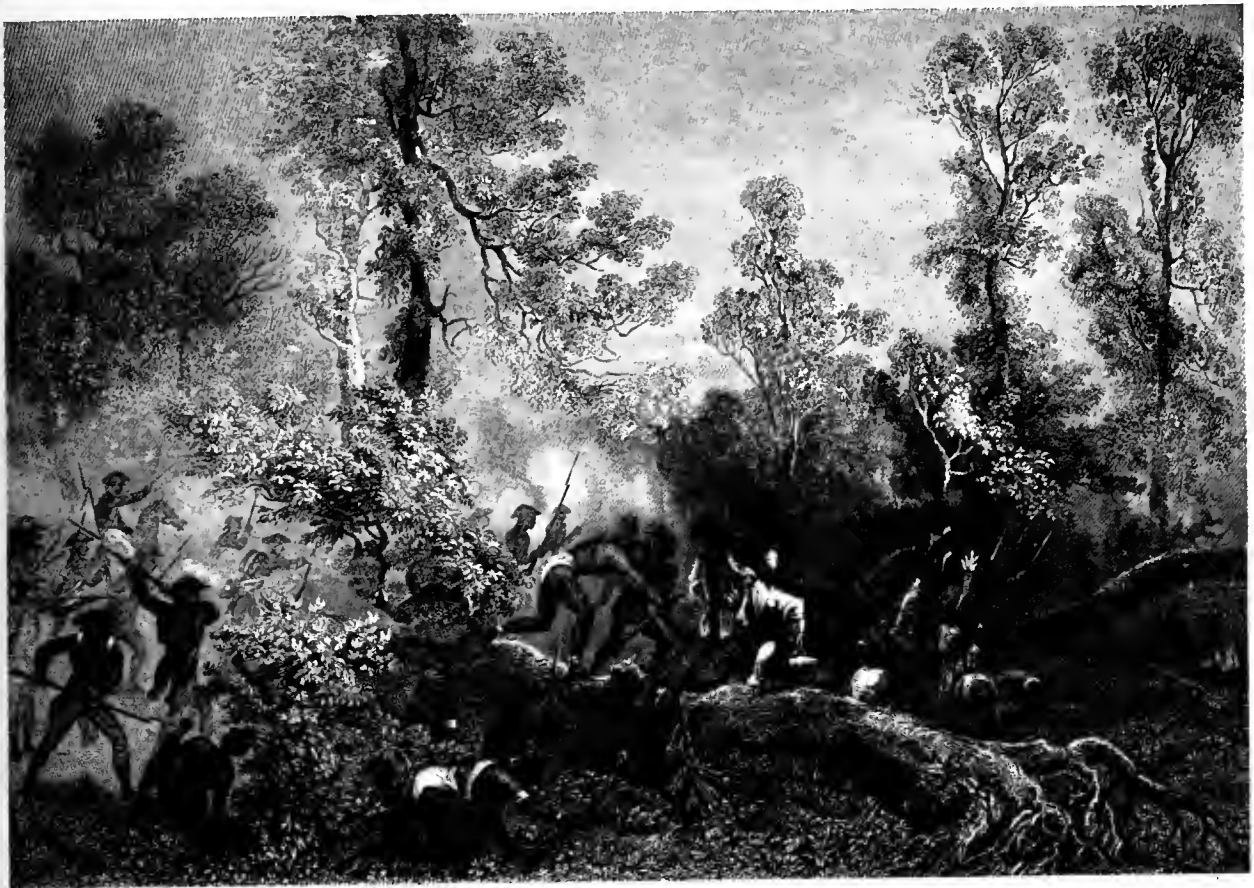
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Original by John C. McRae, giving historical record to the early conflicts of the white civilization with the red aborigine when ancient and modern civilization met on the battle-ground of the Western World to decide the destiny of a continent that was to lead the progress of mankind



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE BIRTH-THROES OF CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA

Original from a painting by Chappel, giving historical record to the fearful carnage through which civilization passed in the massacre at Fort Mimms along the plains of Alabama, in 1813, when the Creek warriors arose against English invasion and scalped more than two hundred settlers



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE WHITE MAN'S INVASION ON AMERICAN CONTINENT

Original from a painting by Chappel, giving historical record to the flight of savagery before the oncoming power of civilization in early days of the American nation on the frontier of the Middle West in the battles against Miami Indians



OLD ENGRAVING OF THE BEGINNING OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

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Original by T. H. Matteson and Alfred Jones, giving historical record to an incident in the annals of colonial America when the American Revolutionists demanded allegiance from the loyal followers of the king who did not unite in the uprising

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OLD ENGRAVING OF THE STRUGGLE ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

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Original from a painting by Chappel, giving historical record to the scenes enacted at the battle of Tippecanoe when the Indians were driven from the borders of Indiana, in 1811, at the point of bayonets of the new civilization that was to dominate the continent




OLD ENGRAVING OF THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

Original by Thomas Phillibrown, from painting by D. M. Carter, giving historical record to the scenes which occurred at the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, when the Americans triumphed over the British in the second war for the supremacy of the flag of American liberty






Contemporary Engravings  
of the  
American Crisis



Reproduction of Prints from American Collections on this  
Semi-Centennial of the American Civil War, Giving  
Historical Record to the Tragedy that was Enacted  
on the American Continent when Anglo-Saxon  
met Anglo-Saxon in the Greatest Test  
of Valor the World Has Ever Known

Original Prints from the Collection of  
Egbert Gilliss Handy of New York

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WAR-TIME ENGRAVING DURING THE AMERICAN CRISIS

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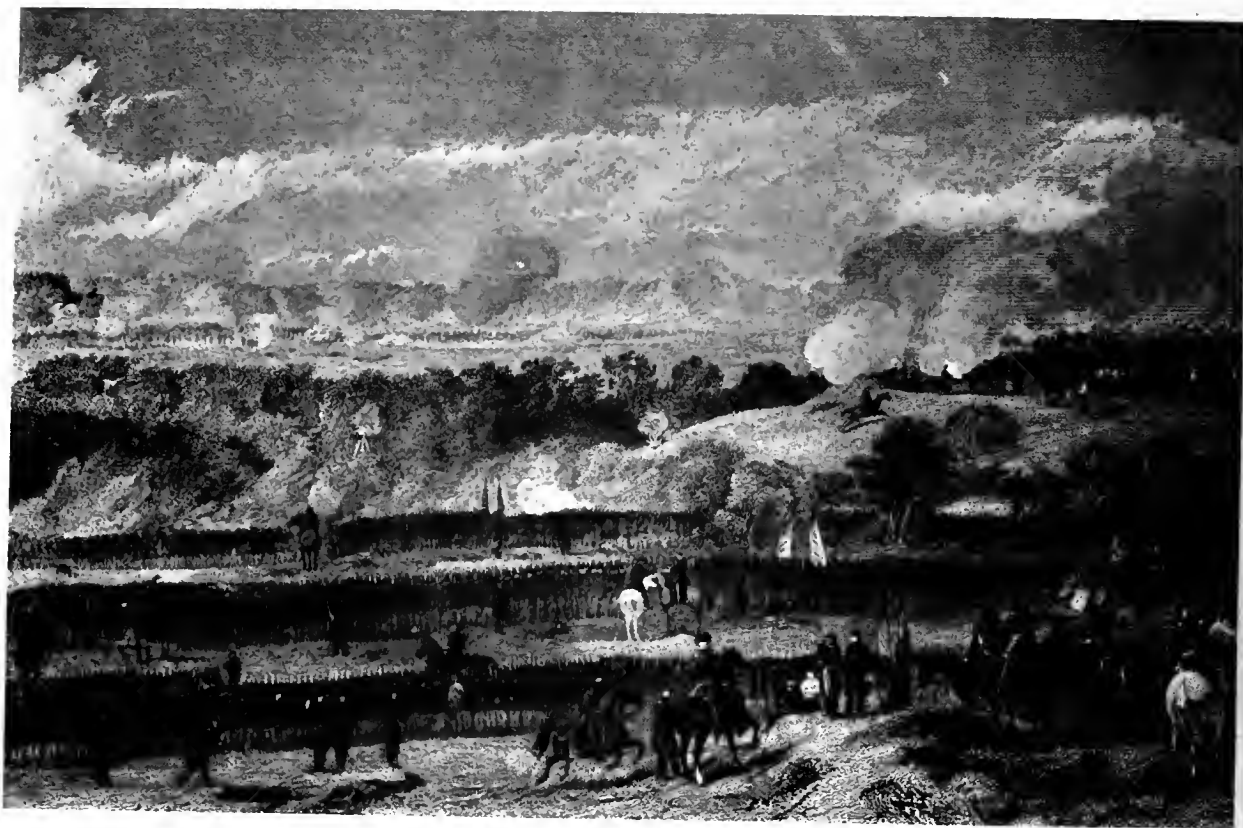
Original engraved in 1862 from the painting by Chappel, giving historical record to the scenes when the troops of the North were being landed upon Roanoke Island, the stronghold of the Confederacy in North Carolina, in the early months of the War between the States

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WAR-TIME ENGRAVING OF BATTLE-GROUND OF THE WEST

Original by F. O. C. Darley and V. Balch, in 1862, giving historical record to scenes enacted at Wilson's Creek, in Missouri, when the legions of the South defeated the hosts of the North, and the national warrior, General Lyon, fell on the battle-ground



WAR-TIME ENGRAVING OF BATTLE-GROUND NEAR THE CAPITAL OF REPUBLIC

Original engraving made in 1862 from a painting by Chappel, giving historical record to the scenes enacted when the national forces were marshaled at the battle-ground of Malvern Hill in the great struggle between the citadels of conquest of two American governments



WAR-TIME ENGRAVING OF GREATEST BATTLE IN THE WEST DURING AMERICAN CRISIS

Original by F. O. C. Darley and W. Ridgway, giving historical record to the scenes enacted at the battle of Shiloh in the mountains of Tennessee, when the hosts of the North struck the first decisive blow at the gateway to the Mississippi Valley, in 1862



WAR-TIME ENGRAVING AT GATEWAY TO THE CITADEL OF THE SOUTH

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Original made in 1862 from a painting by Alonzo Chappel, giving historical record to the scenes enacted at the battle of Fair Oaks, when the two great armies were struggling along the peninsula that led to historic old Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy

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# Original Manuscript of a Witness of the American Revolution


**Ancient Document  
at Princeton University in  
which a Spectator of the Battle of Princeton  
Relates His Experiences & Severe Accrayment of the  
Ravages of the British and the Hessians with Reflections on  
the Events during the Birth-throes of the American Republic by an Eye-Witness**

Original Manuscript Edited and First Recorded in the Journals of the Princeton Historical Association

BY

**VARNUM LANSING COLLINS**

Reference Librarian at Princeton University




**T**HE manuscript which is here given historical record, was purchased in 1901 by the Library of Princeton University at the sale of the late General William Scudder Stryker's collection and was recorded in the journals of the Princeton Historical Association. It had been given to General Stryker by Governor Charles S. Olden, of New Jersey, who believed it to have been handed down in his family from the day of its composition, a hundred and thirty years ago. It consists of twenty-four folio numbered pages, the final paragraph of which was written on April 18, 1777.

The manuscript is brown with age and has suffered from exposure and careless handling. The handwriting is well formed and regular, and is evidently that of an old man. The document is unsigned.

General Stryker, who in his *History of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton* was the first to note in print the existence of the manuscript, followed the Olden family tradition by referring to it as the "diary of Thomas Olden of Princeton." Mr. Olden

lived in the little frame house which is locally well known as the lodge of "Drumthwacket," the residence today of M. Taylor Pyne, Esquire, and formerly of Governor Olden.


It is not pleasant to destroy family tradition; but the fact is that the first page of the Narrative—it is not a diary—contains the proof that Thomas Olden did not write it. For there the author plainly states that in the winter of 1776-77 he was in his eighty-fifth year; and according to indisputable family records Thomas Olden was born in 1735, and therefore could not have been more than forty-one or forty-two at the time. It will be noticed that although a large part of the Narrative is devoted to an account of the damage done to property in and around Princeton, the author does not mention any losses he himself sustained. Now Thomas Olden did suffer at the hands of the British and Hessians and his claim is duly filed in the Middlesex County Book of Damages preserved in the State Library at Trenton, New Jersey. If he were the author of the Narrative his omission to mention his own losses would be inexplicable.





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Original Manuscript Written During 1777



The impossibility of admitting Mr. Olden's authorship is the more regrettable to me because every effort to supply his place has proved unavailing. The author's allusions to himself are so vague that no clue has been found satisfactory.

The Narrative is valuable as a first-hand account of the conditions prevailing in Princeton and its vicinity during the "twenty-six days tyranny" of British and Hessian occupation; and its comments on the causes leading to the Revolution and on the methods adopted by Great Britain for suppressing it represent very accurately the views entertained by the majority of the intelligent agricultural population of New Jersey. The author was a man of very fair education and probably was a farmer; he knew his Bible well; he read the newspapers and at least some of the pamphlet literature of the day; and his knowledge of American colonial history was accurate. He was a man of high ideals, honest thinking, grim humor and rugged speech; and he had many friends. His style shows the faults of that of any old man whose profession has not been the scribe's; his thoughts often run away with his pen. But after all he waxes rhetorical only once or twice, and in the main his story is told simply and in homely language. That it is a severe arraignment of the conduct of the British and their mercenaries is not surprising, but considering how warmly its author felt its tone is remarkably calm. He has made no effort at fine writing, but scattered through his pages are unconscious touches of striking power. For instance, his very casual allusion to the scene at his cottage after the battle is one that sticks in the mind

—the house filled and surrounded by American soldiers, some laughing outright, others in their weariness only smiling, all of them hungry and thirsty, Washington himself "on horseback at the door," " . . . and not a man among them but showed Joy in his countenance." No wonder the old blood tingled in his veins.

The manuscript is printed as written, spelling and punctuation—or rather the lack of it—being carefully observed. I have endeavored to be as conservative as possible in my attempted restorations of the missing portions, and all words or parts of words supplied are italicized. Where I have failed to fill gaps the approximate number of lines or parts of lines unfilled is stated.

I am indebted to Mr. Walter Hart Olden of Princeton and to Dr. Charles C. Abbott of Trenton for many interesting suggestions and much real help in my unsuccessful effort to track down the authorship of the Narrative.

A BREIF NARRATIVE OF THE *Ravages committed by THE REGULAR AND HESSIAN SOLDIERS at Trenton & Princeton* AND ALSO OF *these BATTLES WITH SOME REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS.*

I have Often Read and heard of *the horror of war but was never near it Until I was in the Eighty fifth Year of my age and I was born the 25th of September 1691<sup>1</sup> Old Stile. The regular army left Brunswick on the 7th of December 1776. The*

<sup>1</sup>1692? The last figure in the date is practically illegible.



# By a Witness of the American Revolution

Remainder of our men left Princeton and Marcht to Trenton (for the most of them had gone on before) and Were followed by Gen! How with his army in the afternoon of the same day Within a Short time after Passing Stony Brook, our men delaying their Pursuit by Pulling up Stoney Brook Bridge. But they finding the ford past Over one of their light horsemen was shot on his horse from over the brook, and the man who shot him being on rising Ground beyond him, escaped. . . [half line]

The next Morning, having crossed the Delaware in the night, when the Regulars came to the River our men saw them and fired at the Regulars Which we heard at Princetown the Same morning, Which Prevented their crossing the River (and it is said) Killed and Wounded Several of their men.

Most of the Inhabitants of Prince Town a Day or two before that and some on that day others after left their Dwelling Houses and went where they Could go with their Familys to Escape<sup>2</sup> From the Regular Army and left a Great Part of their goods behind them in their Houses

<sup>2</sup>For example cf. the story of Mrs. Jonathan D. Sergeant's midnight flight from Princeton at this time in Miller's *Life of Dr. Samuel Miller*, I, 147, etc. Dr. Witherspoon in a letter to his son (*Christian Advocate*, II, 443) tells how he left Princeton on his sorrel mare, Mrs. Witherspoon riding in the old family chair with young Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, at the reins. The hurried disbandment of the College of New Jersey is described in the journal of an anonymous undergraduate, published in the *Princeton Standard* for May 1, 8 & 15, 1863, and quoted in part by Hageman (I, 124). Dr. Benjamin Rush describes Princeton at this time as "a deserted village; you would think," he says, "it had been desolated with the plague and an earthquake, as well as with the calamities of war." (Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, II, 164.)

for want of Carriages to take them away, Great part of Which fell into the regulars hands, and They not only Burnt up all the fire wood that the Inhabitants had Provided for Winter, but Stript Shops, out Houses and Some Dwelling houses of the boards that Covered them, and all the loose boards and Timber That the Joiners and Carpenters had in Store to work up, they Burnt with all their Fences and Garden Inclosures with in the Town & After sent their Carriages and Drew away the Farmers Fences adjoining within a mile, and laid all in Common. They also cut down Apple trees and other fruit bearing trees and burnt them, And Either by Accident or Wilfully burnt a Large House lately finisht belonging to Jonathan Seargent<sup>3</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup> in Prince town.

<sup>3</sup>i. e., the noted lawyer and patriot, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, grandson of President Dickinson, and son of Jonathan Sergeant, of Princeton, the treasurer of the College of New Jersey. The house referred to stood on the lot at the junction of the modern Stockton and Mercer Streets, subsequently owned by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, and now by the Nassau Club. On page 278 of the MS. "*Damages done by the British*" in Middlesex County, preserved in the State Library at Trenton, New Jersey, is the following claim:

Jonathan D. Sergeant.		
To 1 Large Dweling house		
New 1 large Kitchen new		
Smoak house & Necessary		
house . . . . .	600.	0. 0
A Large Garden with new		
seder palings 6s per do . .	10.	0. 0
To 75 Panel of Post & Rail		
Fence mostly 5 Rails al-		
most new . . . . .	8.	2. 6
To 100 <sup>w</sup> t of Flax in Bundles		
undress'd . . . . .	1.	19. 2
	£620.	1. 8

Jonathan Baldwin being sworn saith he verily believes & by God information that the above said building &c. was burned and Destroyed by the British



# Original Manuscript Written During 1777

And at new New Market<sup>4</sup> about two short miles from thence they burnt the best Gristmill in these Parts, with a Quantity of Wheat and flower in it, and with it a Fulling mill with a large Quaintity of Cloth in it. The fuller told those Soldiers that set it on fire that he might be Accountable to the owners of the Cloth and Intreated them to let him take it out, Which they *refused to do and burnt all together.* They also Burnt the *grist mill and a Framed dwelling House that had Six rooms in it and which Belonged to Major William Scudder<sup>5</sup> and his fulling mill they burnd.* These are said to be Burnt by the *Regular army who took from the Neighbouring Farmhouse not only the wood but also Straw, Part of it the soldiers slept on and used in various ways to defend them from the cold and the rest they took and burnt and the wheat lost. These are some of the ruins made by fire in and near Princetown contrary to that Justice which is due to all men.* It

Troops and there adherents and that he further believes there has not any Satisfaction been made.

Sworn by Joseph Olden.

JONATHAN BALDWIN.

Benjamin Plum being Sworn Saith he was present in Princetown and saw the Building of Jonathan D. Sergeant Esq<sup>r</sup>. burning and that he has Sufficient Reason to believe the British Troops was the Cause of the said building being burnt.

BENJ<sup>N</sup> PLUM.

Sworn before me Jos. Olden 21<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1782.

<sup>4</sup>The identity of "new New Market" is not established. New Market itself is in Amwell township fully five miles from Princetown.

<sup>5</sup>William Scudder (b. April 6, 1739, d. October 31, 1793) had succeeded his father Jacob Scudder as manager of the mills in question, his older brother Nathaniel, a graduate of Princeton (1751), having gone into medicine.

is said that at a house a little out of the Western end of the Town where were a number of Regulars, for Gen<sup>l</sup>

On page 235 of the MS. volume of "Damages done by the British" in Middlesex County is the following affidavit:

William Scudder of Windsor

Dec 31 1776

To 1 Grist Mill in good Repair with 2 P <sup>r</sup> Stones, & all the Apparatus for Carrying on the Business in the most Extensive manner.....	900.	0.	0
1 Fullery House & Mill, Press, House and all the Aparatus for finishing Cloth.....	200.	0.	0
90 Bushels Wheat @ 5/. 120 do. Ind <sup>n</sup> Corn.....	40.	10.	0
5 Tons Hay—1 Load Flax in Sheaf.....	11.	5.	
65 Pannels Post & 4 Rails fence, new.....	8.	2.	6
18 Ditto pal'd Garden Ditto, old.....	1.	16.	
1 Set Waggon Gears, Traces Iron.....	3.		
1 Suit New Superfine Regimentals.....	9.		
2 Shirts Froks & over Halls fring'd.....	3.		
115 Pannels Post & 3 Rail fence old.....	8.	12.	6
A number of Weaving Utensils 80/-.....	3.		

£1188. 6. 0

Col. William Scudder being Sworn saith that the above Inventory is Just & true to the best of his knowledge And that he has just Reason to believe that the British Troops has taking & Destroyed all the above Articles. And that he has not received any Satisfaction for any of the above S<sup>d</sup> Articles contained.

Sworn Oct<sup>r</sup> 19: 1782, before Nath. Hunt.  
WM. SCUDDER.

Benjamin Oppie being Sworn Saith that he knew the Mills of Col<sup>l</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Scudder As Mentioned in this Inventory, And that be does adjude the said Mills was Worth £1100, to the best of his Knowledge.

Sworn Oct. 19 1782 by N<sup>r</sup> Hunt  
BENJ. OPPIE.

# By a Witness of the American Revolution

Sterling's<sup>6</sup> Brigade belonged to the British, part of them one very cold night before the battle stripped both Wheat fields and upland Meadows setting fire not only to firewood and Carriages but to all sorts of timber and specially fences, So that if they were Refenced this spring to guard their foder and feed, that that they will cost them(?) . . . [half line] . . . . and much more than this in labor and time . . . . [one line] . . . .

I am informed that they went to tanners and robbed them both of their Tanned, as well as their untanned Leather taken from their Vats. What use the latter may be to them I Know not, Unless it be to make leather Scarce in the Country and impoverish the owners.<sup>7</sup> I am Also Inform'd That they have taken great Quantitys of Unbroken Flax Whether Rotted or not, To use in making

<sup>6</sup>The allusion here seems to be to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Sterling, of the 42d British regiment (Royal Highland Watch). He was at this time commanding a temporary brigade consisting of the 42d and 71st regiments. The author has I think wished to distinguish him from General Lord Stirling of the American army.

<sup>7</sup>Quartermaster Robert Stockton of Princeton swore to the loss of 146 hides, 5 dozen calf skins and 35 cords of tanning bark. His claim is in the MS. Somerset County volume of "Damages" in the State Library at Trenton. The same volume contains the claim of Captain James Moore, of Princeton, whose chief losses were 275 hides "near tan<sup>d</sup>," 142½ hides "part tan<sup>d</sup>," 10 dozen calf skins "Tan<sup>d</sup>," 5 dozen calf skins "part Tan<sup>d</sup>," 4 dozen sheep skins, 17 cords of bark, 10 sides of curried leather, 1 dozen curried calf skins—valued in all at £628. 11. 0. Besides this stock in trade Captain Moore lost £126 worth of other goods. We can easily imagine with what grim energy he led the charge on Nassau Hall, at the close of the battle of January 3, 1777, and bursting open the door demanded the surrender of the British soldiers still within the walls.

Fortifications and that from several they have taken all they had.<sup>8</sup>

On the same day the 8<sup>th</sup> of December there followed the Regular Army a Parcel of Hessians and took away four Horses from the People to the westard of the town, One of them was said to be valued at a 100 pound, and committed Several other Outrages the same day In pulling of mens hats from their heads, Though the Regular Officers had given them Protections as they went before, In these Words or near it, Viz. Let no Man Presume to Injure A; B. In his Person or Property<sup>9</sup> Yet these men had no Regard to it But Directly to the Contrary Injured the Protected Men both in their Persons and Propertys, by Insulting their Persons and by Robing them of their Propertys. Two of these men came to David Oldens<sup>10</sup> (where I then was) Mounted on Poor horses, and in an Insolent maner Demanded his Horses: But as it hapened he had

<sup>8</sup>Among the claims in the MS. Middlesex and Somerset Counties "Damages" are those of Jonathan D. Sergeant for a hundredweight of undressed flax in bundles, Robert Stockton 200 bundles, Thomas Olden 20 bundles, Thomas Stockton a hundredweight, and Colonel William Scudder a load.

<sup>9</sup>A Protection bearing Colonel Rall's signature in Stryker (24) reads:

Tis his Excellency General Howe's Express orders that no person presumes to molest or injure John Harcourt in his person or property.

By order of his Excellency  
Headquarters RALL  
Decembr 16 1776.

<sup>10</sup>David Olden was son of John Olden and grandson of William Olden, the first settler in Princeton by that name. He married Elizabeth Laurence. He was doorkeeper of the New Jersey Assembly at Princeton, in August 1776, and a member of the committee of the Princeton Association to prevent trade and intercourse with the enemy, in July 1782. His name does not occur in the volumes of "Damages."

# Original Manuscript Written During 1777

sent them away, before the Regular Army came with all his Household goods and provisions Except what was absolutely Necessary for present use, and many of his Neighbours In and about Princetown had done the like and by that means Saved a good part of their Property. This Method was the very best (if not all) the Safe Protections that could be obtained so much better it is for any Man to be Protected by himself or his friends then to trust his Enemys, Yet this Method did not allways avail as I design to to show hereafter.

There went four of these Hessians to a Gentleman's House (who is called a Quaker) And after they had treated him and his Family in an Insolent Manner a Stout fellow among them laid hold of his Hat on his head and puled it of And he (though but a Smal man and between Fifty and Sixty Years of age) laid hold of their Champion and Struck up his heels and threw him on the Ground and clapt his foot on his Sword and Prevented his drawing it, And took his Hat again from him. Upon that the three Other Paltrons Drew their Swords, and he was obliged to Yield up a very good Hat Though he had a Protection several days before, which was of so little Effect that Afterwards the Regulars Robed him of a fine mare, and broke the door of his Stable to get her out, They also Robed his four Store Hogs<sup>11</sup> being all he had

<sup>11</sup>This may have been Joseph Olden whose losses are listed on page 256 of the Middlesex County volume of "Damages":

To 1 Mare 14 hands high 12 yrs Old.....	12.	0.	0
5 Hogs 6 monts Old.....	3.	15.	
1½ of 4 Horse Loads Corn tops.....	3.		
1 Ton Hay 50/. 1 pr blind bridle & lines 12/6.....	3.	2.	6
1 pr Quilers with Chains & neck yoke .....	1.	5.	

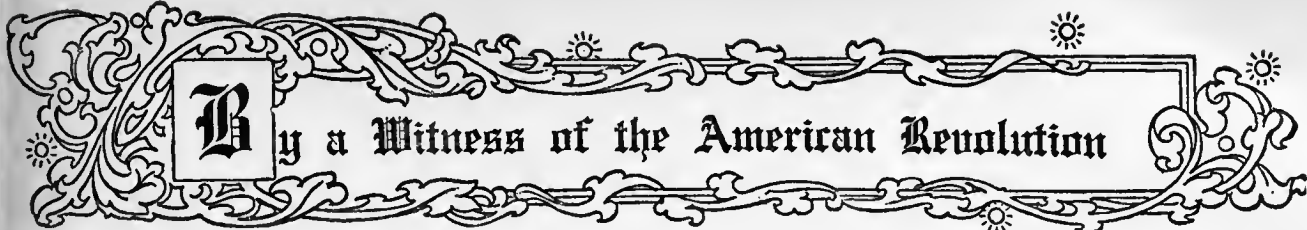
before his face, And (as it is said) Three of their Generals were Present Cornwallice,<sup>12</sup> Grant,<sup>13</sup> & Leshly<sup>14</sup> looking on to see how the Regular Soldiers ran After the Hogs about the Pen to Catch them. This is one Instance among many to show the Power of their Protections And Wether they are given to Protect, Or

1 Cut Saw & 1 handsaw....	2.	7.	6
1 Bushel Hardsalt 3/- 10 D <sup>o</sup>			
Potatoes 15/-.....	18.	0	
150 Rails 22/6 1 Coopers Adze 5/6.....	1.	8.	
1 Pr Woomans new Cotton Stocks.....		6.	
1 New Beaverrett Hat.....	1.	15.	
1 Quart <sup>r</sup> Beef Wgt 75lb @ 3 <sup>d</sup>		18.	11
2 Cords of Sapplen Wood...	1.		
		£31.	15. 11


<sup>12</sup>The Earl of Cornwallis (1738-1805) General Howe's subordinate. His Princeton headquarters were at Morven, the Stockton homestead.

<sup>13</sup>Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Grant (1720-1806) of the 55th foot.

<sup>14</sup>Brigadier-General Alexander Leslie of the 2d Brigade. He seems to have been the "general officer" named in Burke's *Peerage* as son of Alexander Leslie 7th earl of Leven and 4th earl of Melville by his second wife. He was thus an uncle of the Honorable William Leslie mortally wounded at the battle of Princeton. According to W. C. Ford, *British officers serving in the American Revolution*, 109, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel January 30, 1762, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 64th, August 28, 1766, Colonel October 19, 1775, Major-General February 19, 1779, and Colonel of the 63d foot January 2, 1782. With the 2d Brigade he was posted on January 2, 1777, at Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) and according to orders from headquarters was to be joined the next morning by Mawhood and to proceed to Trenton to assist in the capture of Washington. On the morning of the 3d, hearing the heavy firing at Princeton he hurried back to aid Colonel Mawhood, but arrived too late. (Unpublished Journal of Ensign Glyn, of the British army, Library of Princeton University.)



## By a Witness of the American Revolution



to Allure People to depend on them that they may be Plundered the Easier I shal leave to Others to Determin.

The Regulars and Hessians together Robed and Plundered two wealthy Farmers (that were brothers) of the Greatest part of their moveable Estates About four or five miles from Princetown, and not only took away their Cretures but robbed their Houses and ript open their Beds and turned out the feathers and took away the Ticken and left the owners but very little to cover them, or even to live on.

They had yet some other ways to Plunder and Distress the People besides these two that I have Already Mentioned of fire and sword. They go out late in the night and Steal and Kill Sheep and cattle Even Milch Cows and skin them, leave their skins and hides and take away the meat. Another method is this their Officers Bargains with the Inhabitants for forage and other Necessarys and upon the Delivery gives the owners Receipts of the sorts and Quantitys with the Prices,<sup>15</sup> but pays no money thus many Farmers are served. Others are ser'vd in a different manner the Regular Officers with their Soldiers Are by

<sup>15</sup>The official British list of prices for supplies obtained from inhabitants is given by Stryker (p. 343). Some further idea of prevailing prices is gained from the closing paragraph of the first letter in the anonymous *Historical Anecdotes Civil and Military in a series of letters written from America in 1777 & 1778* (Lond. 1779, 85 pp., 8vo). After describing the battle of Princetown the author concludes in philosophical strain: "It is now near one o'clock, Feb. 10, 1777. My fire is out, and wood very scarce. It has been £5 the cord. Beef is from 12 to 18 pence the pound; mutton the same; veal from 18 to 24 pence; a couple of fowls 10 shillings; trade entirely ruined, and my purse almost empty: And so God save great George our King!"


Orders boarded out at the Farmers Houses, and they take their Horses with them and take the Farmers Indian corn, Oats, and the very best of his fodder to feed them on.

At a Gentleman Farmers house the next to that where I now live There was with Officers and all one hundred and Seventy of those Genteel Unwelcome Guests. His best Rooms and beds in his House were taken up by the Officers who was fed upon the best Diet that the House afforded. In the mean time The Soldiers took and wasted what they Pleasd of his stalk tops and Oats in the sheif in Making sheds to keep them from the Cold when they Stood on Gaurd, besides what their Horses Devoured,<sup>16</sup> And at their Departure he Desired the Officers to give him Receipts for what they had and damage done Which they Refused and only paid him twenty shillings for fifty Pounds Damage as he Computed it.


Another officer went to another Farmers House And Imperiously Demanded two of the first Rooms in his house each with a good bed in it for him to lodge in and another to Receive in which he accordly took and the owner with his family was Oblidged to live in his Kitchen, While their horses were Eating and Destroying the very best of his Provender and hay for Which the owner never was paid a farthing.

To give a Particular Account of Every Robbery and outrage comited by the Hessians and Regulars In and within five miles of Princetown (which is the Extent of these Observations of villanys done) would fill a Vollum therefore I have only Men-

<sup>16</sup>The executor for Joseph Skelton of Princetown affirmed that "the Dragoons 1 Night fed hay & Corn till Morning." Skelton lost 5 stacks of hay and 500 sheaves of wheat, besides 4 sheep, 24 horses, 3 team horses, 2 cows and a wagon. (Middlesex "Damages," 279.)



**O**riginal Manuscript Written During 1777




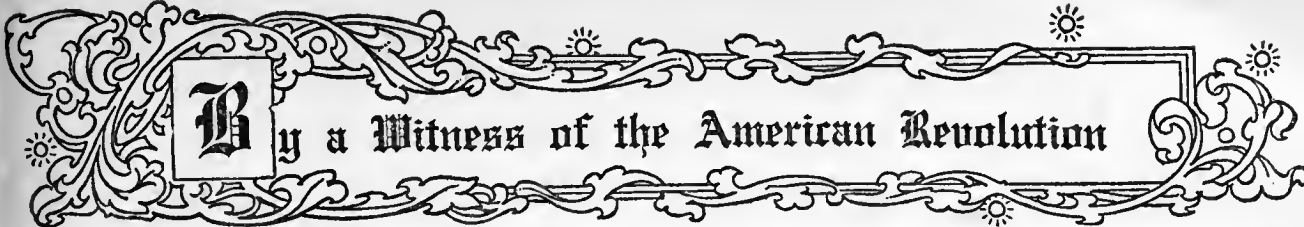
tioned a few particulars out of a Multitude and most of those that I have given an Account of are Quakers a People that nver bore Arms against them which they Knew well and therefore had come right to their favour and Yet used them in that manner. It cannot Reasonably be Expected that they would use those that had bore Arms against them in a more favourable maner. There was a Wicked company of talebearers that Informed the Regular Officers of their names that had born arms against them, and also of their names that was chosen Officers by the People This gave them an Advantage to call them Rebels and to say that their Estates were Forfeited to the King and that those that were missing (as many of them was) was gone to the Rebel Army. Whereupon Orders were sent by their chief Officers to those that those Wretched Informers had found out had the Keeping of the absent Mens goods or Cretures to Deliver them up so that they lost most (if not all) their Cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and Poultry Besides ravageing their Houses that had left For after they had had got what was needful to them they Broke Destroyed and burnt Tables chairs looking glases and Picture Frames that they Could find, hiding will not protect where there is wicked Informers.

The Damages Done by these Plunderings and Desolations must amount very high and Occasion much Trouble to the Sufferers. Yet they are Vastly short of Another Horrid Outrage that I had not yet mentioned I mean the Ravishing of Women (Which by a Great Defect in Human Nature that is against both Justice and Reason) We Despise these poor Innocent Sufferers in this Brutal Crime Even as long as they live, In time of Peace to avoid so miserable and lasting Re-


proach I am of the Opinien That many honest virtuous women have suffered in this Manner and kept it Secret for fear of making their lives misserable and so many of those Capital Crimes escape Punishment In time of War When those Un-natural Miscreants are sure of Geting of with Impunity *they* commit them *the* more frequently. *Many* of them has been Already mentioned in the Friendly Post.

Taken from an Extract of a Letter Wrote by a Worthy Officer in the Continental army Wherein he gives an Account of some Crimes of that Kind being committed within five miles of Princetown To which I shall only ad Another Tretcherous Villany There was two of Gen! Hows light Horsemen Quartered at Pensneck about two miles from Princetown Who Pretended to a Young Woman That they was Searching for Rebels, and had been Informed that some of them were Secreted in the Barn and desired her to go with them and Show them the most Secret Places there, and She (Knowing that no body was there) to convince them, Went to the Barn with them to show them that no body was there And when they had got her there, one of them Laid hold on her Strangled her to Prevent her crying out while the other Villain Ravisht her, and when he had done, he Strangled her Again While the Other Brute Repeated the horrid crime Upon her again She is a Farmers Daughter but her name with her Fathers must be kept Secret to Avoid the Reproach above Mentioned. This is far Worse in this Respect then an Indian War for I Never heard nor read of their Ravishing of Women Notwithstanding their cruelty to their captives In the above mentioned case These Death deserveing men as





# By a Witness of the American Revolution




well as many others that are guilty of the like Crimes Escape with Impunity as I before Observed.<sup>17</sup>

There was a Farmer that dwells about a mile from Princetown at the Place where the Battle was fought, Whose Mother is a widow and lived with him, and had half the Rooms in the House for her own use But was Obligated to leave them, for a captain of the Regulars and his company of Soldiers to come in that was Quartered there. And soon After that they had got in, There came another Captain of the Regulars of an Overgrown Size and Terrifying Countenance and with Insolence equal if not Superior to the huge bulk of his body Demanded a Room with a bed and fire Place in it for him to lodge in. (The man of the House not being Within) the Woman told him that they had none but that her husband and She lodged in, and that they could not Spare, upon that he swore and curst that he must and would have it, and this Monstrous Destroyer of human race before they are born Went on so Horribly with his Threats oaths and curses That he so Affrighted the poor Woman that she fell into a violent disorder

She was so poorly the day that the Battle was fought in the field and about that house that she could *not stand*, and after a Shot came in *the window* where she lay her husband and her nurse were

<sup>17</sup>Parallels to this incident may be found in the letter published by the Council of Safety in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, December 28, 1776 (N. J. Archives, 2 series, I, 245) and in the affidavits of the women abused, collected by the Congressional committee on British and Hessian atrocities, and now contained in vol. 53 of the MS. Papers of the Continental Congress, in the Library of Congress, pp. 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, etc. Dr. Wither- spoon was a member of this committee and some of the testimony gathered is in his handwriting.




Obliged to take her in her bed, down cellar to keep her from the Shot. And as soon as the Battle was over they brought her up again in her bed. And towards night<sup>18</sup> When a part of the Regular Army was come from Trenton some of them came into the field where the Battle was fought, and sent for the man out of his House to ask him some Impertinent Questions, and others of them in the Mean time were Insulting of his sick and feeble wife and Robed her of the Cloak that she wore over her shoulders in bed, She asked them if they Robed Women of their Cloaths and one of them swore that if [*she*] said a word more he Would run his bayonet threw her heart and they Plundered the House of Most of the Valuable goods, and then Drew their Bayonets and Run them threw the feather Bed that the sick woman lay on and swore that there was Rebels that was hid under it, but . . . they would fetch them out. This they Continued to do untill they Spoilt the Bed. And all the While there lay above Twenty wounded men upon Straw in the Next Room,<sup>19</sup> That were carried in by Gen! Washintons Men Immediately after the battle most of them were Regulars all Groaning with the Pains of their Wounds and some of them in the very Agony of Death for two of them Dyed Either at that time or very soon after. Thus those Hardened wretches Went on without having the least Compassion Either on their Wounded fellow Soldiers or the helpless woman That they made the Object of their Brutal Sport, whereby they have Shown

<sup>18</sup>The vanguard of Cornwallis' army, Alexander Leslie's 2d Brigade, reached Princetown about noon (Stryker, 291).

<sup>19</sup>This seems to identify the house as William Clark's.




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themselves to be a Pack of Insolent Poltroons Rather then then valient English Soldiers.

Another of their pranks was this The same day that the battle was fought, one of their Captains in the morning compelled a man that lived near Princetown to go with him and his company to show them the way to Trenton. The Man was very loth to go and went Slowly, Upon that the Captain bid him Step a long nimbley, for if he did not he swore he would run him threw with the drawn Sword that he had in his hand, and the Sergant swore that if he did not lead them right he would shoot him. They went on about a mile & Genl. Washingtons Army being Discovered put them into a Consternation and he got from them. This captain was found in the field of battle Dead, and carried into the mans house that he had Insulted in y<sup>e</sup> morning

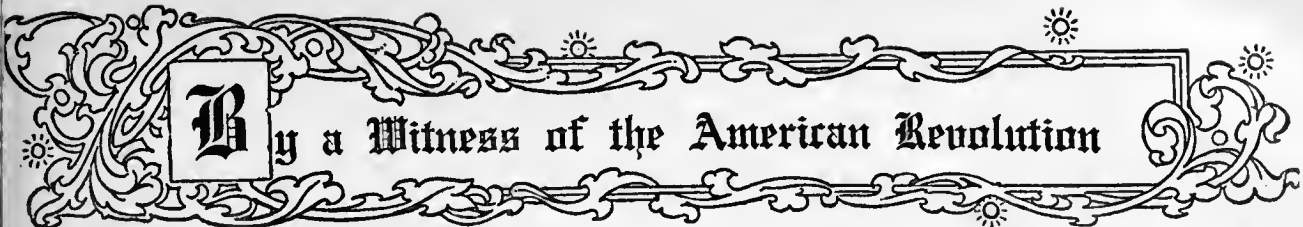
On that same day towards night When that part of the Regular Army that was at Trenton was Return'd, four or five of the Soldiers went to an old Blacksmiths Shop (about 59 years of age) and Perceiving that he had a good pair of new shoes on his feet, they took him Prissoner and conveyed him about a mile back to the Rest of their company. There they *confiscated* his shoes, being more fit for *one* of their own Men to wear then for *him* (Whether it was the sentance of a Court Martial or not I have not heard) The Sentence was Immediately put in Execution, His Shoes was pulled of and one of their own men put them on his feet and Compel'd the poor Old captive to march with them without shoes in his stockings all the way from Princetown to Brunswick (no matter whether his feet froze or not) There they kept him a Day and a night, And no Other crime Appearing against him but only that of wearing




good new Shoes of his own Which he had done Severe Pennance for They Dismist him with the loss of his shoes, and very sore feet, and he by the help of a friend procured another pair of shoes, and came limping home again, and left them to Triumph on that Days Victory the noted third day of January 1777 when they took two men and a Woman that could not stand Prisoners one of the men being much younger then the other & having shoes on made his Escape The Woman being unable to march they left her so they had in truth none from Princetown to Crown their Conquest with but the poor Old Captive without shoes. This is the Renowned Victory Obtained that day near Princetown Which (it is said) is amply set forth in one of the New York news papers<sup>20</sup> to be a Compleat victory obtained by the Regulars over the Continental Army so far as I have Related is true according to best Information that I can get, And so far I agree with that news Paper that the Regulars gained a Victory over two men and one woman. But no further, And that they gained by that part of the Army that came from Trenton After the Other part had Received a very Severe Drubing and total Defeat with the loss of all their Cannon in

<sup>20</sup>Hugh Gainé's *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for January 13, 1777, where is told a wonderful tale of the victory obtained by the 17th Regiment, numbering less than 300 men, over the rebel army of between five and six thousand. The British losses are placed at about 20 killed and 80 wounded, the American at more than 400 killed and wounded. The story is quoted in Stryker (p. 471), in the *N. J. Archives*, 2 ser. I, 253, and by Paul L. Ford in his *Life of Hugh Gainé*, I. 59. Fables like this gave plausibility, as Ford remarks, to the *Pennsylvania Journal's* "New Catechism" question and answer: "Who is the greatest liar upon earth? Hugh Gainé of New York, printer."





# By a Witness of the American Revolution




the fore part of the day. How far a news Paper is to be Credited that tells but part of the Truth and leaves the most material out is Easily decided, And taken by many to be the most Pernicious way of Lying and if it is so Then how much more is that vast Deviation from the truth in saying that the Regulars on that day<sup>21</sup> Prisoners when in truth they took but three at or near Princetown, and they were taken in the Ignominious manner as I have set forth and not in the battle. How many more they took on that day from other Places in the like Shameful manner I Know not, but this I Know that they did not take one Prisoner that day in the battle. But on the Contrary all the Prissoners they had in Princetown were set at liberty by their total Defeat Amounting to the number of . . .<sup>22</sup> In takeing these three Prisoners they violated three of their Officers Protections for the two men had Each of them one, and the Womans Husband had another Besides they are all Reputed Quakers, and never bore arms against them. I hope that this will be Sufficient Warning to the New York Printer of that News Paper not to suffer his Press to be again Polluted by the Regular Officers falsehoods for a Printers News Press Ought to be as an Oracle for the Readers to Enquire the truth by. But when in Expectation of the Truth the People find that the Press has Degenerated into the most Glareing Contradicting falshoods Then the Oracle has ceast and men may search for truth where they can find it.

On the first day of January 1777 from the door of our house we saw a

<sup>21</sup>Marginal note in MS.: "One of their Batalions broke threw some three or four thousand of the Rebels and took a great number of Prisoners."

<sup>22</sup>Blank in MS.




skirmish on the other side of Stoney brook. The light Horsmen Rideing backwards and forwards heard the firing of their guns and saw the Smoke and two men was found Dead there That as it is supposed were Murdered in a barbarous manner. I shall Relate the matter as it was told to me, Some of the Regular Officers boarded at a house near Princetown. An Old Gentle Woman being in y<sup>e</sup> Kitchin with the Adjutants Servant, The Regular Soldiers came in from the Gaurd and she heard one of them tell the Servant That he could not do as Brown Did to day. The Servant askt him what that was, and he said there was a wounded man that could not Stand and Prayed Brown not to Kill him, upon that Brown clapt the Muzzle of his gun to his breast and shot him Dead the Servant said it was murder and so they all said that was Present except one and he said he would have done the same. This is verified by two Dead men being found near Stoney brook, one of them was shot in his groin and again threw his breast very probable the man that Brown murdered. The other was shot in his hip and again threw his head and the Palm of his hand and the wrist band of his shirt on the other arm very much burnt with Gun Powder. It is very Probable that this man seeing his murderer point his gun at his head clapt up both his hands to defend it as it natural to us to defend against a blow The bullet entered his head a little above his eye brow and dasht out his brains so that some of them lay on his face. This concerning these men was told to me by a very Reputable Gentlemen who saw their Dead bodys, took notice of their wounds, and helpt to bury them.

It is very Probable that these two murders were Committed either in



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obedience too or at least were Protected by two Cruel Bloody Orders made by Gen! How, one of them I take from the America Crisis<sup>23</sup> page 17. wherein it is thus Writen. His Excellency the Commander in Chief orders that all Inhabitants Which shall be found with Arms not haveing an Officer with them shall be Immediately taken and hung up. The Other Order I take from a book of their own that they left in the field when they fled from the Battle near Princetown Which is thus. Head Quarters Trenton 12th December 1776


G. O. { Parole BRIDGEN  
C: S: BURFORO

Smal Stragling Partys not drest like Soldiers and without officers not being admissable in war Who Presumes to Molest or fire upon Soldiers or Peaceable Inhabitants of the Country will be Immediately hanged Without Tryal or as Asasings.<sup>24</sup>

In the abovesaid case Gen! How Did not see so far as his bloody Ruffians did that Murdered the two men, for they not haveing hanging Materials with them found that if they left the Wounded men to go and get them the men might be carryed of Secretly or themselves attackt When they came back, And if they took them with them which was very Difficut having no carriage and the

<sup>23</sup>Thomas Paine's *The American Crisis*, Number II, Philadelphia (Styner & Cist), 1777.

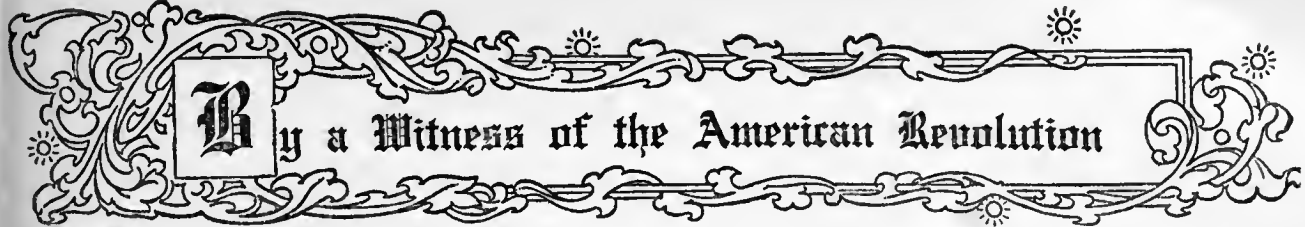
<sup>24</sup>These orders form part of the "proofs and illustrations" published by the Congressional Committee as an appendix to their report of April 18, 1777. A copy of them in Dr. Witherspoon's autograph, and better spelled, is in the MS. Papers of the Continental Congress (Vol. 53, p. 45). They are quoted by Stryker (p. 484) and with the full report and other documents are found also in *N. J. Archives*, 2 ser., I, 347-353, 362, as extracts from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of April 24, 26 and May 10, 1777.




danger of an Attack the greater. Therefore shooting must of necessity be done Instead of hanging being much the safest as well as quicker and Easier done, and no matter which way so that Innocent men are but put to death as these two men was by Ruffians much below the dignity of a Common hang man for he Executes none but what has had a tryal and and found Guilty and even for doing that is Detested by Mankind, then how much more do these Wretches deserve their Abhorrence who by these abominable Orders put men to death without any tryal. And the Wretches that performs the bloody Drudgery to be both Judge and Executioners 'such a horrid task that no man can undertake unless he is Stript of Humanity. The Objects of Cruelty by the first Order were to be found with arms And it may be that Gen! How finding the Defect in this order, that but few (if any) would be found with Arms, and so the Inhabitants would Escape his wrath, made the latter to Supply that defect which Enlarged the power of the former to that degre, That I can compare it to nothing better then to 'where we read that Hell Opened her mouth without measure,<sup>25</sup> for by the latter it is no matter whether they have arms or not (no mention of arms is in it so as to make them the objects of Death) If they do but molest or even Affront a Tory Or mollest the Soldiers when they come to Plunder it is Enough they are Immediately to be taken and hanged without any trial Gen! How Knows very well by the Numbers of Prisoners that he has taken that but few (if any) of the Millitia are clothed like soldiers.

What a Deplorable State was a Great part of New Jersey in when by these bloody cruel Orders the vilest

<sup>25</sup>Isaiah v. 14.



## By a Witness of the American Revolution



of men were made Judges of the lives of the Inhabitants and they Knew nothing of it, For Gen! How all the while Kept Allureing them into the Danger of their lives by his Proclamations Protections and Kind Admonitions to his Officers in Respect to the Inhabitants to use them Kindly By this Serpentine Method he drew the People into the most Dangerous Security, while his Officers and Soldiers were Spiting his venom upon them by their Insults, Roberys, Plunderings, and even Murdering some of them. And their Danger Perhaps would never have been Discovered had it not been for the Success of two Battles in takeing two of their books of Orders.

On the first day of January 1777 some Regular Soldiers came along the main road from over Stoney brook One of them was very Strangely Wounded for he was shot with an Iron Gun rammer in Stead of a bullet, Which entered under his chin and came out again at his nose near his eyes one end of it, and the other end lapt round his thigh (as it is said) Whether he was a Horsman or not I Know not, but it is very likely he was, and rideing up to his Eenemy before he done charging, and perceiving that he was like to be shot with the Rammer, lean'd back on his horse to avoid it, and so received his wound in that manner, as to the Other end laping round his thigh, one end being Stopt, and the other end being heavy would continue its force until it met with something to stop it, and happened to meet with his thigh He Languished a few days and Dyed. I Remember when we first had the news which was the same day it was said That the Regulars said that the Rebels were so . . . cowardly that they shot their gun Sticks at them, and run away. It is generally thought

that this was done in the skirmish where the two men were murdered as abovsaid.

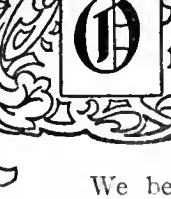
There was four Gentlemen Farmers that lost considerably by the Regular Army for they took from one of them two Wagons three Horses and a Negro man that he gave a hundred pound for some years agoe. From another of them they took one wagon one horse, and a Negro man, from another, they took, one Wagon, two horses, and a negro man and from the other they took one Wagon one horse and one Negro lad, Besides their Plundering of them as they did their other Neighbours.

Under all these Treacherous Dangers and losses we have been and Still are Defending our Just Rights and lybertys against the Arbitrary Power of Great Britain Who in the last war against France and Spain Used us as Brethren and Requested us to assist them in that war Which we Readially and Willingly Did to the Utmost of our Power, (for which the State of New Jersey is Still in Debt) and in Return from them we Received a handsome Gratuity,<sup>28</sup> This brotherly Kindness seemed to Continue Untill Great Britain Received a new Administration of Government and they Degenerateing into an Arbitrary power Prevail'd with the King and Parliment to Declare that they had a Right not only to tax (*but to*) Bind us, in all cases Whatsoever, For they Alledge That they are our Parent Kingdom, and we are Derived from them and therefore we ought to do *even* to them as an Obedient child ought to *its* Parent.

<sup>28</sup>Evidently referring to the £9166 which seems to have been New Jersey's share of the appropriation voted by Parliament in 1760 for distribution among the northern and middle provinces. (See *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey*, edited by Samuel Allinson (Burlington, New Jersey, 1776), p. 237 note.)



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We being thus made a Political child, in the most humble manner only Claimed an Equal Right with our other Brethren To be taxt by our selves or by our own Representatives Exclusive of any other and this we clame as our Natural Birthright, And if I am not very much Mistaken the Inhabitants of Great Britain claim the same Right. Our Just claim so Offended the King and his Parllment that they declare that we have no Right to the Priviledge that our other brothers has But on the contrary they have a right to make us pay to them as much money (and as often) as they Pleas, was ever such an Unnatural Parent heard of When a child desires no more then to be Equal with his other brethren, to Declare him Illegetimate and therefore has no Right to their birthright, is not this Enough to Convince any child that he is Disown'd by his Parent . . . and thereby he is fully discharg'd from his filial duty by his Unnatural Parent, and has a good right being thus discharg'd to break of all Connections with his lordly brothers and set up for himself as we have done, and Should be very well contented if they would Permit us to Enjoy the like Privilege that Generally . . . have that is to shift for themselves and to be Independent of all the family that we are said to belong too. But they will not alow us Neither a lawful Childs Right nor a . . . Independance What Kind of Progeny They would have us to be I Know not. For we are Neither allowed to be a Lawful Child nor a . . . and yet must be Derived from the same Parent with the Lawful Child-


ren. What Mungrel Relation they would have us to be I cannot find out for I Know of no word or Term in the English Language to distinguish it by (and I Know no Other) Therefore I must leave it to them that are more learned.

I have Already set down Gen! Hows Cruel Orders, and if I do not mention his Kind ones in Respect to the Inhabitants I expect to be Charged with Partiallity, therefore I shal set them down as follows viz: The Commander in Cheif calls on the Commanding Officers of Corps to exert themselves in Preserveing the' greatest Regularity and Strictest discipline in their Respective Quarters particularly attending to the Protection of the Inhabitants and their Property in their several Districts.


It is Strongly Recommended to Officers to Preserve good Orders in the several Farm houses to Prevent the men doing any damage to the Inhabitants not only for their sakes but in Compliance with the General Order given out Yesterday.

Soldiers are Possitively forbid to Molest or Stop the Inhabitants who have Protections given them. Much less are they to Injure them in their Propertys.

Here is all of them that I can find in Respect to the Inhabitants, in two of their books of General Orders and it seems very likely that these were some of the old Standing orders that was made and Observed by the British Army in Europe when they had the Character of being the best Soldiers in that part of the world but let that be as it may be, Gen! How has made no other use of these good and kind orders, but only to serve us as Joab served Amasa when



# By a Witness of the American Revolution



he took him fast by his beard with his right hand to Kiss him, while with the Other hand he Smote him in the fith Rib and shed out his . . . to the ground, so here Gen<sup>l</sup> How had fast hold of us by the beard of conquest with one hand to kiss us with his good orders while, with his Cruel bad orders he gave us a Mortal Blow and shed out our . . . to y<sup>e</sup> ground by their Insults Roberys & Plunderings These good orders was so little Observed, that I defy them to show one Instance where they was obeyed with in five mile of Princetown.

I shall Venture to give a brief Account of three Battles and of some things that Preceded them Though I can do it but very Imperfectly for want of proper Inteligence both from the State of the Army and Matters of fact Therefore I shall leave it to others that are more Knowing to Supply my defects

On the 8th day of December 1776 The Regulars towards Night<sup>27</sup> came to Trenton and were fired upon by Gen<sup>l</sup> Washintons Army that had but Just got all of them over the River Delaware. The firing of Cannon was heard from thence to Princetown Every day more or less untill fryday Evening when the Guns was heard untill it was almost dark This was the 13th day of December, 1776.

<sup>27</sup>"Towards noon" would be more accurate. December 8, 1776 was a Sunday, and the American army took the entire afternoon and night of the seventh and up to daylight on the eighth to cross to the Pennsylvania side of the river. The British and Hessian advance guard reached Trenton early in the morning of the eighth. When the rest of the Hessian battalion arrived about eleven and marched down to the river bank they were welcomed with American grapeshot from the opposite bank. Cf. Stryker, 27, 28.

Here the Regulars Despairing of geting over the River Designed to put an End to the Campaign As appears by their Books that was found among their Bagage that they left in the field, when they fled from the Battle The words in one of their Books is thus viz. Head Quarters at Trenton the 14th of December 1776. G: O: The Campaign being Closed with the Pursuit of the Enemys Army near ninty miles by Leif<sup>t</sup> General Lord Cornwallaces Corps much to the Honour of his Lordship and to the Officers and Soldiers under his Command The *approach* of Winter putting a Stop to any further Progress the troops will Immediately *retire* into Quarters and hold themselves in *readiness* to Assemble on the shortest *notice*.<sup>28</sup> There is another of their books found in the field of battle In which it is thus *Entered* viz. Brigade After orders 9 at night 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1776 The Bagage of the Brigade to be sent of at 7 in the Morning. The gaurd ordered for the Rear Gaurd to Escort the Baggage to Princetown The captain to send in the morning for the Prisoners Confined in the town gaurd and March them with the Baggage.


Head Quarters Trenton 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1776 Here in this book is set down the same words as in the other book that I have before set down with this addition, after the last word notice is aded. The Comander in chief calls on the Commanding officers of corps to Exert themselves in Preserving the greatest

<sup>28</sup>Generals Howe and Cornwallis left Trenton on December 13th, the former to return to his comfortable quarters at New York, the latter to sail for England to tell the king how he had driven the rebels out of New Jersey. The order in the text is quoted by Stryker (48).



**O**

## Original Manuscript Written During 1777



Regularity and Strictest Discipline in their Respective Quarters Particularly attending to the Protection of the Inhabitants and their Property in their Several Districts In what manner these good orders was obeyed appears by the foregoing Relation.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 1776 In the night Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington with a great deal of Difficulty by Reason of the Ice Got over the Delaware River from Pensilvania with a Considerable part of his Army, and the next morning Attackt the Hessian Troops that was at Trenton and gave them a Total Defeat and took between 8 and 9 hundred prissoners with six field peices of Cannon Mortally Wounded their Chief Commander that they had there the number of Slain and wounded I have not heard, there was Some of them that came to Princetown the night after the Battle very much Affrighted having Escaped upe assanpink brook Threw very muddy Swamps and Water.<sup>29</sup>

They had before sent Partys of their men down this side of the River to Crosswecks, Bordentown, Burlington, Blackhorse, and Mount Holly, (As I suppose) to be Quartered out dureing the Winter. How'er the

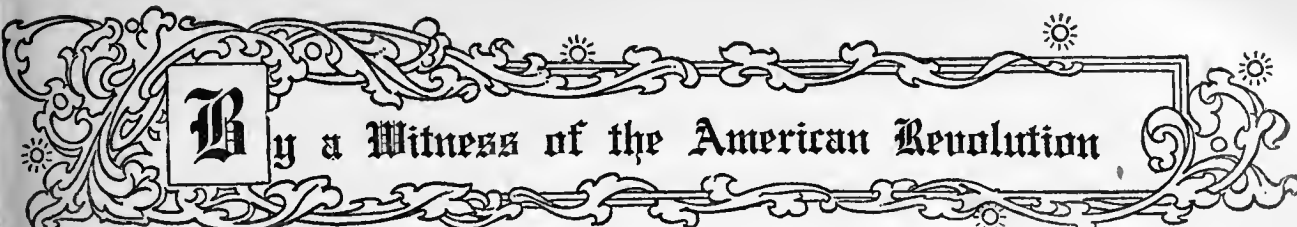
<sup>29</sup>Starting as soon as it was dark on the evening of the 25th, it was after three in the morning of the 26th before Washington got his army over the river. He reached Trenton at about 8 A. M. According to official German returns quoted by Stryker (195) the Hessian losses were 106 (5 officers and 17 men killed, 6 officers and 78 men wounded). Washington reported to Congress that he had taken 918 prisoners, and General Howe sent the same figures to the king. Washington also reported the capture of six brass field-pieces. The Hessian commander, Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall, died at Trenton on the 27th, in the house of Stacy Potts, his own headquarters.

Remaing part of the Army and some part of Pensilvania Millitia found means at Several places to get over the River that then was full of Ice and all those parts was Soon cleared of those devouring Guests but in what manner I can give no Accounts for want of Particular Information.


A few days before the Battle at Princetown a Commisary with nine men for his Gaurd was Provideing Indian Corn for their Horses at a farmers house on the south side of Stoney brook. The Commisary and the Farmer were together in the Barn measureing the Corn When five of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washintons light horse men came up and took the Commisary Prissoner and then went to the Farmers House and took Eight of his Gaurd by Rideing up to the door and Ordering them to ground their arms and come out, which they all did Except one and he Escaped at a back door (It is said) that these Soldiers in Stead of being on gaurd to Defend the Commisary and themselves were employed in a much Pleasanter business, that was, in attacking and Conquering a Parcel of Mince Pyes<sup>30</sup> yet many of them (if not some of these) do frequently say (and Often Swear to it) In their way of Insulting the People That they would hang any Rebel let him be who he would for a mug of sider.

A farmer about five miles from Princetown took two Armed Hessians prissoners with no other Arms then his Pitchfork and Dog In the following manner. They were discovered in his Stable among his horses by his boy who told his master

<sup>30</sup>Footnote in MS.: "This shows That they fared well among the farmers." The story of the capture is given in Stryker (250).



## By a Witness of the American Revolution



and he ran to the Stable before it was light in the morning and got his Pitch fork and commanded them to yield themselves Prisoners which one of them obeyed, and while he was Secureing of him, the other ran away, and the farmer set his dog after him, and he Catcht him by his coat and held him fast until he was Secured, and both of them sent away Prissoners They said that they had fled from the Battle at Trenton.

The Regulars Advanced gaurds were frequently fired uppon about the first of January in the night; which Alarmed them to that degre that they Inceast their Gaurd upon Alentown Road with one hundred men, and lay on their Arms three nights Successively before the Battle, on the first day of January at night they made many fires on the side of the Main Road that Extended from the turning at Clarks corner down to the bridge, or near it and so up on the other side on the rising ground as far as we could see it and how much farther I Know not. The next morning early the Second of the month they left their fires and marched towards Trenton and some where in their way threw Maidenhead came upon a Parcel of Gen! Washintons men who fought them on a Retreat and more men being sent to cover their Retreat until they got to Trenton and had past over the bridge when the Regulars and Hessians appeared and the latter being very Eager to follow the Pursuit as they called it Receiv'd a Smart Rebuke from one of our Generals field Pieces, which kild and wounded Ten or twelve of their men and at the same time Received a Volly of smal arms they only stood

another fire and then Retreated, what number of the Enemy was Kild and Wounded I have not heard, though it is said that many of them was kild by the Retreating Partys geting behind trees and fences and firing upon them as they advanced along the road.<sup>31</sup>

It being near night<sup>32</sup> Gen! Washinton with his Army marht up the Mill pond and the South side of Assanpink brook, and when they came to the woods he ordered many large fires to be made on the sides of the road, and marcht on with his army up the brook to the bridge Rozels mill and past over there and came to Stoney Brook near Isaac Clarks about a mile and half below the bridge on the main road, Where they were hindered some time in making a bridge over the brook for the Army to pas with the Artillery<sup>33</sup> This was done Unexpected to the Regular Army who to Annoy Washintons

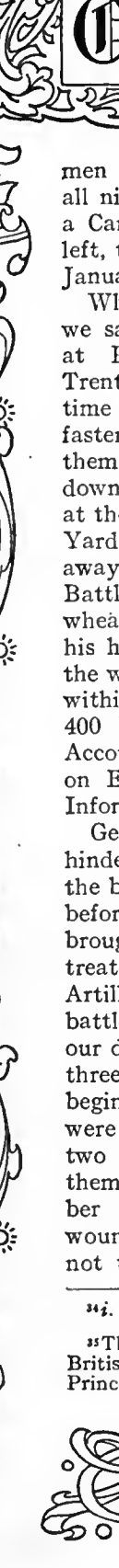
<sup>31</sup>On January 1st Washington had detached Brigadier-General de Fermoy's brigade, Colonel Edward Hand's Pennsylvania Riflemen, Colonel Hausegger's German battalion, Colonel Charles Scott's Virginia Continental Regiment and two guns of Captain Thomas Forrest's battery to dispute the advance of the British on their way to Trenton. The Americans posted themselves at Five Mile Run just outside of Maidenhead (Lawrenceville). So ably did they do their duty that it took the British advance guard from 10 A. M. until 4 P. M. on January 2 to make Trenton. The narrative of the day's skirmishing is told by Stryker (258 *et seq.*). The British official reports make no mention of losses on that day. Lowell's *Hessians* (301) gives the Hessian losses at 4 killed and 11 wounded. Stryker (265) makes the American losses 1 killed and 6 wounded.

<sup>32</sup>Washington started his march at about 1 A. M.

<sup>33</sup>Other accounts make no mention of any delay here to repair the bridge.



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men as they thought now and then all night from over the brook<sup>34</sup> fired a Cannon shot at the fires that was left, this bring us to the third day of January 1777.

When as soon as it was well light we saw the Regulars<sup>35</sup> that was left at Princetown Marching towards Trenton, and in about half a hours time we saw them coming back faster then they went, a Party of them came into our Field, and laid down their Packs there and formed at the corner of our Garden about 60 Yards from the door and then marcht away Immediately to the field of Battle Which was in William Clarks wheat field and Orchard Round about his house and how much further to the westard I Know not It was plain within sight of our door at about 400 Yards distance I can give no Account how the battle was ordered on Either side for want of Proper Information only this.

Gen! Washintons army was so hindered in makeing and passing the bridge that the Battle was begun before their field Pieces could be brought up, where upon they Re-treated and Rallyed again with their Artillery towards the last of the battle seven Regulars was seen from our door to fall at once and in about three quarters of an hour from the begining of the battle the Regulars were put to flight with the loss of two brass field Pieces took from them in the field. The Exact Number of their men that was Slain wounded and took prisoners I Know not there was thirty Six dead men

<sup>34</sup>i. e., Assanpink brook.

<sup>35</sup>The 17th and 55th regiments of the British line. The 40th had been left at Princeton to guard the stores.



the next day buried in a Stone Quarry among whom there was 15 of Gen! Washintons men, the Other 21 were Regulars besides three of them that lay dead in and near the main Road which Gen! Washinton seeing Ordered them to be put in the Wag-gons and carryed to town. And desired the Country People to bury the dead, besides these there was several others found Dead near the field of Battle and buried in other places, Which side they belonged to I do not Know, But it is said that most of them was Regulars Gen! Washintons army took all the Regu-lars in town Prisoners,<sup>36</sup> and discharged their Continental Prisoners that they had Confined in the Colledge to the number of . . .<sup>37</sup> among whom (as it said) was about 30 of our Countrypeople that were Accused Either of being Rebels or aiding and Assisting them They took their Stores in which (it is said) was a very large number of new blankets<sup>38</sup> They took

<sup>36</sup>The anonymous letter quoted by Stryker (470) gives the number who sur-rendered in Nassau Hall as 86; others being brought in increased it to 200. Stryker himself (290) gives the number as 194 "including several wounded dragoons." The rest of the two British regiments (the 55th and 40th) about 200 in all, had fled toward New Brunswick, losing 50 on the way. Colonel Mawhood with the remnant of the 17th escaped to Maiden-head, joining General Leslie there, and later was conducted to New Brunswick by Joseph Stockton, a well-to-do Princeton loyalist. (Ontario Bureau of Archives. 2d Rept. (Toronto, 1905.) I. 111).


<sup>37</sup>Blank in MS.

<sup>38</sup>Washington's official report to Congress says "we took some blankets, shoes and a few other trifling articles." Stryker (298) says the Americans "also secured two brass six pounders, a large amount of ammunition, a quantity of military stores, and some clothing, and camp equipage, loaded in wagons." General Knox makes





## By a Witness of the American Revolution



all the Enemys Cannon in town and was obliged to leave two of them for Want of Carriage to take them of one gun they threw into a well, and then they Marcht on with their Prissoners and plunder to Sommerset Court House that day, and left some of the prissoners, and of their own men to care of the sick and wounded men on both sides

Gen! Washinton as soon as the battle was over Ordered some of his men to be plced near the bridge over Stoney brook on the Main Road to hinder the Regulars passing over and to pull up the bridge which was Scarcely done<sup>39</sup> when the Regulars Apeared Which caused a Second firing about three quarters of an hour appart from the first in which there was no Execution done that I heard of. In a little time our men Retreated, and the Regulars were Oblidged to Cross the brook at the ford with their artillery almost middle deep in water (the back water of the

a similar statement in a letter to his wife (Stryker, 451); an anonymous writer to the *Maryland Journal* under date of January 7, 1777, near Princetown, and presumed to be Dr. Benjamin Rush, says that a quantity of ammunition and several wagons of baggage fell into American hands (Stryker, 467), and the anonymous letter already alluded to elsewhere states that "several Baggage Waggons, and some Ammunition & Stores" were captured at Princetown. These references and others of similar trend would seem to indicate that Washington's official report on the booty was unduly modest—if not inaccurate.

<sup>39</sup>Major John Kelly, of Colonel James Potter's battalion, of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, Militia was in command of this detachment, and his reckless bravery in delaying escape until he had sawed through the last plank of the bridge almost led to his capture by the British reinforcements. (Stryker, 287, 289, and Hageman, I, 141).


mill being then up) and form'd on this side the brook and towards night<sup>40</sup> (when they Knew that the other Army was gone) marcht into Princetown Thus that poor and almost Wholly Desolate town of al its late Inhabitants had change of Masters two if not three times on that day, for they had the Regulars in the Morning The Continentals at noon the regulars again at night who left them to the Continentals that night again and have not yet returned to Assume their Conquest. So Unconstant is the State of War and so Certain and sure the mischiefs and miserys attending it That it is a Wonder that Wise men should ever depend on it

In the beginning of the forementioned Battle a Womans leg was shot of at her ancle by a Cannon ball she was in one of the houses near the bridge on the main road in the hollow on this side Stoney brook it was thought to be done by one of Gen! Washintons field Pieces. The battle was Plainly Seen from our door Before any Gun was heard a man was seen to tall and Immediately the Report and Smoke of a Gun was Seen and heard, And the guns went of so quick and many together that they could not be numbered, we Presently went down into the Cellar to keep out of the Way of the Shot. There was a Neighbour woman down in the Cellar with us that was so Affrighted that she Imagined that the held was covered with Blood, and When we came out of the Cellar She called Earnestly to us to look out and see how all the field was quit red with blood. When none was to

<sup>40</sup>More correctly "towards noon." Stryker, 291, 470, and Hageman, I, 138.




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be seen at that Distance. This I mention only to show into What Strange mistakes Sudden frights with the fear of Death may put us into. Almost as soon as the firing was over our house was filled and surrounded with Gen! Washington's Men, and himself on horseback at the door. They brought in with them on their Shoulders two Wounded Regulars, one of them was shot in at his hip and the bullet lodged in his groin, and the other was shot through his body Just below his short ribs he was in very great pain and bled much out of both sides, and often desired to be removed from one place to another, which was done Accordingly and he dyed about three o'clock in the afternoon They was both Used very tenderly by the Rebels (as they call them) The other also bled much and they put a Cloth dipt in vinegar to the wound to Stop it and three of them Stay'd with the wounded men near an hour after the Others were gone, the man that lived was left at our house above two days and one night With his Wound not drest, before the Regulars that was left to take care of the sick and wounded would take him away, though they had notice that day after the battle.

Gen! Washington as he came from the field of Battle saw their packs lying in y<sup>e</sup> field Where they had left them, and set a guard over them with orders that no body should meddle with them until further Orders the guard stood by them until the Regulars that came from Trenton had formed and then left them Where they lay until near Sun set and then When all the men that left them there were Either slain Wounded taken Prisoners or fled from the




battle the Other Regulars and Hessians from Trenton Begun to Plunder their fellow Soldiers Packs taking out what they Pleased and leaving the rest in the dirt, the next day the Plunderers Increase and continued from day to day until all was gone but What they refused to take some old Blankets they gave to the Wounded Man. It is Observable that in Plundering they Keep no Order, for one Plunderer will Rob another as Appears by an instance before our door Some of the Men that left their Packs to Secure them the better threw them over the Garden boarded fence into it, and a Hessian seeing the Packs lying in the garden went in and threw them over the fence into the field Opened one of them and took out some things that a Regular had a mind too, and the other Refused to give him and then the Regular laid hold on him and took them from him by force and Kickt his breech when he had done, one or two more Scuffles of the like Nature we saw but at a far greater distance

As soon as the battle was over Gen! Mercer (who had his horse shot down under him, and then received several wounds by which in some days after he dyed) was carryed into Thomas Clarks house with several other wounded men, And above Twenty was carried into William Clarks house two of them dyed soon after they was brought in Sixty was carryed to Princetown but how many of them were regulars I know not. By an Account that a Neighbour Gentleman sent to me there was thirty one Regulars found dead In about the field of battle and nineteen Provincials, and one hundred and



## By a Witness of the American Revolution




Seventy five taken Prisoners of the Regulars and Hessians. This account of the Prisoners is confirm'd by what a Captain of the Militia told me who was in the Battle and marcht with Gen! Washington to Morris-town with the Addition that they were all Privates Besides Officers and how many of them he did not know.

Immediately after the Battle (as I said before) Gen! Washingtons Men came into our house Though they were *both* hungry and thirsty some of them laughing out right, others smileing, and not a man among them but showed Joy in his Countenance. It Really Animated my old blood with Love to those men that but a few minutes before had been Courageously looking Death in the face in Relieveing a part of their Country from the Barbarous Insults and Ravages of a bold and Daring Enemy. By the Joy that I felt myself I cannot help but be of the Opinion that the most Strict of them all against bearing Arms in our own defence (if they have any love for their bleeding Country) but must in some degree or other Rejoice with the rest of their Neighbours and others for that days happy Relief that it Pleased God to bless us with

Since my Writing so far, I saw a Gentleman Farmer one of our Neighbours Who Informs me that on the ninth day of last December (the next day after the regulars had got to Trenton) he was taken Prisoner in his own house by a Party of them and conveyed to Trenton and kept there, for some time and then marcht him with other Prisoners through Princetown to Brunswick and so on from Place to Place till they got him into New York, he says that they


was Cruelly used at one Place for they Crouded so many Prisoners into one Room that they could not lye down, And it being very cold that night They was some of them striking fire Which the Officers hearing, forced in with clubs and Knockt three or four of them down, They allowed one Parcel of their Prisoners but four pound and a half of bread, and a pound of Pork for Six men a Week, another company of them that they said were Prisoners of war fared a little better but not much, but he himself fared well Enough for he happened to have some hard money and Suplyed himself he was a Prisoner with them a little above three months and made his Escape with two others of Staten Island, They Plundered him Sufficiently at home, for besides plundering his house they took from him a wagon four horses, and the most part of his geers, with Several of his Cattle.

There was one Drake that the next day after the Battle saw four regulars standing together in a field between two and three mile from Princetown and went Boldly up to them (with a Stick under his great Coat which showed as if it was a *gun*) and ordered them to yield themselves his Prisoners which they did, and did *not* try for to Resist two of them had *Guns* but the other two being *fugitives* the day before had none, He haveing the four secured by y<sup>e</sup> Neighbours *went out* again with his stick as he did before and found another regular and took him *in* the like manner It is said that Several more of their fugitives were taken Prisoners by the Country People in Sommerset County and other places where they Stragled about in Search for their Army and got lost.





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There was a farmer that dwelt about . . . 41 miles from Princetown that was said to be a Tory, and had a brother that was a Schoolmaster in the Neighbourhood last Spring and left his School and got the Regular army where he said he was made an Officer and appeared as Such while he was here dureing their twenty six days tyranny, (and is Since taken prissoner by our People near Brunswick) and in that time it is thought he Prevailed with his brother the farmer to Join with the Regulars which he did, and not being at home, Some over Zealous Whigs abused his wife and Plundered his house to a great degree The particulars I have not heard Though I have many times been Informed of it in General (as I here set it down.) This woman is said to be a Strong Whig, but let that be as it may, her Father was one and suffered very Severely by being Plundered by the Regulars to that degree that he had not bed cloaths enough to keep him warm the night after he was rob'd and so got cold, fell sick and dyed.

If it is a Provocation and grief to us to be Plundered by the Regulars our Profesed enemys. Then how much more must it be so to the Sufferers that are Plundered by their Pretended Friends. These blind Zealots (a zeal without Knowledge) that Plundered the Woman did not consider that they were committing that very crime of Oppression That the other Whigs have drawn their Swords against, and by that have Transformed themselves into Torys and did not know it. For the word Tory as it now is Understood among us Signifys Oppression or at least an accessory to oppression: and when

<sup>a</sup>Blank in MS.

any person is Oppresst the accessory in aiding or assisting is as guilty as he that does it, and therefore these Plunderers may properly be called Torys. What a Mallancholly sight it is to see our own People guilty of the crime that we are Opposing with the hazard of some of our lives.


No mans property ought to be taken from him without a Law first made and then a hearing, or at least an Oppertunity of being heard to know Whether he is guilty of a breach of that law or not, and if he is found guilty, and all or part of his goods are forfeited, they are to *be taken* by the proper Officer, and not by Private men, for they do not *belong* to them but to *the Public*. Therefore these whigs that Plundered *the Woman* (whoever they be) if the farmer deserves to be punished They have been Plundering the Publick, for if the goods that they Plundered was forfeited, they belonged to the People in General, and not to private Individuals.

The Character of British Soldiers formerly was their Keeping of faith with and showing mercy to *their* conquered Enemys was Equal to their Valour, This brave Character hath very much Deceived some of the Torys as well as many others for they Imagined That if we should be conquered, that faith would be kept with them and mercy shown to them by the Conquerers. But when that unhappy time came Alas they found directly to the Contrary, for to their Sorrow they found the sayings in the Scripture true where it says, The mercys of the wicked are Cruelty.<sup>42</sup> This Puts me upon Enquireing What is become of these Noble Virtues Faith and Mercy for they are not to be found in the British nor Hessian Army here, Have they fled from, or

<sup>a</sup>Prov. xii. 10.



# By a Witness of the American Revolution



are they Stifled under that vast Pile of Bribery and Corruption under which the Inhabitants of Great Britain now Groans. It is Certain that as soon as these Vices got into the Army they left it, for they never had nor never will have the least connexion with Treachery Cruelty or Oppression Then where must they be gone, have they left the world. I Answer no they have not for I saw them Exercised in their full Lustre by the Continental Army in the day of the Battle near Princetown, When they brought into the House where I then was Immediately after the Battle two wounded men of their Enimys on their shoulders and their Cloaths much besmeared with their blood. While their fellow Soldiers was doing the like with their wounded Enimys and caryed them in large numbers into Other houses that was near; not regarding the Spoiling of their cloaths Which they had rather bear then to leave their wounded Enimys that could not Stand by wallowing in their blood in the field

How very different is this from that barbarous Cruel Usage of the Regular Army when in the same Battle. Gen! Mercer having his horse shot down under him<sup>43</sup> they

<sup>43</sup>Footnote in MS.: "and they gathered thick round him while he defended himself with his Sword, he received a blow behind him with the but end of a gun which Stunded him and as he lay on the ground Stunded," The sentence originally read: "Gen! Mercer having received several very bad wounds and his horse shot down under him he intreated his Enimys to give him Quarter which instead of grant, ing, They insulted him," etc., as in text. But on learning that Mercer did not ask for quarter, but fought on until so sorely wounded that he was left for dead, the honest author struck out his mistaken words and added the footnote given above. Hugh Mercer was born in Scotland in 1720. He died in the Thomas Clark house on the Princeton battlefield January

Insulted him and repeatedly wounded him so that in a few days after he dyed. In the like manner they served Lieutenant Yeates (a very worthy Young Gentleman as it is said by them that knew him)<sup>44</sup> who when he was so wounded that he could not stand beged for Quarter but the Barbarous Wretches would not allow it, But gave him new Wounds and one of them continued Insulting of him, and coming to him to see Whether he was dead or not, was shot down dead himself as it is said and fell very near the wounded young Officer who languished with his wounds some days and dyed but first told how Cruelly he had been used by the Regular Soldiers and took his oath of it. How many more wounded men have been denyed quarter and murdered is not known.

Though these Regulars boasts that they are the best Soldiers in the World, Yet Experience hath Sufficiently Proved them to be no more then the Instuments of Cruelty and Oppression and are Strangly Degenerated from what their Predecessors

12, 1777, and was buried in Philadelphia at Christ Church, January 16. In 1840 his remains were removed to Laural Hill cemetery, Philadelphia. Sketches of him appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Stryker, 296, 459. Cf. also W. B. Reed's *Oration on . . . Hugh Mercer*, Philadelphia, 1840, and Dr. Benjamin Rush's letters in Lee's *Memoir of R. H. Lee*, II, 163-165. His portrait is published in Hageman I, and also appears in the group in C. W. Peale's portrait of Washington owned by Princeton University.

<sup>44</sup>A brief sketch of Bartholomew Yeates is in Stryker, 455. Dr. Benjamin Rush, in Lee's *Memoir of R. H. Lee*, II, 165, writing January 14, 1777, informs Colonel Lee of Lieutenant Yeates' death on the 10th, and describes the brutal treatment he had received after begging for quarter. The lieutenant's affidavit made the day before he died is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, Vol. 53, p. 47; a copy was sent by Washington



Original Manuscript Written During 1777

were thirty Years agoe for they Crost the Atlantick Ocean & came here to do one of the oddest messuages that ever was heard of. That was Either to put us to the sword, or make us submit to a Thraldom, much worse then we impose upon our Labouring Beasts for without the labour and care of Men those Beasts could have no Existence here For though we use the Strength of the Horses and oxen in bearing and drawing of Burthens and also in tiling our lands for our own food, Yet they can do us no service without our guiding and attending them while they labour. And they in return for their labour Receive of us their Provender which we labour for as much if not more then they in Providing Stables and feeding of them with which they are contented food being all that a beast desires

Thus it hath Pleased God in his Infinite Wisdom to put as it were

to General Howe on January 13, 1777 (Hist. MSS. Com. Report on Amer. MSS. in the R. I. of Great Britain, 82) and it also forms part of the "proofs and illustrations" of the Congressional Committee's report on British and Hessian atrocities. (N. J. Archives, 2 ser., I, 363.) The affidavit is as follows:

PRINCETON, Jany 9, 1777.

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Yates of Col<sup>o</sup> Reads Regim<sup>t</sup> of Virginia forces, being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, declares "That after he was wounded in the battle of 3<sup>d</sup> Jany 1777 near Princeton, a British Soldier came up to him, & said to him 'Oh damn you are you there' and Snap'd his Muskett at him: Upon which M<sup>r</sup> Yates begged for quarters: The Soldier loaded his Muskett deliberately, & Shot him thro' the breast, & afterwards Stab'd him in 13 places with his Bayonett. Sometime after this, either the Same or another Soldier came up to him, who, perceiving some Signs of Life in him, Struck him with the Club of his Muskett."

Attested by BENJ<sup>n</sup> RUSH. ANTH<sup>y</sup> W. WHITE.

A true Copy of the Original in the hands of his Excell<sup>y</sup>, G. JOHNSTON A. D. C.


Reciprocal dutys between men and their Labouring Beasts, But hath not Put any such dutys between The Regular Army and us, For are they to help and guide us in our labour, No, are they to Provide us food and feed us, No. Have they given us content as we do to our beasts of labour, very far on the Contrary. Did they Ever do us any Maner of good No. Then how can we be under any dutys or Obligations to them, or Even to them that sent them.

Great Britain Refused to hear our humle Supplications unless we would first give up our cause and Acknowledge that they had an Absolute Power over us. Their Parliment to Represent us though they know but little if anything of our Circumstances and therefore we Refuse to chuse them, For Which they (without hearing) have declared us to be in Rebellion and Denounced War against us and sent an Army *over the ocean* against us, and for fear that we should be to Strong *they have* at a *great expence* (which no doubt but they Expect that we shal *pay*) hired another army of Forreigners and attackt us with both Armys at once in order to Reduce us the sooner into the most abject Slavery that they Please to Impose upon us. This is the Recompence that poor New Jersey Receives from Great Britain for all the Services that our Ancestors and we have done for them. If it is askt what them *Services* be I shal give a brief Account as folows,

New Jersey was first settled *in* the Year 1664 under a 'Proprietary Government, being then a Wilderness overrun with Wolves Panthers Bears and other beasts of Prey besides Plenty of Venomous Serpents though the first Inhabitants sustained great damage by the beasts of Prey



# By a Witness of the American Revolution



Destroying their Young Cattle, colts, sheep, and swine, and some times in Danger of their lives by the Poisonous biteings of the Rattle snakes Yet their greatest Danger was from Treacherous Indians That not Many years before had made war with the duch Settlers in the very next Collony of New York, and they often Assembled in great Numbers so that the Inhabitants to Secure themselves built smal wooden fortifications.<sup>45</sup>

Surrounded with all those Difficultys and Terrifying Dangers acompanied with many other hardships Our Couragious Ancestors went on in Clearing and subduing the Wilderness And buying their Land both of the Proprietors and of the natives. Supporting themselves by farming hunting and fishing these first settlers with the Other settlers that came From old England Scotland and north Ireland continued buying Lands Until they extended the Boundaries and confines of the Collony of New Jersey without an . . . [half line] . . . this noble Extension of Dominion (which cost so many of the lives of the first adventurers) was not made by conquest

<sup>45</sup>The Royal Charter executed in favor of the Duke of York was dated March 20, 1664. Proprietary government began three months later when on June 24, 1664, he conveyed to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all that part of his territory which is now New Jersey. Seventeenth century descriptions of the country, such as William Edmundson's *Journal*, Mahlon Stacy's letters in Barber & Howe, the *Brief Account of the Province of East New Jersey*, Gabriel Thomas' *Historical Description of the Province of West New Jersey* and George Scot's *Model of the Government of the Province of East Jersey*, do not give the impression that the country was overrun with wild beasts. The Indians too are almost uniformly mentioned in the early records as a benefit rather than an injury, and through their humane treatment by the proprietors, New Jersey was actually preserved from the collisions with the

but by an Honest Purchas from the *Natives and proprietors and not with the Blood of the Conquered People. How is it England maintains title to our Lands must be given to her (and not kept by us) for our Title was Neither gained by invasion nor held by oppression and nothing Appears to the Contrary, but is held according to the liberty that God gave to Men When the mos . . . [half line] .*

*. . . as for instance, When he Separated the sons . . . [half line] . . . title cannot be shown to Lands in Old England Scotland & Ireland Besides this Extension of dominion the population is increast in Proportion.<sup>46</sup> New Jersey as early as in King Williams reign was Requested to Assist Old England in their wars against France which we complied with to the Utmost of our Ability, And in Queen Anne's Reign New Jersey was called upon to help Great Britain in their war against France Several times Which was very readily and Willingly complied with And in their last wars with France New Jersey was for Several Years Runing Requested by the Crown to Assist Which we did Yearly Willinly and Readily durezza the war, for Which we are yet in debt (as I said once before) Great Britain in their wars against the the Spaniards Requested New Jersey to assist them in the West Indies in an Expedition aganst Carthargene which we willingly complied with, Where we lost*

Indians which other colonies suffered. (Cf. Whitehead, 57, 58; Gordon, 63.) The quarrel with the Dutch of New Amsterdam to which allusion is made was due entirely to the misconduct of the colonists themselves. (Whitehead, 28-31.)

<sup>46</sup>In 1702 the Province was supposed to contain 20,000 inhabitants. In 1726 the official census showed a population of 29,861 whites and 2581 negroes; in 1738, 43,388 whites and 3981 "negroes & other slaves"; in 1745, 56,777 whites and 4606



# Original Manuscript Written During 1777

many Brave Men and Great Britain again in their war with both France and Spain together Requested the Assistance of New Jersey against them both, Which was as it always had been very Readily and Willingly Comply with though part of it was in the West Indies Where our Men Assisted in taking Havana.<sup>47</sup>

"slaves"; in 1755, 75,000 whites, the negroes not being given; in 1772, 67,710 whites and 3313 negroes, with no returns from the five counties of Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, Monmouth and Somerset. (Barber & Howe, 29, N. J. Archives, 1 ser., V. 164; VI, 242; VIII, 132; X, 452.)

"In 1709 New Jersey entered reluctantly into the plan of the Crown for an expedition against Canada and Newfoundland; but of the separate little army of 1500 men to attack Montreal to be furnished jointly by New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey the latter state supplied her quota of 200 men, and in June of that year the Assembly passed a bill encouraging volunteers, another raising £3000 by bills of credit and a third enforcing this paper's currency. In 1711 when the colonies were again asked to co-operate New Jersey provided her quota of 365 men and the Assembly raised £5000 for the expenses and pay of the volunteers. In 1740 when a British fleet had been dispatched against the Spanish West Indies aid was asked of the colonies the New Jersey Assembly levied £2000 for victualing and transporting the state quota of troops. In June, 1745, £2000 was raised for the assistance of Shirley's Louisburg expedition and a year later when it became known that the conquest of Canada was to be attempted the New Jersey Assembly raised £10,000 for the equipment of 500 men and offered a £6 bounty. So popular was this enterprise that 660 men enlisted; 5 companies being charged to this state and one being transferred to New York's quota. In November, 1746, £850 more was raised for victualling the troops and in May, 1747, an additional £1000. The state had already spent over £20,000 on equipment and transportation. In March, 1755, £500 was voted for the use of the royal army on its march through the province and its baggage was furthermore transported at public expense. In April, 1755, the expedition to Crown Point being decided on New Jersey raised 500 men and

The Present Rulers of Great Britain like Men Intoxicated with Power not Regarding Either Friendship or Services have denyed about three- . . . [half line] . . . *but have treated us as malefactors that is to be punished*

. . . [half line] . . . this that August Tribunal Whose Sentences should act as laws to the world, and often did as far as *its former history is concerned*, Would it be to offer as a Law to the rest of the world and mankind, that men should be denyed a hearing and a trial and should be condemned to death or to punishment unheard? Surely not. Surely future Ages will not be . . . [half line] . . . Records do not show it there . . . time of Ship Mony was Ordered . . . [half line] . . . to be paid . . . [half line] . . . ve of it might appear, and this only . . . [half line] . . . surely it must be absolutely Necessary that the giving the rights of Comon Malefactors to millions of men whose lives and propertys are both Concered should be conceded and they be given a hearing. If Great Britains Rolers could be persuaded to grant this the American States no Doubt would yield what is known to

issued bills of credit to the amount of £15,000 for their maintenance. In the following August £15,000 in addition was raised; and for the campaign of 1756 £17,500. In October, 1757, the Assembly voted £30,000 for His Majesty's service and sent 1000 men to the front besides holding 3000 more in readiness for a call. The following spring, April, 1758, 1000 men were provided and £50,000 voted for their maintenance. The complement of 1000 men was kept up for the next two years with appropriations of £50,000 and £45,000 respectively. In 1761 and 1764 the quota was 600 men and the appropriation £25,000 each year, in 1764, 666 men and £30,000, and it was in the latter year that Havana was captured. These figures show that the cost to the state during the half-century of colonial warfare amounted to over £300,000, or an average annual





# By a Witness of the American Revolution

the World to be the Cause of the present struggle which the British have called Rebellion

It will brand that Tribunal with Infamy when it is stated that them bloody Messengers that they sent to Enslave us, should be as Impiously guilty as they was here In Changing three Houses of Prayer into three dens of thieves That was the Colledge and the Presbyterians and Quakers Meeting Houses<sup>48</sup> From all these

cost of £6000. No account is here taken of moneys or troops raised for state frontier defense. The acts are best found in Allinson's *Acts of New Jersey*. Chapters 8 and 9 of Gordon should also be consulted, with the 1st series of N. J. Archives, Vols. 1-10.

<sup>48</sup>In his warmth the author loses sight of the fact that the first two of these edifices had suffered probably as much damage from the American soldiery as from the British and Hessian. The church had been used by both armies. Its pews had been burned as kindling wood, and a fireplace had been built in it with a chimney running up through the roof. In the Middlesex County "Damages" (p. 328) is the appraisers' sworn statement of the damages done by the enemy alone:

Inventory of Damages done to the Meeting House in Princeton Middlesex County by the British troops & their Adherents in The Year 76 & 77 £160-4-2.

John McCombs being sworn saith he was requested in Conjunction with Thomas Stockton & Enos Kelsey to Vallu the Damages done to the meeting House In Prinston at S<sup>d</sup> the on vewing & making A Calculation of the S<sup>d</sup> Damages do Adjudgd it to £160. 4. 2.

Sworn the 22<sup>th</sup> Day of Oct<sup>r</sup> 1782 before me Robert Stockton.

JOHN MCCOMBS.

Nassau Hall, too, had sheltered American as well as British troops. The minutes of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey for September, 1776, record the fact that Dr. Witherspoon was to move in Congress "that troops shall not hereafter be quartered in the College." And three months to a day after our unknown author penned his last paragraph, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Elihu Spencer and Richard Stockton, Esquire, a committee from the Board of Trustees of the College, presented a petition

Places as well as many others they made their Incursions upon the Inhabitants both here and elsewhere and committed all the Roberys and Villanys before Mentioned

The People in & about Princetown besides their Suffering the Calamitys of war had a greivous Sicknes Among them, Which begun about the middle of August 1776, with the bloody flux, and other Mortal Distempers that carryed of many People until late in the fall when the bloody flux was not so frequent the Pleurisy and Other fevers followed (and as far as I can hear) is not Yet abaited April 18 1777 but continues and carrys many people of. Besides the Smal Pox hath got into the Neighbourhood the natural way and proved very mortal both to the Inhabitants and Soldiers there was fourteen of the soldiers that catcht it and was put out at one house and Seven of them dyed Just one half, There was Several familys and many Soldiers Innoculated and I hear of only one Child among them all that dyed.


to Congress praying that no Continental troops be allowed hereafter to enter the College or to use it as barracks. The petition recites that every party of provincials marching through Princetown takes possession of the building, and partly through wantonness and partly under pretence of not being supplied with firewood "are daily committing the greatest ravages upon the Building, in breaking up the floors, and burning every piece of wood they can cut out of it." (MS. Papers Cont. Cong., 41, Vol. 7, p. 6.) And elsewhere it was the same story, as examination of Continental Army Order Books can prove. Compare e. g., the following passage dated Pompton, July 25, 1777, in an unpublished Order Book in the Library of Princeton University: "how disagreeable to the Army is it that peaceable Inhabitants of our Country Men and Fellow Citizens dread our halting among them, even for one night, and are glad when they get rid of us, this can only proceed from their distress at the plundering and wasting distruction of their property."



# Journey to the Northern Regions Before the American Republic

The Original Journal of  
"an Ingenious Young Gentleman who  
Travelled into these Drearly Countries" in 1772 &  
His Experiences with the North American Indians and His  
Life among the Esquimaux as Recorded in an Old Geography  
in 1793, a Few Rare Copies of which are Extant & Original Transcription

BY  
ELIZABETH W. CHANDLER  
NEW GLOUCESTER, MAINE



**T**HIS original document was recently found in the journal of a traveller in the northern regions of America in 1772, and recorded in an old volume printed in 1793, known as the "American Universal Geography," which was edited by Jedidiah Morse, A. M., an old-time scholar. It is an interesting exhibit of the condition of the country at that time and the general knowledge regarding the northern lands, and is here transcribed exactly as written in the beginning of the American nation.

"The American Indians who inhabit Esquimaux, Labrador, and the countries around, are much less known than other classes. Those who profess to be best acquainted with them say they differ in size and shape from the other American Indians, and resemble the Laplanders and Samoeids, of Europe, from whom, it is conjectured, they are descended."

In the year 1771 and 1772, Mr. Hearne, an ingenious young gentleman, travelled many miles into these dreary countries (for such he found them), and in his journal draws a


plain, artless picture of the savage modes of life, the scanty means of subsistence, and the singular wretchedness, in almost every respect, of the various tribes, who, without fixed habitations, pass their lives in roving over the dreary deserts and frozen lakes of the extensive tract of continent through which he passed.

Mr. Hearne set out on his tour from Prince of Wales Fort on Churchill River, N. Lat. 58°, 47'. W. Long. 97°, 7', and travelled nearly 1300 miles in a northwesterly direction. His whole track, to the northward of 61° N. Lat., lay nearly 600 miles due west from that western coast of Hudson's Bay. His Indian guides assured him that there were vast tracts of land stretching further in the same direction. Hence, it appears that a passage into the Pacific Ocean, round the northwest part of America, is clearly impracticable.

The following extracts from his journal will give the reader a better and more just idea of these Indians than any accounts of them which the author can furnish from any other source.



# Journey to the Northwest Region in 1772



"We arrived at the Copper-mine river on the 13th of July, and as I found afterwards, about forty miles from its exit into the sea. On our arrival at the river, the Indians dispatched three men before, as spies, to see if any Esquimaux Indians were about the river: and on the 15th of the same month, as I was continuing my survey towards the mouth of the river, I met the spies who informed me there were 5 tents of Esquimaux on the west side of the river, and by their accounts of the distance, I judged them to be twelve miles off.

"On receiving this news, no more attention was paid to my survey but their whole thought was engaged on planning the best method of stealing on them the ensuing night, and killing them while asleep. The better to complete their design it was necessary to cross the river, and, by the account of the spies, no place was so proper for that purpose as where we were, it being fine and smooth and at some distance from any cataract. Accordingly, after they had put their guns, targets and spears in order, we were ferried over the river, the doing of which (as we had only three canoes) took up a considerable time. It must be observed that before we set out on the west side, all the men painted their targets, some with the image of the sun, others with the moon, others with different kinds of birds and beasts of prey, and some had the images of fairies, and other imaginary beings on them, which, according to their silly imaginations, are inhabitants of the different elements, as the earth, sea and air. By a strict enquiry into the reason of this superstition I found that each man had the image of that being painted on his target, which he relied most on for success in the intended battle with the Esquimaux: and some were contented with

a single representation whilst others, doubtful I suppose of the power of any single being, would have their targets covered to the very margin with hieroglyphics, quite unintelligible.


"This piece of superstition being completed, we began to advance towards the tents of the Esquimaux, always walking in low grounds, and being very careful how we crossed any hills, for fear of being seen by the inhabitants. The number of my gang being so superior to the five tents of the Esquimaux, and the warlike manner in which they were equipped, in proportion to what might be expected of the poor Esquimaux, rendered a total massacre inevitable, unless kind providence should work a miracle for their preservation; the land was so situated that we walked under cover of the hills till we came within 200 yards of their tents, where the Indians that were with me lay some time in ambush, watching the motions of the Esquimaux (for we were in full sight of their tents). The Indians advised me to stay here until the fight was over, with which I would by no means comply, for I thought when the Esquimaux were surprised, they would fly every way for refuge, and if they found me alone, not knowing me from an enemy, they would lay violent hands on me when there were none to assist. I therefore determined to accompany them assuring them at the same time that I would have no hand in the murder unless I found it necessary for my own safety. They seemed highly pleased with my proposal, and directly fixed a spear and bayonet for me, but I had no target.

"By the time this was all settled, it was near one o'clock in the morning, when, finding all the Esquimaux asleep in their tents, they ran on them without being discovered, until they came close to their very doors.



**E**

## xperiences Among the American Indians



They then began the cruel massacre, while I stood neuter in the rear, and in a few seconds a scene truly shocking presented itself to my view, for as the poor unhappy victims were surprised in the midst of their sleep they had neither power nor time to make any resistance, but men, women, and children ran out of their tents quite naked.

"But alas, where could they fly for shelter. They, every soul, fell a sacrifice to Indian barbarity, in all, nearly thirty. The shrieks and groans of the expiring souls were truly horrible, and this was much increased by the sight of one poor girl (about eighteen years old) whom they killed so near to me that when the first spear was struck into her, she fell down and twisted about my feet and legs, and it was with much difficulty I disengaged myself from her dying grasps. As the Indians pursued her I solicited for her life, but so far was it from being granted, that I was not fully assured of my own being in entire safety for offering to speak in her behalf.

"When I begged her life, the two fellows that followed her made no reply till they had both their spears through her fixed in the ground: they then both looked me sternly in the face, and began to upbraid me by asking if I wanted an Esquimaux wife; at the same time paying no attention to the loud shrieks of the poor girl, who was twining round the spears like an eel. Indeed I was obliged at last to desire that they would be more expeditious in dispatching her out of her misery, lest otherwise I should out of pity be obliged to assist in performing that friendly office.


"The brutish manner in which they used the bodies which they had deprived of life, is too shocking, and would be too indecent to describe,


and the terror of mind I was in from such a situation is so much easier to be conceived than described, that I shall not attempt it.

"When they had completed this most inhuman murder, we observed seven more tents on the opposite side of the river. The Indians of these tents were soon in great confusion, but did not offer to make their escape. The Indians fired many shots at them across the river, but the poor Esquimaux were so unacquainted with the nature of guns, that when the bullets struck the rocks they ran in great bodies to see what was sent them, and seemed curious in examining the pieces of lead which they found flatted on the rocks, till at last one man was shot through the leg, after which they embarked in their canoes, with their wives and children and paddled to a shoal in the river.


"When my Indians had made all their observations on the bodies as above mentioned, and had plundered their tents of all their copper-work (which they and the Copper Indians used instead of iron) they assembled at the top of a high hill, standing in a circle with their spears erect in the air, and gave shouts of victory, calling "Tima!" "Tima!" by way of derision to the surviving Esquimaux who were standing on the shoal.

"We then went up the river about half a mile, to the place where our canoes and baggage were, with an intent to cross over and plunder the other seven tents. It taking up a considerable time to get all across the river, as we had only three canoes, and being entirely under cover of the rocks, the poor Esquimaux whom we had left on the shoal thought we had gone about our own business, and had returned to their own tents again. And the land was so situated on the east side that the Indians went





# Journey to the Northwest Region in 1772



under cover of the hills, until they were within a hundred yards of their tents, when they saw the Esquimaux busy in tying up their bundles. They ran on them again with great fury, but having their canoes ready, they all embarked, and reached the shoals before mentioned, except one poor old man, who, being too attentive in tying up his things, had not time to reach his canoe, and so fell a sacrifice to the Indian fury.

"After the Indians had plundered these tents of what they thought worth their notice, they threw their tent poles into the river, broke their stone kettles, and did all they could to distress the poor survivors. We found an aged woman at a small distance up the river, snaring of salmon, whom they butchered in the same manner, every man having a thrust at her with his spear."

The other extract is as follows:

"This day, January 11th, 1772, as the Indians were hunting, some of them saw a strange snow-shoe track which they followed and at a considerable distance came to a little hut, where they found a young woman sitting alone. They brought her to the tents, and on examining her found that she was one of the western dog-ribbed Indians, and had been taken prisoner by the Arathapescow Indians in the summer of 1770, and when the Indians who took her prisoner, were near this, in 1771, she eloped from them with an intent to return to her own country. But it being so far off, and when she was taken prisoner having come all the way in canoes, with the winding of rivers and lakes she had forgot the way, and had been in this little hut ever since the beginning of fall. By her account of the moons past since her elopement, it appears to have been the middle of last July, when she left


the Arathapescow Indians, and she had not seen a human face since. She had supported herself by snaring rabbits, partridges and squirrels, and was now in good health, and, I think as fine a woman of a real Indian as I have seen in any part of North America. She had nothing to make snares of but the sinews of rabbits legs and feet, which she twisted together for that purpose, and of the rabbits skins had made a neat and warm winter's clothing. The stock of materials she took with her when she eloped, consisted of about five inches of an iron hoop for a knife, a stone steel, and other hard stones for flints, together with other fire tackle, as tinder, about an inch and a half of the shank of the shoeing of an arrow of iron of which she made an awl. She had not been long at the tents, before half a score of men wrestled to see who should have her for a wife.

"She says, that when the Arathapescow Indians took her prisoner they stole upon the tents in the night when all the inhabitants were asleep, and murdered every soul except herself and three other young women. Her father, mother, and husband were in the same tent with her, and they were all killed. Her child, of about five months old, she took with her, wrapt in a bundle of her own clothing, undiscovered in the night. But when she arrived at the place where the Arathapescow Indians had left their wives, which was not far off, it then being daybreak these Indian women immediately began to examine her bundle, and having there found the child took it from her and killed it immediately.

"The relation of this shocking scene only served the savages of my gang for laughter. Her country is so far to the westward, that she says



# Experiences Among the American Indians




she never saw any iron or other metal till she was taken prisoner; those of her tribe making their hatchets and chisels of deer's horns, and knives of stone and bone; their arrows are shod with a kind of slate, bone and deer's horn, and their instruments to make their woodwork are nothing but beavers teeth. They have frequently heard of the useful materials that the nations to the east of them are supplied with from the English, but instead of drawing nearer to be in the way of trading for iron work, are obliged to move farther back to avoid the Arathapescow Indians, as they make surprising slaughters upon them every year, summer and winter both."

The ancient geography then remarks that the Esquimaux, according to a Mr. Pennant, are distinguished from the tribes south of them chiefly by their dress, their canoes, and their instruments of chase. He divides them into two varieties. About Prince William's Sound they are of the largest size. As you advance northward they decrease in height, till they dwindle into the dwarfish tribes which occupy some of the coast of the icy sea, and the maritime parts of Hudson's Bay, of Greenland and Labrador. Their dwarfishness is doubtless occasioned by the scantiness of their provisions, and the severity of their climate.

Beyond the 67th deg. N. Lat. according to Captain Ellis's account, it says there are no inhabitants. The Arctic countries in Asia, America and Greenland, if inhabited at all, have very few inhabitants; and those are of the dwarfish kind, scattered on the banks of rivers, lakes and seas, and subsist miserably upon fish, and the flesh of those animals which inhabit those frozen regions, with the skins of which they clothe themselves.

The old geography makes this interesting remark:



"Mr. Crantz gave it as his opinion that the Esquimaux came originally from the northeast regions of Great Tartary, between the icy sea and Mungalia; because he observes a greater affinity between them and the Kalmucks, Tunguses and Kamikadales, who inhabit those regions than between them and the Laplanders, Samoied and Ostiaks, who inhabit the northwest parts of Europe, whence, it has generally been conjectured, the Esquimaux migrated. It is his opinion also that Greenland was settled in the fourteenth century from the northeastern parts of America, for till that period, Greenland appears not to have had any inhabitants. The route which the first migrants took he supposes was, first into Tartary after the dispersion of the nations, hence into Kamtskatka, thence across the strait which separates the two continents, whence they spread themselves unmolested into the then uninhabited countries around Hudson's Bay, and down as far south as Canada. And here they were found in the eleventh century, by the Norwegians, in their Wine-land. Afterwards these more southerly regions were conquered by the more numerous and powerful tribes south of the lakes, and the Esquimaux were forced to retire as far north as the 60th deg. N. Lat. Here Captain Ellis found the Esquimaux in his voyage to Hudson's Bay, and discovered that they had the same aspect, dress, boats, hunting and fishing implements, habitations, manners and usages as the Greenlanders. They are often pursued and hunted by the other Indians, who live about the south and west shores of Hudson's Bay, and who appear to be quite a different people."



OLD HOUSE WHERE "MOLLY PITCHER" LIVED—Photograph taken in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where the heroine of the Battle of Monmouth, in New Jersey, resided some years after the American Revolution



OLD GUARD-HOUSE IN AMERICAN REVOLUTION--Photograph taken at the ancient structure known as the Carlisle Barracks and built in Pennsylvania by Hessians captured at the Battle of Trenton in New Jersey.




STONE HOUSE WHERE "MOLLY PITCHER" DIED—Photograph taken in the old house at Carlisle Pennsylvania, where the mysterious heroine of the American Revolution passed her last days—The upper window to the left marked (x) shows the room in which the real Mary McCauley died



BRONZE BAS-RELIEF ON BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT Panel erected on the base of the memorial at Monmouth, New Jersey, where "Molly Pitcher" fought as a cannoneer in the battle for American Independence





## Investigation into American Tradition of Woman Known as "Molly Pitcher"


Historical Evidence that the American Heroine was Mary Ludwig, the Daughter of an Emigrant from the Palatinate & Proof that She was Born in New Jersey, in 1754, and Removed to Pennsylvania, where She Married John Casper Hays, in 1769, and Later Became the Wife of George McAuley, Another Revolutionary Soldier. & Researches

BY  
CAPTAIN JOHN B. LANDIS

CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA

Member of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, and Historian at the Dedication of the Cannon at the Grave of "Molly Pitcher"

Historical Record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY through the courtesy of Irwin Mahon, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania



**T**HIS investigation into the identity of the American heroine known as "Molly Pitcher" develops many revelations of a popular as well as an historical interest. There has never been a popular idol in history with more or varied names than that of the woman who fought as a cannoneer in the American Revolution. She is given historical record as having been born in New Jersey, and as having been born in Pennsylvania. She is recorded by competent testimony as Irish and also as German. Her biographers state that she carried "a wounded man over her shoulder" from the battlefield "as she used to carry bags of wheat" from her father's barn, while others state that her father was a dairyman and not a farmer, and that from the age of fifteen until her marriage she was a domestic in the home of a physician. Even her own name and that of her husband and the place of her marriage have been in contention. She is said to have been commissioned by Washington on the battlefield and recommended half-pay for life, while other historians record that she was buried in the "Potter's Field" in Pennsylvania, only to have it further claimed that she was buried on the banks of the Hudson. In a series of ten papers on her life, it is stated in five that her husband was "wounded at Monmouth," in one that he was "mortally wounded," in three that he was "killed," and in one that he "died from the heat." No less an authority than the late beloved Frank R. Stockton, in "Appleton's Stories from American History," says that "a bullet from the enemy struck the poor man and stretched him dead," while Harper's "Encyclopedia of the United States" says that her husband was killed and that his young wife took his place "to avenge his death." This investigation enters into an exhaustive endeavor to secure the truth and straighten out the mystery of "Molly Pitcher," thus disentangling the various knots. The original evidence is deposited in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, with sworn affidavits, and is recorded in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY by the authority of its curators.—EDITOR

## Investigations into American Traditions

**M**ANY and confusing have been the stories of "Molly Pitcher." If by competent testimony and authentic records we may relieve the story of her life from uncertainty, we shall do but simple justice to her memory.

The name, "Pitcher," was not an unusual one. We may find it among the names of Revolutionary soldiers. But our heroine's name was not "Pitcher" at all, but Ludwig; and at the time she earned her well known soubriquet she was the wife of an artilleryman. Her father, John George Ludwig, came to this country from the Palatinate. He made a settlement in Mercer County, New Jersey, not many miles from Trenton, where he engaged in the occupation of a dairyman. It was here his daughter Mary was born, on October 13, 1754; and here among the surroundings of her father's home were spent the youthful days of the future "Molly Pitcher."

Her story should include a reference to William Irvine, a young physician from Ireland, who settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1763. He was an ardent patriot, and took an important part in the Revolutionary struggle. He married Anna Callender, a daughter of Robert Callender who lived near Carlisle. Irvine must have been as ardent a lover as patriot, for in writing to his wife he always addressed her as "My dearest love." Mrs. Irvine, when visiting friends in Trenton, saw the youthful Mary Ludwig, and being pleased with her and in need of a domestic, took the young girl with her on returning to Carlisle.

With Mrs. Irvine, then, she found her new home at the susceptible age


of about fifteen years. And here, a domestic in Dr. Irvine's home, on the corner where the First Lutheran Church now stands, she subsequently became the wife of a young man who, like her master, became a soldier in the Revolutionary ranks. This young patriot was John Casper Hays, of Carlisle, a barber, who kept his shop not far from the Irvine mansion. The presence of the youthful Mary attracted the young barber, and the tale of their courtship is told in pleasing story. When the patter of her fairy feet was heard on the Irvine steps, or the swish of her broom on the sidewalk, it was not long until John Casper Hays found himself gazing out of the window of his little shop. And Mary, it seems, found quite a good deal of work necessary outside the house. Both being frank and sincere, they found their devotion mutual, and Mary seems to have been a bride-elect at about sweet sixteen. Their marriage license was granted on July 24, 1769, at Carlisle, the county seat of Cumberland County. They were doubtless married on the same day, as they lived near the office where marriage licenses were issued. And so Mary Ludwig became Mary Ludwig Hays.

Waves of discontent were now sweeping the Colonies. No community was earlier in rising against the oppression of the Mother Country than the Scotch-Irish of the Cumberland Valley. None were more earnest and determined in standing out against the King. Finally these waves of discontent, rising higher and darker, broke in all the terrible dignity of war.

Carlisle was an important point of rendezvous during the Revolutionary period, and had been a military post for many years previous. Here, in the center of the town, stood Fort



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Lowther, built by Colonel Stanwix, of the British Army, and a short distance northeast of the fort was the great square of "The Breastworks," or "Intrenchments." Here ran the great road leading from Philadelphia to the western frontier, over which marched the men, and over which were carried their stores, in expeditions for the protection of the western border. Through and across this valley ran the old Indian trails. Here the troops rendezvoused as late as October, 1794, preparatory to moving westward to quell the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, and they were here reviewed by President Washington.

The patriotic and warlike surroundings with which Mary Ludwig Hays became familiar in those trying days doubtless nurtured the spirit she afterwards exhibited. Her husband and her master, both soldiers, her heart was with them and with her country, and she needed but the opportunity to show the mettle of which she was made.

A few years of quiet wedded life, disturbed only by the warlike preparations centered about the little town, and John Casper Hays became a soldier. He enlisted on December 1, 1775, in Proctor's First Pennsylvania Artillery, in which he served as a gunner. His term of service expired in December, 1776. During this first year of his service we hear nothing of his young wife. In January, 1777, he re-enlisted in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, in the company commanded by Captain John Alexander, of Carlisle.

Dr. Irvine, active in the preparations for resisting the demands of King George, in 1776 entered the field as colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Line, under appointment of

January 9, 1776. Promotion followed, and he was commissioned brigadier-general on May 12, 1779. Previous to this time, however, on the sixth day of June, 1776, he was captured at the unfortunate affair of *Trois Rivieres*. He remained a prisoner on parole until his exchange on the 21st of April, 1778, when he assumed command of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, in which John Casper Hays was a private. As colonel of this regiment he participated with distinction in the battle of Monmouth.


After Hays left with his regiment, his wife remained in employ at Colonel Irvine's. Some time thereafter, her parents, who still resided in New Jersey, sent a courier to bring her to their home. And, it is said, the horseman who carried the word to Molly had a letter from her husband begging her to come, as he might then get an opportunity to see her. With Mrs. Irvine's consent and blessing she set about her long and tiresome journey. With poor roads, and no means of travel except on horseback, we can picture her weary ride. No doubt she was cheered with the thought of seeing her father and mother, and with the hope of meeting her husband.

We come now to the period when the episode occurred which made her famous. To prevent the movement of the British on New York, Washington marched his troops again into New Jersey, and the battle of Monmouth was fought on the 28th of June, 1778. At that time Molly Hays was a young woman of twenty-four years.

According to Alexander Hamilton and Colonel William Irvine, the decisive battle of Monmouth continued from eleven o'clock in the morning until half past four in the afternoon.



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The day was one of the hottest of the year. Lossing says the battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until night. Fifty soldiers are said to have died of thirst, and the tongues of many to have been so greatly swollen as to protrude from the mouth. While the battle was in progress, Molly carried water for the thirsting soldiers from a neighboring spring, which is still pointed out on the historic spot. Back and forth she went, under shelter or under fire, supplying the much needed water. Possibly, as is stated by some, it was carried in the cannoneers' bucket. In whatever way it was carried, the sight of Molly with her "pitcher" was a welcome sight to the weary and thirsty soldiers.

Molly's husband, as will be remembered, had served for one year in Proctor's Artillery, and though now an infantryman, had been detailed as a gunner in a battery that was engaged. Doubtless Molly was never out of sight of that battery. As she was coming toward the smoking lines with water she saw a soldier lying by his gun, whom she thought to be her husband, and hurrying on she found her husband wounded, and the dead man one of his comrades. It is stated that the cannon was ordered to the rear, and would have been taken off the field had not Molly bravely sprung to her husband's place, and so kept the gun in action. Her husband recovered, but lived only a few years after the close of the war.

One of Molly's strong characteristics, exhibited in many and various ways, was her readiness to help others in time of need. Opportunity was all that was necessary. She was intensely interested in the war. A warm patriot and a warmer hater of the redcoats, she could not see the

poor soldiers in the heat and dust of battle suffering from thirst, without exposing her own life, if necessary, in their relief. How grateful must Molly's "pitcher" have been to those thirsting men, and how astonishing her bravery, as she seized the rammer and worked like an Amazon to save her husband's gun. She was dubbed "sergeant," by the soldiers, and was also called "Major Molly."

"Moll Pitcher she stood by her gun,  
And rammed the charges home, sir,  
And thus on Monmouth's bloody field,  
A sergeant did become, sir."

How long, in the smoke and din of battle, Molly stood by her gun on that hot and terrible day we do not know. But what time she carried water must be credited to the brave woman, as well as the time she was engaged with the battery.

Here let us allow the poet his license. He can paint the picture with the warmth of color it deserves.

"'Wheel back the gun,' the gunner said,  
When like a flash before him, stood  
A figure dashed with smoke and blood,  
With streaming hair, with eyes aflame,  
With lips that falter the gunner's name.  
'Wheel back his gun that never yet,  
His fighting duty did forget?  
His voice shall speak though he be dead,  
I'll serve my husband's gun!' she said.  
Oh, Molly, Molly, with eyes so blue,  
Oh, Molly, Molly, here's to you!  
Sweet Honor's roll will aye be richer,  
To hold the name of Molly Pitcher!"

No imaginary heroine was Molly Pitcher, but a real buxom lass, a strong, sturdy, courageous woman. The roll of the world's heroines hardly contains her name, yet her conduct at Monmouth certainly contributed to the favorable results of that battle; and the victory itself was the beginning of a brighter era in the Revolutionary period. It was celebrated with great rejoicing

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throughout the Colonies, and a vote of thanks was tendered Washington and his army by Congress. Some years ago the State of New Jersey was first to render her due to "Molly Pitcher." On the battle monument erected at Freehold, on the historic field, one of the five tablets surrounding the base of the beautiful shaft commemorates her heroic act in enduring bronze.

As to Molly's personal appearance not much that is reliable can be learned, except as she was remembered in her later years by several old persons. We have no description of her as a young girl and wife. We may be sure she was at least pleasing in her manner and appearance, as she favorably impressed so cultured a lady as the wife of General Irvine. That she was lovely in the eyes of at least one man, we look to John Casper Hays for proof.

A Revolutionary soldier is said to have described her as, "rather stout and red" at the time of the battle of Monmouth and that she was a "coarse and uncouth looking female." His description may have been correct. Her appearance on that hot summer day, begrimed with smoke and dust, and barefooted like many of the soldiers themselves may have justified his description. She was a rather stout woman with considerable color, and is by some described as of coarse features. Her form, of average height, muscular, strong, and heavy set, became stooped in old age, and her hair mixed with gray. She had a defective eye, the left having met with an accident which finally caused its blindness. This was later in life, and was said to have been caused by a particle of lime entering the eye. Her ordinary dress was a blue and white striped "short skirt," a petticoat, a broad white cap with

wide flaring ruffles, a sunbonnet, woolen stockings and heavy brogans, Such is her description as an old woman.

Some years after the death of her first husband, Sergeant John Casper Hays, she married George McKolly, another soldier and a comrade of Hays', and she then became known as Molly McKolly. This name was also written "McAuley," and "McCauley," while on her tombstone it was cut "McCauly."

At the entrance to the grounds of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, formerly for many years United States Barracks, still stands the old stone guard-house with walls over four feet thick, which was built by the Hessian prisoners taken at the battle of Trenton, and which escaped the fire when the barracks were burned by the Confederates, in 1863. At this post, Molly lived for many years after the Revolutionary War, cooking and washing for the soldiers. Subsequently she kept a small store in the southeastern part of the town of Carlisle, not far from the house in which Major Andre and Lieutenant Despard were confined, in 1776, after Andre's first capture near Lake Champlain. The latter years of her life were spent in a stone house near the southeast corner of Bedford and North streets, in Carlisle, where she died on Sunday, January 22, 1832. Her death was hastened by a stubborn cutaneous disease. She attended the Lutheran Church and was respected by her neighbors.

Her services to her country were recognized not only by her friends and neighbors, but by the State of Pennsylvania. On the 21st of February, 1822, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, by a special act, granted her an annuity for services during the Revolutionary War, the sum of forty

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dollars immediately, and the same sum half-yearly during life, from January 1, 1822. The *Chronicle*, of Philadelphia, about that date stated, in reference to the granting of the annuity, that "It appeared satisfactory that this heroine had braved the hardships of the camp and dangers of the field with her husband, who was a soldier of the Revolution, and the bill in her favor passed without a dissenting voice." The "pension" mentioned by many who have written of her was this annuity.

To prove that this annuity was granted on account of her own personal services, and not because she was the widow of a soldier, let us examine the proceedings of the Legislature.

On Thursday, February 14, 1822, "The Clerk of the Senate being introduced, presented for concurrence the bills entitled," *inter alia*: "No. 265. An Act for the relief of Molly McKolly, widow of a soldier of the Revolutionary War." It was read and laid upon the table. The following day, "On motion of Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Cachran, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Kirk in the chair, on the bill from the Senate, No. 265, entitled 'An Act for the relief of Molly McKolly, widow of a soldier of the Revolutionary War.'" The bill went on to a second reading and was ordered prepared for a third reading, "the title being amended by striking out these words, 'widow of a soldier,' and inserting in lieu thereof these words, 'For services rendered in,'" and so passed. And it was "Ordered that the Clerk return the same to the Senate and request their concurrence in the amendment thereto by this House." On Saturday, February 16, 1822, "The Clerk of the Senate was

introduced and gave information that the Senate had concurred in the amendment by this House." On Wednesday following, among others, the following was reported by Mr. Cassat as having been presented to the governor for his approbation, to wit: "1. An Act for the relief of Molly McKolly for her services during the Revolutionary War." The next day, February 21, 1822, the bill was signed by Governor Hiester. We see from this that the annuity was granted in recognition of her personal services, and that the Legislature considered the matter of sufficient importance to resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the bill.

The statement that she received a pension from the United States is unsupported. Information from the Bureau of Pensions at Washington, District of Columbia, states that neither the name "Molly Hays," nor "Molly McKolly" is found on the pension rolls. The law pensioning widows of Revolutionary soldiers was approved July 4, 1836, which was subsequent to Molly's death, and no special act is found granting her a pension.

For ten years she lived to enjoy the bounty of the commonwealth, small though it may seem to us now, and to have the satisfaction of knowing that her act was in this way commended and appreciated.

She died on Sunday, the 22nd day of January, 1832, and was buried in the Old Graveyard, or as then known, the English Graveyard, in Carlisle, where repose the remains of many of Carlisle's noted and eminent citizens. The *Carlisle Herald* of Thursday, January 26, 1832, in its list of "Death Notices" has the following: "Died on Sunday last, Mrs. Mary McAuley (better known by the name of Molly Mc-

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Auley), aged ninety years. The history of this woman is somewhat remarkable. Her first husband's name was Hays, who was a soldier in the war of the Revolution. It appears she continued with him in the army, and acted so much the part of a heroine as to attract the notice of the officers. Some estimate may be formed of the value of the service by her, when the fact is stated that she drew a pension from the government during the latter years of her life."

The *American Volunteer* of the same place and date has this notice: "Died on Sunday last, in this borough at an advanced age, Mrs. Mary McCauley. She lived during the days of the American Revolution, shared its hardships, and witnessed many a scene of 'blood and carnage.' To the sick and wounded she was an efficient aid: For which and being the widow of an American hero, she received during the latter years of her life, an annuity from the Government. For upwards of forty years she resided in this borough, and was, during that time, recognized as an honest, obliging, and industrious woman."

In the spring of the year 1876, an article on Molly Pitcher appeared in the *American Volunteer*. The article was written by Miss Agnes M. Graham, a daughter of Honorable James H. Graham, for twenty years President Judge of the Courts of Cumberland County. Her communication closed with the suggestion that it would befit the celebration of the Fourth of July on the Centennial year to erect a headstone to the memory of Molly Pitcher.

Peter Spahr, a well known citizen of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who died on September 28, 1884, eagerly seized the suggestion of Miss Graham and carried it into execution, and the

stone at present marking her grave was erected, and unveiled on the Fourth of July, 1876. Mr. Spahr knew her well and was present at her funeral. He knew where she was buried, though her grave had been unmarked. This was in the graveyard mentioned, on the southeastern corner of the lot of John Noble, who died in 1804. Her age and the date of her death as cut upon the stone were fixed by Mr. Spahr from memory and were not entirely correct. Attention was called to the error in the date of her death, and it was subsequently corrected from 1833 to 1832, by the Civic Club of Carlisle. Her age was therefore seventy-eight instead of seventy-nine years.

The stone is inscribed as follows:


MOLLIE McCAULEY  
Renowned in History as  
"MOLLIE PITCHER"  
The Heroine of Monmouth,  
Died January, 1832.  
Aged 78 years.

Erected by the citizens of  
Cumberland County,  
July 4, 1876.

As to the house in which she lived for many years, and up to the time of her death, there can be no question. At the southeastern intersection of Bedford and North streets in Carlisle, is original town lot Number 240, formerly known as Loughridge's corner. On this lot stood two small houses; a log house fronting on Bedford street, and adjoining it on the east a stone house, somewhat larger, fronting North street. Apparently these houses were communicating in an early day. Only a few years since, when the log house was torn away to afford space for a brick building, a door frame in the back wall adjoining the



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The facts above recited, all from authentic sources, the more material of which are supported by affidavits of competent witnesses, must set at rest any question as to the home and burial place of the real "Molly Pitcher."

Many reminiscences are related of Molly, which, however, can not be verified by competent testimony. At the battle of Monmouth she was personally complimented by General Washington for her bravery. On one occasion, before she knew Washington, while she was engaged in cooking and washing for the soldiers, having a large kettle over the fire which she wished to remove, she called upon a passing soldier to assist her. Struck with the soldier's prompt compliance and kind manner, she asked his name, and was so greatly astonished that she almost dropped the kettle when he answered, "I am General Washington."

She carried a wounded soldier from the battlefield, and nursed him into speedy recovery. His name was Dilwyn. She found him lying amongst the dead, where he was left for burial with the rest. Finding that he was still living, she carried him off the battlefield, and nursed him back to life. When an old woman, she lay upon the floor by the cradle of a sick child an entire night, and watched and cared for the little one.

Some time after the close of the Revolutionary War two old army officers arrived in Carlisle on horseback. They inquired for Molly, and upon meeting her, the three were moved to tears. One of them was said to have been the soldier whom Molly had nursed back to life, after he had been left for dead on the battlefield. This may refer to the Dilwyn rescue.



Molly was an ardent admirer of Washington, and believed there was no other so brave and good a man in the world. In this view she has been followed by the many millions of her countrymen. She had often heard complaints from the soldiers during the dark periods of the war, but she never shared them; instead, she went about doing good, and always giving words of encouragement. She was very much interested in the presence of President Washington and the soldiers who rendezvoused at Carlisle at the time of the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. In 1812, when Captain Squires' Carlisle company of soldiers marched out the turnpike on their way to Baltimore, Molly accompanied them several miles.

The real Molly, then, was a young woman of German parentage, living among the Scotch-Irish, imbibing the patriotic fervor of the day, and loyal to her husband and to her country. With true German fidelity she followed her husband into the army. Not only on account of her courage is she to be remembered, but because that courage took practical form and led her to do more than could have been expected of a woman. Many might have shown as much bravery on sudden impulse, but not many would have continued in patient persistence through those long and terrible hours to minister to the wants of the weary soldiers. When water was needed by the thirsty men she supplied it to keep them at the front; but when a man was needed she dropped the pitcher and filled the artilleryman's place. When she found Dilwyn still living, she at once took him into her own care. When, in the quiet of domestic life, as in the cases of the sick child and of the boy and girl who fell into the quarry, she exhibited the same qualities, we see



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one of the characteristics of Molly Pitcher. This quality seems to have been the key to the strongest trait of her nature. Helpfulness inspired her life until strength failed to support a willing heart. Her rough, homely attire and her brusque manner and speech made a surface impression of coarseness which it is hard to believe was the real character of the woman.

Let us leave her memory, then, in the hearts of her generous countrymen. Let us remember the times in which she lived and the scenes through which she passed, and then, it may be, the plainness of her face, and frankness of her speech, will be forgotten in the tenderness of her heart, and the usefulness of her life.

There remain a few facts which will settle any question as to whether the body was removed from its first resting place in the old graveyard.

A number of years ago, Mrs. Patton, of Carlisle, an aged lady who died on November 26, 1895, a daughter of Mr. Noble, had a tablet prepared to place over the unmarked graves of a brother and sister who had died in infancy. She located these graves in a corner of the Noble lot where the Molly Pitcher monument stood, and there was not sufficient space for the tablet. The Molly Pitcher grave, she averred, was somewhat further southward on the adjoining Hays lot. As the burial of these children at the spot indicated seemed sufficiently determined by Mrs. Patton, arrangements were made with a stone-cutter to move the Pitcher stone to another position, on the theory that Mr. Spahr might have been slightly mistaken as to the exact location of the grave. The new foundation for it was already prepared, when a notice was served upon the stone-cutter by the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, who had retained legal counsel, warn-



GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF "MOLLY PITCHER"—Photograph taken at the grave of the heroine of the American Revolution when her descendant, Miss Nellie Kramer, unveiled the cannon

ing all persons against moving the stone. The Hays family, descendants by Molly's first husband, also demurred to the proceeding. Mr. Noble's daughter, however, insisted that she was right as to the location of the children's graves, while the Hays family were equally sure that they were right, and the matter bid fair to be settled in the courts.

Upon consultation with Mr. Hays and others interested, it was agreed that the spot should be dug up, and if children's remains were found the tablet should be placed over them, if

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GRAVE OF "MOLLY PITCHER"—Stone erected at the old church-yard, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where Mrs. McCauley lies buried, age 79 years

not, then the stone should remain. On Tuesday, the third day of May, 1892, James Martin, the curator of the graveyard, opened the grave in the presence of Mr. Frederick Hays,

Molly's great-grandson, and Mrs. Patton's attorneys. After digging down between three and four feet he came upon the remains of small coffins, and the fact was demonstrated that children had been buried there. He had a "digging iron" in his hands, and probing the ground with it unexpectedly pierced to a greater depth just along the southern edge of the small graves. He dug on and found a grave very close by the side of the small ones.

This he carefully opened, when a skeleton was exposed to view. An examination proved it to be the skeleton of an adult female. The skull, the pelvic bones and some others of the larger bones were examined. They were then carefully replaced, the earth placed over them, and all that remained of Molly Pitcher was shut out from the light of the world forever, and her monument remains on the spot where she was buried in 1832.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, }  
COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND. } ss.

Before me a Notary Public in and for said State and County, personally appeared Mary E. Wilson, who, after having been by me duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say that she is now forty-eight years old and resides in Carlisle, where she has lived all her life, that she is the daughter of Fred'k McCleaster, who was the son of John and Polly McCleaster, the said Polly McCleaster was the daughter of John Hays, who was the son of Molly McKolly, otherwise known as "Molly Pitcher" (whose maiden name was Molly Ludwig), and whose first husband was John Hays.

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She further says that she has had in her possession, since the death of her grandmother, Polly McCleaster, the pitcher which was formerly the property of "Molly Pitcher," which was presented to her, the deponent, by her grandmother, Polly McCleaster, at the time of her death, with the strict admonition that she should be very careful to preserve it because it had been the property of her grandmother, Molly McKolly, alias "Molly Pitcher." She further says that her grandmother, Polly McCleaster, raised her, the deponent, from her childhood up until the time of her marriage, and that she lived constantly in her family, and that her grandmother told her frequently that the pitcher concerning which this affidavit is made, was presented to her personally by her grandmother, Molly McKolly, and that she had been charged by her to be very careful of it as it was a favorite piece of ware, and as her grandmother stated frequently, that because her grandmother had given her such strict instructions about preserving the pitcher, she often cautioned me about handling it, indeed, forbade me from handling it at all. She, the deponent, further says that she frequently heard and saw her grandmother show this pitcher to her friends and neighbors and explain to them that it was the pitcher that belonged to her grandmother, "Molly Pitcher."

Deponent further says her grandmother died April 28, 1884, at which time she, deponent, came into possession of the pitcher, which, by reason of the admonitions given her

by her grandmother, she has been very careful to preserve intact until this date, when now she disposes of it to be cared for by the Cumberland County Historical Society, and deposited with its collection. A description of the pitcher, which is the subject of this affidavit, is as follows, to wit: It is ewer shaped, wide mouth, standing eight and one-fourth inches to the top of the handle and seven and seven-sixteenth inches high to the centre of the mouth and four inches in diameter at the base; the figures on the outside of it are brown in color on a white base, and are made up for the most part of Chinese or Japanese pagodas and something resembling fortifications with the figures of two men on these fortifications. one holding in his right hand something in the shape of a three-leafed clover, and the other man apparently suspended in the air and pointing upward; around the handle and top of the pitcher it is edged with blue.

My grandmother often told me about her grandmother Molly McKolly, alias "Molly Pitcher," telling her about being in the army, and about her carrying water to the wounded and dying.

Witness my hand this 13th Aug., 1903.

Sworn and subscribed  
before me this 13th  
of August, 1903.

JOHN R. MILLER,  
Notary Public,  
Carlisle, Pa.

MRS. MARY  
E. WILSON.

My commission expires April 18, 1907.



Cannon and flagstaff over the grave of "Molly Pitcher," at Carlisle, Pennsylvania




Battle monument erected at Monmouth, New Jersey, where "Molly Pitcher" fought



Historic spring from which "Molly Pitcher" carried water to the soldiers at the Battle of Monmouth



Historic pitcher formerly owned by "Molly Pitcher" now treasured in the Hamilton Library at Carlisle




# Memoirs of a United States Senator in Beginning of the Republic

Investigations into  
the Character and Public Service  
of a Southern Gentleman who was Sent as the  
First Senator from the State of Tennessee to the National  
Government and Participated in Laying the Foundations of the Nation &  
Researches into Types of Men that First Composed the United States Senate

BY  
HONORABLE WILLIAM GOODRICH  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA


Member of the Military Order of Foreign Wars—Society of Colonial Wars—Sons of the  
Revolution—Society of the War of 1812—Military Order of the  
Loyal Legion—Pennsylvania Historical Society



**A**T this time when the attention of the American people is turned toward the political character of the great law-making body that composes the United States Senate, and the personnel of the men who hold the power in that great institution of Republican government, it is interesting to compare the requisites that have given them that distinguishing honor with those that moulded public thought at the beginning of the Republic. The progress of American civilization has called for many constitutional changes and among them is the demand of the democracy that the United States Senate should be composed of men who are elected direct by the people rather than through legislative appointment.


Recent investigations into the personnel of United States Senators, when that body was first constituted, develop many interesting characteristics and types of statesmanship. It was the custom to send learned jurists rather than politicians. The first United States Senators were gentlemen of quality and social position. The Great West, with its orators and political economists, had not then been awakened. Self-government was an experiment and the United States Senate in its dignity was the conservative arm that was to hold back the over-enthusiastic democracy from dissipating liberty to such an extent that it might become politically impracticable.

Among the early types of the United States senator is a distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, who, when that commonwealth was first admitted into the Union, was sent as its first senator to the national government at Washington—United States Senator William Cocke, who was one of the vigorous figures in the building of the great dominion of the Mississippi Valley. Historical information regarding his life has been so limited that many of the authorities have even been unable to place the time of his death. These vagaries have now all been cleared by the scholarly investigations of Honorable William Goodrich, of Philadelphia, who contributes this interesting record to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, as an interesting document in juxtaposition with the modern tendency of United States Senate as a law-making body.—EDITOR





# Memoirs of an Early United States Senator



**D**URING the Civil War many records in the South were destroyed, making family research most difficult and sometimes impossible. One is enabled to obtain important information through the land patents of Virginia, giving, as they do, the names of the early settlers. "The origin of Virginia was owing to commercial speculation. The Virginia Company, formed in 1609, includes in the names of the incorporators many noblemen, as well as the foremost merchants and mariners in England, who sent out their sons or relations, and, from the existing records, one can easily see the connection with the best names in the old country."


"During the early years of settlement, the Virginia Company held all the land and monopolized trade. In 1618, the first private plantation was established, and after that numerous patents were granted, the names of the grantees being found in the records of the Virginia Company, previous to 1633, when the land office in Richmond was established, and from that date the list is complete."

The first patent of land, in 1619, was granted to the Society of Southampton Hundred, composed of Sir William Throckmorton and others. Throckmorton transferred his interest in the Berkeley Town and Hundred to Sir William Tracey. A son of Sir William and Margaret Throckmorton Tracey married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, committed Shakespeare for deer stealing, and who was travestied by him under the guise of Justice Shallow. A daughter of Sir William and Margaret Throckmorton married Sir Walter Aston, whose cousin of the same


name came to Virginia, in 1628, living at Shirley, and is buried in the old Westover churchyard. His tomb bears the following inscription: "Here lyeth the body of lieutenant Colonel Walter Aston, who died the 6th of April, 1656; he was aged 49 years and lived in this county 28 years." His sister, Mary Aston, married Richard Cocke, the original settler and ancestor of William Cocke, soldier and senator.

The first notice of Richard Cocke is that in the list of the Grand Assembly of House of Burgesses. We find him a member, in 1632, from Weyanoke, and again in 1644 and 1654, member from Henrico. The exact date of Richard Cocke's arrival in this country is not known, nor from just what place he emigrated, but from researches made by the writer, it is conjectured that Devon was his birthplace, as a copy of the will of Richard Cocke, of the parish of Northam, county of Devon, dated the tenth day of August, 1625, names his son Richard, and brothers William and Abraham and John, which names are prominent in the descendants of Richard Cocke. That he was prominent and of considerable means is evidenced by the fact that Governor Sir John Harvey granted him three thousand acres of land for transporting sixty persons from England to the colony of Virginia, in March, 1636. Other grants to him of land were, in 1639, two thousand acres; 1652, two thousand four hundred and eighty two acres, and in 1664 two thousand nine hundred and ninety-three acres.

His son, Thomas Cocke, married the widow, Margaret Jones, and was also a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, in 1679. Their son, Stephen Cocke, lived in Prince George



# Types of First Statesmen from the South




County, Virginia, and married Sarah Marston, and was a planter. Their son, Abraham, settled in Amelia County, Virginia, where he became the owner of large estates and was prominent. He was a justice in 1739, 1745, 1750. He also was vestryman of Nottoway Parish in 1749, and sheriff of Amelia County in 1751.

The son of Abraham Cocke, William Cocke, was born in Virginia, in 1748, and died in Mississippi, in 1828. He was one of the most distinguished of his time in that section of the country embracing Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Mississippi. Of William Cocke's early history, there is little known save that he received an English education, studied law, and removed to the western part of Virginia, probably some time early in 1774. The first public notice of William Cocke is connected with the settlement of what is now West Virginia, when he appears to have been present at the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, claimed as the first battle of the Revolutionary War, owing to the fact that Lord Dunmore had planned with the Indians to attack the whites, and, looking for their defeat, thought to discourage the Americans in their efforts to secure justice for the colonies from England. Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, refers to Lord Dunmore's War, waged by Americans for the good of America, as the opening act in the drama whereof the closing scene was Yorktown.


Lord Dunmore had the reputation of being able to make himself most agreeable to those whom he was desirous of influencing, and in this connection it is stated by General Cocke's grandson (Honorable William M. Cocke) that on one occasion Lord

Dunmore sent a special message to General Cocke, requesting his presence at Williamsburg. Upon arriving there, Lord Dunmore told him it was highly probable that there would be a conflict between Great Britain and the colonies, that he regarded him as a young man of high character and great promise, and that if he would espouse the cause of the king, against the colonies, he should have the highest command in the army, save that of commander-in-chief. Captain Cocke in reply told Lord Dunmore that the king did not have money enough to buy him, that the cause of the colonies was right and just, and that he would devote his life to their cause. Shortly after the battle of Point Pleasant, Captain William Cocke went to the West. Collins' *History of Kentucky* states (Journal of Expedition to Cantuckey, in 1775, by Colonel Richard Henderson, of North Carolina): "Monday, April 10th, despatched Captain William Cocke (afterwards a prominent judge in Tennessee) to the Cantuckey to inform Captain Boone that we were on the way." Collins' *History of Kentucky* also states that Captain Cocke was a member of the House of Delegates, Colony of Transylvania, for Boonesborough, May 23, 1775, where he seems to have been for about a year. His wife, not hearing from him in the meantime, had gone back to her home in eastern Virginia, where their son, John Cocke (afterwards major-general, in 1812), was born. Upon Captain Cocke's return from Transylvania to the Watauga, and finding his wife gone, he followed her to eastern Virginia, bringing back wife and child to Watauga, where we next find him prominent





# Memoirs of an Early United States Senator



in the affairs of that district, and in the battle of Long Island of the Holston.


Ramsey's *History of Tennessee* states that "the Cherokee Indians invaded the settlements bordering upon the Watauga and Holston Rivers. Against them was raised four small companies, principally Virginians, who marched to Heaton's Station, where a fort had been built by the advice of Captain William Cocke, and named after him, Cocke's Fort. Through his advice that the Indians would be more apt to pass by the fort and attack the settlement, it was determined to anticipate any movement of the hostiles, who, to the number of between three and four hundred, were approaching from a northerly direction, and an equal force under the Raven were hastening by a longer and more southerly route along the mountains. With knowledge of these movements, the small force of one hundred and seventy men marched out towards what is known as the Long Island, where they encountered the Indians under Dragging Canoe, and administered to them a crushing defeat, in July, 1776." We find that in the spring of 1777, in the Journal of Houses of Delegates, Captain William Cocke was elected as member of the General Assembly of Virginia, at Williamsburg, to represent Washington County, residing in Fincastle of that county, while sending his family away, probably to eastern Virginia, owing to fears of an Indian war.

Shortly after this, the country towards the south was opened up by the settlers from Virginia and North Carolina coming into what is now east Tennessee, but then part of North Carolina. Prominent among the settlers who participated in the formation of the counties of Sullivan

and Washington, was Captain William Cocke, and from this section he was elected to the General Assembly of North Carolina, in which body he sat after moving to what was then western North Carolina, now east Tennessee.

We now approach that period of the Revolutionary War in which North Carolina was to become the scene of Cornwallis' movements, and find, in the summer of 1780, that the men from the western settlements were to take a hand. Governor Rutherford, of North Carolina, made requisition upon Colonel Shelby, of Sullivan County, for help to stop the devastation caused by the British, after their capture of Charleston, and who, under Cornwallis, were meeting with little resistance. In his victorious march "as he approached Camden, Colonel Patrick Moore appeared at the head of a large band of disaffected Americans from Tryon County, and, erecting the royal standard, invited to it all the loyalists in that section of North and South Carolina. Making a rapid march, he took post in a fort surrounded by a strong abattis and otherwise well provided with defenses, standing upon the waters of Pacolet River," called Thicketty Fort.

Governor Rutherford's call for assistance resulted in Colonel Sevier raising two hundred men from Washington County, and in Colonel Shelby recruiting two hundred men from Sullivan County, all mounted riflemen under command of Colonel McDowell, who ordered them, with a force under Colonel Clarke, from Georgia, amounting in all to about six hundred men, to pursue Colonel Moore, whose post was about twenty miles distant. The riflemen began to march at sunset, and at dawn of day, next morning, surrounded the







## Types of First Statesmen from the South

fort. Colonel Shelby sent in Captain William Cocke to demand the surrender of the fort from Moore, who replied that he would defend it to the last extremity, but on a second message being sent in, consented to surrender. Ninety-three loyalists and one British sergeant-major were in the garrison, with two hundred and fifty stand of arms, all loaded with ball and buckshot, and so disposed at the port-holes that double the number of whigs might have been easily repulsed!

This bold incursion of the "over-the-mountain men," together with the capture of the garrison under Moore, induced Cornwallis to detach from his main army some enterprising officers with a small command, to penetrate through the country, embody the loyalists, and take possession of the strong posts in the interior. Colonel Patrick Ferguson, an active and intelligent officer, was despatched to that district. To a corps of one hundred picked regulars, he soon succeeded in attaching twelve or thirteen hundred hardy natives. After several minor engagements, in which the Americans were mainly successful, the defeat of Gates at Camden caused the mountain men to temporarily withdraw, and Ferguson took post at Gilbert Town, from which place he sent word to the officers west of the mountains, that if they did not cease their opposition to the British arms he would march his army over, burn and lay waste to their country, and hang their leaders. This message reached Colonel Shelby about the last of August. He at once rode fifty or sixty miles to consult with Sevier. They determined to raise all the riflemen they could, march hastily through the mountains, and endeavor to surprise Ferguson in his camp,

appointing the rendezvous at Sycamore Shoals, September 25th, and succeeded in having Colonel Campbell co-operate with four hundred men from Virginia. These, with two hundred and forty men from Washington and Sullivan Counties, made a force of about eight hundred and eighty mounted riflemen. A number from North and South Carolina joined them, making the total force engaged about nine hundred and ten mounted riflemen, with a squad of uncounted footmen.


Ferguson, hearing of this demonstration, thought best to face back from Gilbert Town, retreating with about eleven hundred men to King's Mountain, which he named, and confident in his position, asserted that "all the rebels out of hell could not drive him from it." The Americans followed quickly and, surrounding the mountain, attacked from every side. The result is well known. Ferguson was killed, two hundred and twenty-five of his men were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, seven hundred prisoners were taken, with fifteen hundred stand of arms, and a great many horses and wagons, loaded with supplies were captured. The American loss was twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. This victory gave new spirit to the desponding Americans, and frustrated the scheme of strengthening the British army by the Tories of the neighborhood. Washington, on receipt of the news, issued a general order, October 27, 1780, congratulating the army upon the victory. 'Tis to be noted that Captain William Cocke was one of those engaged in this fight.

In 1782, during the February court term of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery for the counties of Washington and Sullivan, North



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## emoirs of an Early United States Senator



Carolina, William Cocke was admitted to practice law. In 1783, he started the movement to create the State of Franklin (282 Ramsay's *History of Tennessee*), and withdrew from the government of North Carolina. In all this movement, we find William Cocke's name mentioned frequently; first as representative from Sullivan County to the convention to consider the cession of her western territory by North Carolina to Congress. In that convention, William Cocke offered the motion, whether for or against forming a separate and distinct state, independent of the state of North Carolina, which was carried in the affirmative, and William Cocke and Joseph Hardin were appointed to draw up and form the plan of association. Upon the formation of the Franklin Government, in March, 1785, we find that William Cocke was appointed brigadier-general of the Franklin militia, and, in November, 1785, before adjournment of the convention of the Representatives of the Freemen of the State of Franklin, General Cocke was appointed to present the constitution as adopted, and a memorial to Congress, applying for admission to the Union. He came to Philadelphia, but was not received and no notice was taken of his mission.

Meanwhile, North Carolina took measures to counteract the efforts of the western counties to withdraw and form a separate state, and which they were conducting with every appearance of political sovereignty, appointing General Cocke commissioner to treat with the Cherokee Indians, in July, 1786, but the power of the old state was too great, and disaffection showed even in Franklin, embarrassing its administration. To counteract these, they chose General

Cocke and Judge Campbell as commissioners to negotiate a separation. "The former was identified with the new settlements by an early participation in the privation, enterprise and danger of the pioneer life, more recently had been appointed its delegate to Congress, commanded a brigade of its militia, and held other positions implying confidence in his talents and address."

As North Carolina still legislated for the district in spite of protest, and, as Judge Campbell was unable to go, General Cocke went alone to Fayetteville, North Carolina, where the Legislature was in session and, appearing before the bar of the House of Commons, made plea for the new state in a speech of considerable length, though most eloquent. He was heard with great attention, but without effect, and the Government of Franklin ceased to exist after March 1, 1788, and, in February, 1790, North Carolina executed a deed ceding to the United States the "territory southwest of the Ohio."

In 1791, William Cocke was admitted as an attorney for Greene County, and, in 1793, for Jefferson County, and this same year was representative from Person County to the General Assembly of North Carolina.

When the population of the territory had increased sufficiently, Governor Blount, in December, 1793, authorized an election to form a territorial assembly and legislature. William Cocke was elected a member from Hawkins County to the House of Representatives, where he seems to have been most active and prominent, and particularly interested in the advancement of learning, aiding in the establishment of a university in Greene County, and also that of



## Types of First Statesmen from the South

Blount College, now known as the East Tennessee University. Ramsey speaks of him as follows: "Next to Mr. White, the friends of learning are indebted to one of the representatives of Hawkins County, Mr. Cocke, for his early care and prudent foresight in laying a broad and deep foundation for the intellectual improvement of the Territory."

The time had now come (1795) when, upon enumerating the population of the territory, it was found to have more than was requisite to form a state government, so the Territorial Governor Blount called a convention to form and publish a constitution or permanent form of government. With others, William Cocke was elected to the convention and appointed to assist in drafting the constitution for the new state of Tennessee. Upon the assembling of the two houses, they appointed Blount and Cocke as senators to represent Tennessee in the Congress of the United States, addressing William Cocke as follows:

Citizen, William Cocke, your fellow citizens have called you to represent them in the Senate of the United States of America. Impressed with recollections of your past conduct, from an early period of the settlement of our common country, they have given you this testimony of the confidence they repose in your integrity and abilities to serve them.

Signed, JAMES WHITE, Chairman.

Mr. Cocke replied:

Gentlemen, I accept of the appointment conferred upon me by the General Assembly. It will be my first, my greatest wish, to promote the interests of our common country. The honor of serving a free and enlightened people, is truly flattering, and my highest reward will consist in my conduct, continuing to meet their approbation.

Accept, gentlemen, my respects,

WILLIAM COCKE.

James Winchester, S. S.,  
James Stuart, S. H. R.

The two senators from the new state of Tennessee repaired to the seat of the National Government, but having been elected before Tennessee was admitted to the Union, did not take their seats in the Senate, owing to unforeseen difficulties in the state laws; these had to be remedied, and a new election by the State Legislature returned the same senators. To the address of the Legislature, informing Mr. Cocke that he was again elected to represent the state of Tennessee in the United States Senate, and reassuring him on behalf of the citizens of the state, of the entire confidence reposed in his fidelity and integrity, that senator replied in terms and with a spirit that probably reflected truly the feelings and temper of the people. He said:

Gentlemen: Nothing can be a higher reward for faithful services, than the approbation of a free people. I call my country free, because by their Constitution they are so. I cannot help mentioning to you, I feel the deepest concern to see our dearest rights invaded by the supreme legislature of the nation. We are by them made subject to the payment of taxes, while we have been unjustly deprived of representation. We have been deprived of the use of our property for public convenience, without any compensation being made; and acts in the style of laws have passed, declaring it highly penal to enjoy the free use thereof; such rude attacks upon our constitutional rights, should be remonstrated against with freedom and firmness. I hope our friends in the Senate of the United States, will be unable to find another quibble whereby to deprive us of an equal share of the representation that shall make the laws by which we are to be governed.


I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM COCKE.

After serving two terms as senator, he returned to Tennessee. In October, 1797, the state of Tennessee created a new county taken off of Jefferson County, and named it Cocke County in his honor.



# Memoirs of an Early United States Senator



Returning to Tennessee, in 1805, he was, in 1809, appointed Judge of the First Circuit, serving until 1812. Removing to Mississippi, he was, in 1814, appointed by President Madison, agent for the Chickasaw Nation.

About this time, the War of 1812 being in progress, he went with General Jackson and, in January, 1814, took part in the battle of Emuckfau, as instanced by report of General Jackson, who said: "I should do injustice to my feelings, if I omitted to mention that the venerable Judge Cocke, at the age of sixty-five, entered into the engagement, continued the pursuit of the enemy with youthful ardor, and saved the life of a fellow soldier by killing his savage antagonist."

From *Sketches of the Bench and Bar of Tennessee*, by Honorable Joshua W. Caldwell, I glean the following:

The first great orator of Tennessee, was William Cocke. He was one of the popular heroes of his time, and many stories are told of him. He is described as a tall, black-haired, black-eyed man, of splendid physique, fiery, enthusiastic and fearless. He came of English stock, as we shall see, but one cannot help believing that there was a strain of Celtic blood in his veins to account for his sentiment and enthusiasm, and his fervidness of speech.


His career was a remarkable one. Like a number of able men of that time, he moved westward again and again in the vanguard of civilization, and took part in the organization of state after state. He served in the Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi; was a judge, twice a senator, and was a gallant soldier in our two wars with England.

He is remembered in Tennessee as the great orator of his time, and by consent of his contemporaries, he had no equal as a popular speaker. A remarkable readiness and brilliancy of speech has been a characteristic of his family in all succeeding generations, and his descendants have filled acceptably many places of honor and trust, and have rendered valuable services to the State and to the Nation. We have

special cause to be grateful to him as a friend of the schools. He was one of the most active advocates of the establishment of the Blount College, and was a zealous supporter of every movement in behalf of education.

In 1822, when Monroe County was laid off in the state of Mississippi, he became its first representative to the Legislature of Mississippi.

He died in Columbus, Mississippi, August 22, 1828, in the eighty-first year of his age, and is buried there under a tombstone erected to his memory by the state of Mississippi, who have honored him by inscribing upon the stone this epitaph, reciting his many worthy deeds and attributes: "Here lie the remains of William Cocke, who died in Columbus, Mississippi, on the 22d of August, 1828. The deceased passed an eventful and active life. Was captain in command during the war of 1776. Was distinguished for his brave daring and intrepidity. Was one of the pioneers who first crossed the Alleghany Mountains with Daniel Boone into the wilderness of Kentucky. Took an active part in the formation of the Franklin government, afterwards the state of Tennessee. Was the delegate from that free limit to the Congress of the United States. Was a member of the Convention which formed the first Constitution of Tennessee, and was one of the first Senators from that state to the Congress of the United States, for a period of twelve years, and afterwards one of the Circuit Judges. He served in the Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi, and at the age of sixty-five was a volunteer in the war of 1812, and again distinguished himself for his personal bravery and courage. He departed this life in the eighty-first year of his age, universally lamented."





# Original Orderly Books Written on the Battlefields of American Revolution

Revelations of the  
inner workings of the American Army  
during Great Struggle for Independence & Moral  
Conduct and Character of the Revolutionists Witnessed by  
Original Documents & Official Record of Popular Feeling Among Conti-  
nental Soldiers in the American Revolution & Transcript of Historic Treasures

BY  
CHARLES TALLMADGE CONOVER  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

This is the third installment of original transcripts from the orderly books of Ensign Samuel Tallmadge of the American Revolution. The publication of the previous installments in this journal has created wide interest among military and historical authorities. The transcripts here recorded give additional light on the inner workings of the American Revolution.

Brigade Orders, (West Point), Oct. 17<sup>th</sup> 1780.  
for the day to morrow Adj<sup>t</sup> Tallmadge.

Regimental Orders Oct. 17<sup>th</sup>, 1780.  
John M<sup>c</sup>Charlesworth of Capt. Nortons Company is appointed five Major to the  
Regt. from the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant—

After Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders Oct. 17<sup>th</sup>, 1780.  
A weeks allowance of Rum to be issued to the officers Comformable to the orders  
of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, of the 20<sup>th</sup> of Aug. Last—

the Cold and Blowing season renders it Necessary as well as for the Comfort  
of the troops as preservation of the tents, that these should be Quartered in  
the Barracks Which is to be done in the following manner; the artillery in the  
Barrack in which they was Quartered Last year the Jersey Brigade in the Long  
Barrack and the hutts occupied Last Year by Col<sup>o</sup> Wessons Regiment, the New  
York Brigade to hutt in the woods near firruits and as near the Redoubts No.  
three as the ground will admit—Gen<sup>l</sup> Starks Brigade in the Barrack within the  
old Lines of fort Clinton. the troops will move into the Barracks as soon as  
may be, and assist in making the Necessary repairs. the officers will please to  
Give orders to have the Chimneys Cleansed and take every Necessary precaution  
against accidents by fire. When the troops Go into the Barracks the Tents are  
to be Carefully packed up and sent to Col<sup>o</sup> Hughs at Fish Kill.



# Orderly Books of Ensign Tallmadge in 1780

Inconsequence of the foregoing distribution of the troops to Quarters, the following alteration is to take place and be observed in Case of alarm, Viz. the York Brigade to man the Redoubts Nos. 1-2-3-& 4. Jersey Brigade to man Forts Putnam, Willis, and Webb. Late Poors Brigade to remain at their present Encampment untill further orders—

Regimental Returns of Shoes actually wanting for the Soldiers engaged for three years and the war to be made again orderly time to morrow—

Orders on Board the sloop Mary, Oct. 18th, 1780.

on a signal from the Commander on Board of his sloop, which will be the Jibb Hoisted half way, the Sloops are to weigh ancor and get under way, and to proceed as far as Fish Kill Landing, Where they will Come to ancor, at a proper distance from shore—

A Guard of one Corp<sup>l</sup> and six is to be ordered for Guard on board of each Sloop, Who will post a Sentenal on each side to prevent any soldier going on shore, and no permission is to be granted for that purpose except publick duty, Which the Command will Order if Necessary, the Gentlemen officers will not Leave their posts, without Leave obtained for the purpose from the Command—

State of New York—

Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders Albany Thursday Oct 24th, 1780.

Field Officer of the Day Major Davis—  
tryed at a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial Whereof Lieut. Col<sup>o</sup> Command Weissenfels was President Jacob Shea, John McMullen & James Van Dresven, Charged as spyes and under the act of the Legislature of this State Entitled an act subjecting all persons Who shall come out from the Enemy and secretly Lurke in any part of the state to tryals by CourtsMartial as Spyess Sevorally Sentanced to be hanged by the neck till they are Dead, his Excellency the Governor approves the Proceedings of the Court and Confirm their sentance; Shea and McMullen are to be hanged at the common place of Exicution this afternoon at four o'clock, Van Dresven is reprived for the space of forteen days, the field officers of the day will give the Necessary directions for the Exicution—

Regimental Orders Schanectady, Monday Oct. 31st, 1780.

the Quarter Master will Immediately apply to Henry Glenn Esq. for to have five Battows in Readiness Whenever Called for Properly maned, and the troops are to be Ready at a moments Warning—

Conashary, Friday Nov. 10th, 1780.

Regimental Orders.

The QMaster will order a Return to be made of the horsemen and Common Tents Poles Arms with or without Bayonets Axes Spades Shovels Picks & how many pair of shoes there are on hand now with the Paymaster, this Return is to be by him dejested in a Regimental Return by to morrow 12 oClock and Delivered to the Col<sup>o</sup>



# On Battlefields of the American Revolution

Conashary, Sunday Nov. 12th, 1780.

John Thompson of the Col<sup>o</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> is appointed Serg<sup>t</sup> in the same from the 10th Instant—

Extract from his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Letter to Governor Clinton, as Col<sup>o</sup> Weissenfels Regiment is going to a distance, Where he will not have an opportunity of Drawing those supplies Which the troops with the main army do, I have Given orders to have it as well furnished as our magazine will admit—

Orders Fort Plain Wednesday Nov. 15th, 1780.

the Gen<sup>l</sup> is to beat at half past after seven, the march will begin precisely at Eight, in the following Order, Viz, an advanced Guard of one Serg<sup>t</sup>. and nine privates from the Regiment; the artillery well Charged with Grape shot, and Matches Lighted the ammunition and Artillery Baggage, flanked by their own men the Garrison Quarter Master Stores, the Provision, the state Stores the Regimental Baggage the Cattle Guard with the Cattle, and one Sub, one Serg<sup>t</sup> one Corp<sup>s</sup> & 16 Privates to Compose the Rear Guard, the Battallion and the Battowx men under their proper officers are to march on Each flank of the waggons, the officers Commanding their Respective Comp<sup>y</sup> are to send out flanking parties with in the Distance of fifty yards from their Respective flanks, and are to maintain this Situation Dureing the march, with the Greatest Exactness and Regularity.

the Quarter Master is to have particular Care that the waggons keep Close after Each other, and if any Accident makes it necessary to halt, to Give Notice thereof to the front, to prevent Confusion and Disorder—

Serg<sup>t</sup> Gouldsmith is app<sup>d</sup> waggon Master on this March he is to have Every wagoners Name on a List, and their names called off at the usual Roll Calls—

Major Davis is Requested to See the Above Order of March put in Exicution, and have the Whole paraded in Order to proceed in the Roade Leading to Where the Church use to Stand—

the Men are Ordered to Carry their Provision, and packs, and the Quarter Master is to suffer none to be put on the waggons—

the ammunition, State Stores, Garrison QMaster Stores, and Provisions, are to be Loaded this Evening and the Cattle is to be pened by the Guard Who is to Conduct them—

Orders Fort Harkeman Saturday Nov. 18th, 1780.

a Cap<sup>t</sup> one Sub, two Serg<sup>t</sup> two Corp<sup>s</sup>, one Drum, and fortyfive privates and Captain Grays Comp<sup>y</sup> of Battow men are to parade to Morrow Eight oClock A. M. with their arms, Packs and three Days Provision for Orders at the Col<sup>o</sup>s Quarters before he marches of—

the officers in their Respective Quarters are to keep Good Order and Disapline and March their men Every Morning and Evening up to the Green for Roll Call, When the Troops and retreat Beats—

the soldiers are forbid to straggle from their Quarters into the Woods<sup>r</sup> as<sup>r</sup> their safty Depends upon it—



## Orderly Books of Ensign Tallmadge in 1780

the officers Who are going on Command are to take their Baggage with them for Which purpose the QMaster will provide them with Waggon— if an Alarm is Necessary to Communicate to the troops a Cannon will be fired as a Signal

Fort Harkeman Sunday Nov. 19th, 1780.

the Gen<sup>l</sup> will Beat at 11 oClock the March is to begin at 12 in the same manner as ordered the 18th Instant the Artillery will move in front

Orders Orioco Tuesday Nov. 21st, 1780.

All the State Stores, Ammunition, Provisions, the Baggage of the Artillery, the Baggage of the four Companies of the Reg<sup>t</sup> from the Right, the Weoman and Children and Such of the Regiment Except the family Baggage of Cap<sup>t</sup> Moody, and Mr. Tucker, to be Loaded in the Battows by Day Light to Morrow morning—

the Waggon Master is to see the Waggon to the Boats and Return with them to Camp as soon as they are Unloaded Mr. Barret is to go with the Boats to Fort Schuyler and there to Remain Unloaded till the troops arrive, Capt. Gray of the Battowmen is to proceed with all possible Dispatch, With the Boats Under his Command—

A Subaltern, Sergt. Corpl. and fourteen men to Guard the Boats, the Advanced and Rear Guards as usual—

the Gen<sup>l</sup> will Beat at Eight oClock and the March is to Begin half an hour after—

Garrison Orders Fort Schuyler, Wednesday Nov. 22<sup>d</sup> 1780.

An Exact Return of the New Levies of the Regiment to be made immediately Which the Adjutant will adjust, in a Regimental Return they are to hold themselves in Readiness to March by Day Light under the Command of Major Davis,—

the Guards to be Returned to Morrow morning Nine oClock two Days Provisions to be Drawn this Evening for the New Levies—

the Garrison Q<sup>r</sup> Master, and Commissary, is to Make Immediate Return of all the Stores and provisions in their possession.

Garrison Orders Fort Schuyler thursday Nov. 23<sup>d</sup> 1780.

A Sub, Serg<sup>t</sup>, Corp<sup>l</sup> and fifteen privates, to parade at 10 oClock as a Covouring party to wood Cutters, there are to be Six axmen to parade at the Same time—

the Command<sup>t</sup> Strickly forbids the firing of any Guns, and Orders that no person Leaves the fort, Under the pretence of Looking after Game, without his Especial order—

the Officers are to be particular attentive to the Cleanlyness of the Barracks, and the Sentinels are not to suffer any filth to be made upon the Ramparts





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## n Battlefields of the American Revolution

the outside Gate and the Draw Bridge are to be Shut at Retreat Beating, and the Salleport at Dusk,—the Drum for water will beat Just after Sundown, When Water is to be fetched for the use of the Night as none will be permitted to go out after that time, the officer of the Guard is to deliver the keys of the Garrison at Seven oClock in the Evening to the Command<sup>r</sup> and fetch them again in the morning at Revallee Beating

After Orders Nov. 23<sup>d</sup> 1780.

Sergt. James Stark of Capt. Moodys Artillery Company, is appointed Conductor, Gersham Smith and Stephen Wickam, of n. y Regiment Garrison Bakers QMaster Sergt. Duguide Assistant to Mr. Tucker & QMaster Gen<sup>l</sup> one Sergt and Eight Men to be Constantly Employed in Cuting wood, and will have Extra pay till further Orders, Mr. Barret will Deliver the Axes Which Must be kept in good Order by them and they are to be accountable for them

for the future Provision for the Garrison, Staff Officers, and the Dependants for Publick supplies, are to Draw always on one Day as no Provision Return will be Allowed on other Days—

the QMaster is to Number the Rooms for the officers of the Garrison, without Distinction Except those Occupied by the staff and Capt. Moody, and have them Drawn for by the Gentlemen—

no soldier is to take any Room, or Rooms for themselves without the Consent of the QM<sup>r</sup> of the Garrison, or his order,—

No Morning Gun is to be fired without Especial Order, Except on Sundays, When the flagg is to be Displayed on the flagg Staff—

Capt. Moody will Guard the Magazine by his men, and the Brass Field Piece is to be placed in the center of the parade opposite the gate no officers waitor to be Absent at Roll Calls in the Evening on pain of being punished—

the Guard is to Consist of one Sub, one Sergt, one Corp<sup>l</sup> one drum and twenty privates, the Adjutant is to Make a Weekly Return to Morrow, and to Continue the same Every Week, the Forage is to be Inspected and the Quality ascertained by Capt. Gray and Lieut. Hyatt, who will make Report to the Command<sup>r</sup>—

the two Eldest Lieutenants, will take their tower with Capt. Gray alternative to be officers of the Day—

Fort Schuyler Friday, Nov. 24th, 1780.

Garrison Orders.

the wood cutters with the Covouring party, are to go out precisely at troop Beating in the Morning Sundays Excepted,—

the officers of the Day is to Examine the Barracks and Order them to be kept Clean, and all the filth to be Removed without the Gates, in a Convenient place and is to visit the Main Guard and Sentinals, by Night—

the officer of the Guard is to Instruct the Sentinals at the Draw Bridge and Sallee port not to suffer any strangers or Indians to enter the Fort without the Command<sup>r</sup> permission—



Q

## Orderly Books of Ensign Tallmadge in 1780

the QMaster Srgt. is to Distribute the fire wood Every other day till further orders in such a Manner as to Enable him to make a Beginning for a Magazine and as the Weather is Moderate a small Matter will be sufficient for Every Room, of Which he is to be the judge—

the Commissary is Directed to Issue a Lb. and Quarter of Bread or one Lb. flour; a Lb. of meat Fresh or Salt, a Quart of salt A hundred and the Head and Heart of a Beef for five Lb of Meat, three points of peas a week Which Last Article is only to be Issued on Special Orders and the Candles and soape as Usual—

Capt. Moody will apply to Mr. Tucker for to have a platform made for the Brass field Piece in the place Directed.

the Neats Tongues and flour Inspected by Capt. Gray and L<sup>t</sup> Hunt is by their judgement Condemned unfit for Use, and Order it to be sunk in the Earth.

Mr. Barret is Directed to Collect the tents and put them in Store—

in future Orderly time will be Every Day at 12 oClock When the officers of the day will Attend to Make Report, and to Receive Orders if Necessary—

Fort Schuylar, thursday Nov. 30th, 1780.

Garrison Orders.

for Duty to Morrow Lieut. Hunt—

the Command<sup>t</sup>—willing to Ease the men from the duty of the Guard has reduced out of mere Lenity the same to one subaltern and 18 privates, but finding some of the soldiers so Lost to all Virtue as to breake the Stores and steale the Provisions, on Which for a serise of time their fellow soldiers must subsist and may be by this piratical Behavivour Reduce the Whole Garrison to Extreme Necessity, he Orders that the Guard be ogmented, with six men more for the future, and Immediate Death is to be Inflicted upon any soldier or person whatsoever, that is found Breaking open any Stores or stealing any provisions—

the Command<sup>t</sup> Requests and Expects the greatest Vigilance of the officers on Duty—

upon a Representation of Capt. Moody it seems that the slow Match Burning Every Night will Consume More than Can be afforded the Order of Yesterday Respecting it is therefore Dispenced with, and Directed that a Non Commis<sup>d</sup> officer of the Artillery on Duty be furnished with the Necessary Apparatus for the purpose, and have it Constantly Ready at the Guard house Where he is posted—

the tattoo will beat at 9 oClock Every Evening, When the Command<sup>t</sup> Requests the Garrison may be kept Quiet from Excessive Noise—

Fort Schuylar, Saturday, Dec. 31st, 1780.

Garrison Orders—


for duty to Morrow Lieut. Bunnhoters. The Morning Gun is to be fired in the Southeast Bastion to Morrow Morning and at the Same place a New Year Morning and Evening— the guards is not to be Relieved till after Muster—

Fort Schuylar, Monday Jan. 8th, 1781.

Garrison Orders.

For Duty to Morrow Capt. Fowler—

No soldier is to mount Guard without haveing on his Regimentals, the Guard is to parade at all times Shaved and Powdered, for which purpose Morris Kelly Is appointed Barber for this Detachment till further Orders—



# On Battlefields of the American Revolution

Fort Schuyler thursday Feb. 8th, 1781.

Garrison Orders.

For Duty to Morrow Capt. Fowler.

The Col<sup>o</sup> being apprehensive that the Beef on hand will not Last the Garrison on full allowance until a supply Can Arrive, he therefore is under the Disagreeable Necessity of Ordering that Only half pound of Beef, and one and half pounds Bread be Issued a Day untill further Orders and assures the troops that the Deficiency will be made up to them—

Fort Schuyler, Feb. 15th 1781.

Garrison Orders.

for Duty to Morrow Capt. Smith.

In future when any one of the Sentinels Shall discover any number of men approaching the garrison in the day which he shall think do not belong to it, he shall Immediately call to the Guard to turn out the officer of the Guard will Immediately inform the Command<sup>t</sup> his Guard Parading at the same time, Which being done he is to send out to meet them a Serg<sup>t</sup> and six Rank and File Who is to Challenge at the distance of one hundred yards, who Comes there if friend he is to order them to stand Sending one of their party to the Command<sup>t</sup> if an Enemy he is to fire on them and Retire within the picquets, Shuting the Outward Gate as soon as he has Entered

If persons are discovered at Night approaching the Garrison or lurking Round it, the Sentry making such Discovery, Shall call the Serg<sup>t</sup> of the Guard Who shall attend the Sentinal the officer at the same time is to have his Guard paraded the Serg<sup>t</sup> being apprised of the Circumstance is to Inform the Officer, and should there be a necessity the Command<sup>t</sup> is to be notified and the drums beat to arms, upon which the Companies are to repair to their Alarm posts as Ordered the 8th of January Last—

Fort Schuyler. Friday Feb. 27th, 1781.

Garrison Orders.

For Duty to Morrow Capt. Smith.

The Col<sup>o</sup> has the happiness to Congratulate the Garrison on the Important news arrived from the Southward—

Gen<sup>l</sup> Morgan in an Engagement with the enemy near Cow Penns in south Carolina Jan. 17th, 1781—Killed and wounded and took the following number of prisoners (Viz)

10 Officers taken Prisoners	}	2 Pieces Artillery
29 D <sup>o</sup> wounded		2 Standards
100 Privates killed		800 Muskets
200 D <sup>o</sup> wounded		35 B. Waggons
500 D <sup>o</sup> taken prisoners		1 Smith Forge.
100 Dragoons Taken D <sup>o</sup>		
70 Negroes — —		

1009 Total



## Orderly Books of Ensign Tallmadge in 1781

The above account is published by Congress, and may be depended on besides which, there is many favourable accounts, but as the particulars are not yet published the Col<sup>o</sup> will not at present Mention them in Orders—

Fort Schuylar, Wednesday Feb. 28th, 1781.

Garrison Orders—

For Duty to Morrow Capt. Hamtramck.

As a supply of provisions has arrived the Commissary will for the future Issue to the troops full allowance of bread and beef, and will also Issue as much Beef as will make up the difficiency of the late Stoppage.

Deducting at the same time three Barrels which was taken without liberty the Evening the provisions arrived—the Col<sup>o</sup> is sorry that he is obliged to Issue this last order but as he is assured that many of the Garrison was known to the Robbery he thinks it but reasonable that they should all be obliged to make up the loss, unless some honest man will discover who ware in fault, that they may be brought to punishment—

Fort Schuylar Monday 21st May. 81—

Garrison Orders

For Duty to Morrow Capt. Fowler.

A Court Martial to Sit immediately for the trial of such persons as shall be brought before them, Capt. Smith will Preside—

as the Quantity of flower in store is much larger than other articles the Commissary will Issue one pound and a Quarter of flower three Quarters of a pound of Beef fish or pork per Ration till further orders—

At a Court Martial held this Day, was tryed Sulvestor Oathout, Charged with Stealing provision from Peter Jones pleads Guilty—the Court do sentence him to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back

the Commanding officer approves of the sentence, and orders it put in execution this evening at Retreat Beating.

for Picquit Guard this Evening one Sergeant one Corporal and twelve Rank and File—the Sergeant will Receive his orders from the Commanding Officer

Fort Schuylar Thursday 24 May 81.

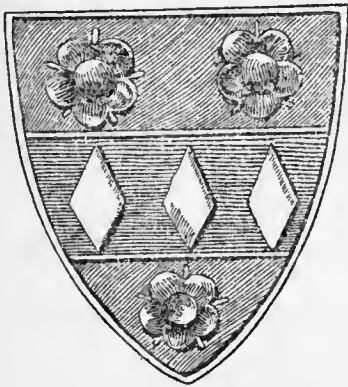
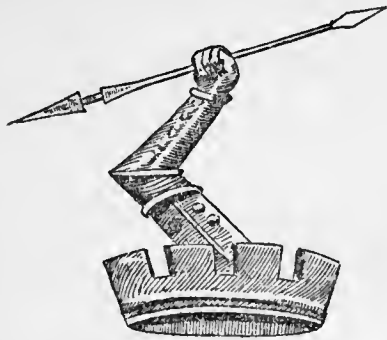
Garrison Orders

For Duty to Morrow Capt Fowler.

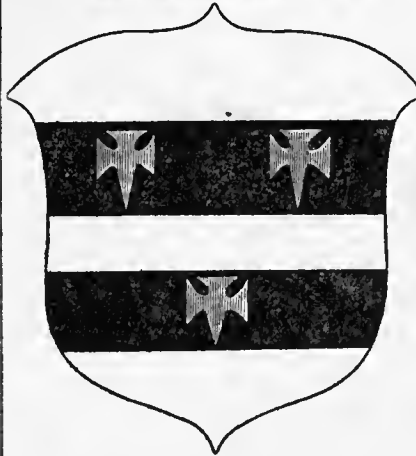
The officers Commanding Companies are Requested to not suffer their men to incumber the platforms or alarm posts in the Bastions—

The commanding officer observes that the spears is thrown out of their places orders that they are all collected and and put in their proper places and the Sentinals to have orders to not suffer any person to take them away—

as there is now some paper in Garrison it is required that the officer of the day to make Report of the Guard in wrighting to the Commanding officer every morning, as soon as is convenient after he is Releived—



Arms of the Fells of Swathmoor Hall



Arms of the Fells of Longlands



Arms of the Fells of Dalton Gate

COATS-OF-ARMS OF THE FELS IN AMERICA AND THE OLD WORLD



*Jesse Fell*

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SILHOUETTE AND SIGNATURE OF AN EARLY AMERICAN

Only portrait extant of Judge Fell, the discoverer of the utilization of anthracite coal  
which has revolutionized the commerce and trade  
of the world's civilization

Born 1751—Died 1830

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Silhouette in possession of Mr. Oscar J. Harvey, of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania




# Discovery of the Great Anthracite Regions of the Middle West

Personal Letter from  
the Discoverer of the Riches that  
Revolutionized the Civilization of the Western  
World—Original Document by Judge Fell of Pennsylvania in  
Archives of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society & Foundation  
of the Fells in America and the Part They Have Taken in Building the Nation

BY  
LOUISE HILLARD PATTERSON

FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

Great-Granddaughter of Judge Jesse Fell, Discoverer of the Utility of  
Anthracite Coal in the Wyoming Valley



**W** ON February 11, 1808, the first experiment of burning anthracite coal in a grate was made by Judge Jesse Fell, of Pennsylvania. It was the first practical use of anthracite coal, the beginning of heating houses with anthracite coal, and the development of the great coal industry of Wyoming Valley. I find a letter in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, from Judge Fell to his cousin Johnathan, which I here offer in evidence:

Wilkes Barre, December 1st, 1826.  
Esteemed Cousin—

When I saw thee last I believe I promised to write thee and give thee some data about the first discovery and use of the stone coal in our valley, (I call it stone coal because everyone knows what is meant by that name).

The late Judge Gore in his life time informed me that he and his brother, the late Cap. Daniel Gore (both being blacksmiths) were the first that discovered and used this coal in their blacksmith fires, and found it to answer their purpose well. This was before the Revolutionary War and was near as I can collect the information about the year 1770 or 1771 and it has been in use ever since by blacksmiths of the place. In the year 1788 I used it


in a nailery and found it to be profitable in that business. The nails made with it would neat the weights of the rods and frequently a balance over. But it was the opinion of those that worked it in their furnaces that it would not do for fuel, because when a small parcel was left on their fires and not blown, it would go out. Notwithstanding this opinion prevailed, I had for some time entertained the idea that if a sufficient body of it was ignited, it would burn. Accordingly in this month of February, 1808, I procured a grate made of small iron rods, ten inches in depth, ten inches in height, and set it up in my common room fireplace, and on first lighting I found it to burn excellently well.

This was the first successful attempt to burn our stone coal in a grate so far as my knowledge extends.

On its being put in operation my neighbors flocked to see the novelty, but many would not believe the fact until convinced by ocular demonstration. Such was the effect of this pleasing discovery that in a few days there were a number of grates put in operation. This brought the stone coal into popular notice. I need not mention the many uses to which it may be applied, as you who are in the coal concern have the means of knowing its value. I find we have various qualities of coal, but our best specimens are said to be superior to any yet known and we have it in sufficient quantity to supply the world. Here it is—but the best way of getting it to market is yet to be discovered. The



## D iscoverer of Riches of the Middle West



market at the present is down the Susquehanna River, but great improvements must be made in the river ere it can be a safe and sure conveyance.

Looking forward—Wilkes Barre is but eleven miles from Lehigh below the junction of all the creeks you pass from Pokono to Wilkes Barre Mountain. This I suppose is known and I believe the principal transport of our coal will in time pass down the Lehigh; but this I do not expect to live to see.

I am thy affectionate cousin


JESSE FELL.

Johnathan Fell.

Fifty years later, February 17, 1858, a number of the prominent citizens of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, met in "the tavern at the corner of Washington and Northampton streets" to commemorate the successful experiment of their distinguished fellow-citizen, Judge Jesse Fell. This meeting was reported in the local news columns of the *Record of the Times*, issue of February 17, 1858, under the caption of "Meeting to Celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Successful Experiment of Burning Anthracite Coal in an Open Grate in Wyoming, By Judge Fell, February 11, 1808." At this meeting a society was founded, now known as the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, an institution that is doing much to preserve the history of the Wyoming Valley to the generations.

The Fells derive their name from the district of Furness Fells, and West remarks (p. 32), that so late as the time of Henry VIII, the families of High Furness lived in villages and hamlets of their own name. Of these were the Fells, deriving their name from the district of Furness Fells. The Fells of Redman Hall have been known to have been there for nineteen generations.<sup>1</sup> Judge Fell's family descended from the Fells of Dalton Gate.

<sup>1</sup>Baines, Vol. 4.



"Longlands," the ancestral family seat, was built in the tenth century, and for six hundred years and over it has remained in the family, and now belongs to Mrs. Burgess, nee Miss Annie R. Fell, living at Strathwaite House, not far from Longlands. At the time of the building of Longlands, all England lived in one-story or two-story stone houses, and England itself was a wild, sterile and obscure country. The history of the Fells claims descent from the Saxons, but is lost in the mist of centuries. As Saxons, they were subjects for assassination, which was then of daily occurrence.

In later years, about 1600, they joined the "Friends" under George Fox and Mary Askew Fell. This but added to their persecutions, and by the unjust laws of those days they were defrauded of property and income. Still, their influence was sufficiently strong to allow them, even in those years of turmoil, to retain the home lands. At last, William Penn, in the reign of James II, obtained a grant of land in America, and he induced his relations, his connections and his friends to seek shelter and homes in a land which James II assured him should be free from persecution.

Joseph Fell, ancestor of the Fells of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was born in Cumberland County, England, October 19, 1668. He was the father of eleven children. The family were members of the "Society of Friends," or Quakers. In 1705, he came to this country and purchased land in Buckingham Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. There he married, in 1711, Elizabeth Doyle, for whose family Doylestown, Pennsylvania, is named. He was a member of the Assembly, in 1721, 1725 and 1733. He died April 9, 1748.





**W**

## Original Letter from Judge Fell in 1808

His grandson, Watson Fell, married Elizabeth Blackpan, cousin of William Penn, and so many of his descendants married into the Penn family and its connections that he was long supposed to be of the Swathmoor Fells. He owned a seal which he brought to this country with him. It has been found to be the Swathmoor coat-of-arms. How he obtained that, history does not say, but that he is of the same family the coat-of-arms have proven.

Thomas Fell, the eighth child of Joseph, married Jane Kirke, of Bucks County, and their first child was Jesse Fell, whose record is here presented, who was born in Buckingham, the empire township of Bucks, April 16, 1751. Of Jane Kirke's ancestry, history says: "Thos. Penn of Co. Hertford, Gentleman, mentions in his will proved Jan. 29, 1655, his daughters Ellen and Alice and his grandson Thos. Kirke, from this Thomas Jane is descended."

Jesse Fell and Hannah Welding, of Bucks, were joined in marriage August 20, 1775, by Isaac Hicks (one of the justices of the peace of Bucks County), "by virtue of a marriage license by them produced from under the hand and seal of the Hon. John Penn, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania."

When Dr. Dilliker went to London to reside he made extensive research and found Joseph Fell did belong to the same family of Fells as the Swathmoor Fells, and could claim as his ancestors John Fell, bishop of London during the reign of Charles II, and Ann Askew, who was burned at the stake during the reign of Henry VIII, but he also found that he was *not* descended from *Charles Fell*.

In the summer of 1753, "The Connecticut-Susquehanna Company" was organized in Connecticut by some


two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of that colony. The objects of the organizers of this company were, as set forth in the articles of agreement which was signed: "To enlarge his Majesty the King's English settlements in America" and to promote the "temporal interests" of the members of the company by securing possession of a large tract of land "lying on Susquehanna River at or near a place called Chiwaumuck, an island in the said River." The marvelous richness and beauty of the Susquehanna region had become known to many of the inhabitants of rocky and unfertile Connecticut through the reports of explorers. The organizers of the Connecticut-Susquehanna Company firmly believed that this region lay within the limits of Connecticut, as defined and described in its charter and grant from Charles II, and it was proposed to plant a colony there and bring the beautiful valley of Wyoming within the actual jurisdiction of Connecticut. The company completed its purchase of soil from the "Six Nations" (the acknowledged proprietors of the territory), and made their arrangements for establishing settlements, possession only being necessary to render the title complete. In 1762, the company arrived and took up quarters in log cabins which they erected. They brought with them tools and agricultural implements.

In October, 1763, this settlement was broken up by the Six Nation Indians who came into the valley marauding, and massacred some of the settlers and carried others away into captivity. Those who were fortunate to escape returned to Connecticut.

Thomas and Richard Penn viewed with disfavor this attempt of the Susquehanna Company to establish

  
**D**

## Discoverer of Riches of the Middle West



a settlement in Wyoming, and without delay set up their own title to it, which seemed correct according to Pennsylvania surveys and legislative enactments, and thus the Pennamite War began, each contestant in turn ruthlessly destroying homes, plundering inhabitants of personal belongings and wrecking all growing crops. Numerical superiority finally gave success to the Connecticut colonists. By turn, desolation and ruin marked their footsteps through the valley. In August, 1778, the exiles from Wyoming returned to their ruined homes. They rebuilt and tried to re-establish themselves in the valley they loved so well, but the Indians added to their terror and impeded the rebuilding of their homes. In 1782, the questions at issue were submitted to the decision of a board of commissioners, which had been appointed for the purpose by Congress. Numbers of persons were induced to emigrate from other counties and the states of New England, New York, New Jersey and elsewhere, and to settle throughout Wyoming. Among these was Jesse Fell, who, through his warm friend and admirer, Governor Thomas Mifflin, was induced to leave his farm and home in Bucks County and make his residence in Wilkes-Barre where he purchased one of the best houses in the town, at that unhappy time a village of log cabins. He enlarged it and at once set about making a living in that town, which was still in a state of excitement over the controversy, and it was not until the close of the century that the dispute was settled. Governor Mifflin never deserted the good man he had induced to leave home and family to aid him in restoring order in a pacific manner to the irritated settlement. The governor well knew the gentle, conciliating

disposition of Mr. Fell, a "Friend" in religion, non-combatting, peaceful, well educated, well connected, well born, perfectly suited to fill any position of honor, and to bring peace among the excited and nervous inhabitants of that beautiful valley. That Mr. Fell fulfilled all that was expected of him is proven by the offices he filled and the work he did.

And of all the great works and versatility of Judge Jesse Fell, his important discovery of how to burn anthracite coal stands pre-eminent. From volume X of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, page 78, I quote the following:

We do not claim that this experiment was the first of the kind ever performed in the United States. Anthracite coals from the Lehigh region having been experimentally burned in Philadelphia previous to this date, but we do claim that the Fell experiment with Wyoming coal made here in Wilkes Barre one hundred years ago, was the *important* one from which the results flowed, just as Fulton's steamboat and Columbus' discovery of America were the *important* discoveries though not the first. All the other tests were like wet weather springs which dry with the first drought; whereas Judge Fell's experiment was the ever flowing perennial spring which becomes the source of the mighty river. Through him and through him alone the mighty coal tract was given birth. Instead of the woodpile we have hot water, steam heat, central steam plants, all of which grew out of and are the results of Judge Fell's experiment.

In form, Judge Fell was about the middle height, and in early life was strong and active. His face was round, of Grecian cast, and there was a peculiar but not unpleasant protrusion of the under lip, which gave the impression of firmness and character. Generally grave and thoughtful, his countenance assumed a glow of light and cheerfulness when animated by conversation with his friends.



**O**

## Original Letter from Judge Fell in 1808

Brought up a member of the "Society of Friends," he used their plain language in domestic and more friendly intercourse. He was a man of strong and lucid mind, of decision and firmness of character. He wrote well, and in his early days published a series of essays in certain newspapers over the signature of "Epaminondas," sustaining the laws and claims of Pennsylvania against writers on the other side in land disputes.

He had three sons and five daughters. One daughter, Sarah, married Joseph Slocum, a brother of the famous Frances Slocum. Abi K., another daughter, married Colonel John J. Dennis, of Wilkes Barre. One son, Dr. Samuel W. Fell, died at Belvidere, New Jersey, in 1824, aged 36 years. Nancy W. (youngest child) married Dr. Isaac Pickering, and died at Catawissa, Pennsylvania, in 1834. Judge Fell's wife died at Wilkes Barre, in 1816.

Jesse Fell's prominence in the affairs of his day is attested by the variety and number of the offices which he held during his residence in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. He was commissioned sheriff of Luzerne County by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on October 21, 1789. He was recommissioned in 1790, and served an additional two years. He fulfilled the duties of his station with intelligence and such uprightness that not the slightest censure or complaint was ever heard against him. This was the more remarkable, and redounded to his credit, as he was prepossessed in favor of the Pennsylvania claimants, and contests were continually occurring between them and their opponents, the Connecticut citizens, in almost every variety of form, which he was called upon to decide.

He was appointed "Lieutenant of the county of Luzerne" January 10, 1792, by Thomas Mifflin, governor of the commonwealth, succeeding Colonel Zebulon Butler.

He had a plain but beautiful style of handwriting, which was of much use to him when, in 1798, he was appointed town clerk of Wilkes Barre, which position he held for several years. In 1804, he was appointed assistant clerk to the county commissioners. This position he held until 1819 when he succeeded Arnold Colt as chief clerk, and in this office continued until his death.


Through "The Compromise Act of 1799," designed to settle the claim of the Pennsylvania claimants to certain lands within the seventeen townships of Luzerne County, and by several supplemental acts, Judge Thomas Copper, General John Steele and William Wilson, Esquire, were appointed commissioners to execute these "confirming" laws, and Jesse Fell was by them appointed their clerk, a position he continued to hold during the existence of the commission, before whom more than one thousand claims were adjudicated.

When the act of March 17, 1806, was passed, incorporating the borough of Wilkes Barre, Judge Fell was named as a commissioner to issue a proclamation for holding the first election for borough officers. The proclamation was issued April 25th, and the election was held May 6, 1806. He was elected burgess and served in the office for one year. Subsequently he served four terms, from May, 1814, to May, 1818. He was a member of the borough council for many years and served as its president from May, 1809, to May, 1810, from 1811 to 1814, and from 1820 to 1823. He



**D**

## Discoverer of Riches of the Middle West



was a member of the first board of trustees of the Wilkes Barre Academy, incorporated March 19, 1807.

In 1810, the Luzerne County Agricultural Society was formed and he was its first president. In September, 1810, he was appointed a director of the Philadelphia Branch Bank, in Wilkes Barre, the first bank ever organized in that town. From 1812 to 1814, he was treasurer of the Bridgewater and Wilkes Barre Turnpike Company, and, in 1824, president of the Easton and Wilkes Barre Turnpike Company.

Fell Township, now Lackawanna County, was named, in 1845, in his honor. He became a Mason March 31, 1794, being the fourth person initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry in Lodge 61. He remained a diligent and faithful officer until his death and, with the exception of the first nine months of his membership, was continually in some office in the organization.

He was appointed by Governor Mifflin, February 5, 1798, an associate judge of the courts of Luzerne County. This position he filled for thirty-two and one-half years, terminated only by his death. At the time of this appointment he was in comfortable pecuniary circumstances. He owned several town lots, upon one of which a storehouse was erected. He also owned a sawmill and five or six hundred acres of land situated about one and one-half miles south of the court-house and about one thousand acres of woodland adjoining Harvey's Lake.


### Judge Fell's Positions of Trust

Appointed brigade inspector (major), 1793. Appointed by Governor Mifflin, associate judge of Luzerne County, in 1798, and filled that office until death. Appointed

town clerk, 1798. Appointed clerk of commissions 1804-1819, and held that office until death. Appointed commissioner, 1806. Elected chief burgess, in 1806, and filled that office five years. Became president of Wilkes Barre Academy and treasurer four years, 1807 to 1810. Appointed president of Borough Council, 1809. Appointed director of Philadelphia Branch Bank, the first bank of Wilkes Barre, 1810. Appointed treasurer Bridgewater Turnpike Company, 1812. Became president of the Easton and Wilkes Barre Turnpike Company, in 1824. Elected the first president of the Agricultural Society, in 1810. He was also member of the Borough Council, 1809 to 1823, and its president from 1809 to 1823.

On March 5, 1830, Judge Fell made his last appearance on the bench, in discharge of his duties. He died on August 11, 1830. The day following his death the members of the bar held a meeting and adopted resolutions expressive of their esteem for the dead man. The court-house and court-room were draped in mourning for a specified period, and the entire Masonic fraternity attended the funeral in a body. Many tributes of esteem from the pens of men of eminence of that day were published in the newspapers of the time, and his death was widely lamented.

The cut here presented is a facsimile of Jesse Fell taken from the medal issued by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in the honor of the celebration held on the one hundredth anniversary of Judge Fell's discovery. This silhouette is the only picture extant of this celebrated man, and the original is now in the possession of his great-granddaughter; the contributor of this historical record.





# Prison Ships in American Revolution


Revelation of the Historical Facts Regarding the Experiences of Soldiers who were Held as Prisoners-of-War During the War for American Independence & Remarkable Results of Recent Researches

BY

CHARLES E. WEST, LL. D.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Original Researches deposited with Mrs. Eliza M. Chandler White, chairman of the Monument Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution




**T**HE horrors of the British prison ships of the Wallabout have never been revealed to the public eye. The muse of history sits silent by the tomb of the American martyrs, draped in mourning. Better, perhaps, that the pall of oblivion be not lifted! What are the facts? I copy from historical records.

The battle of Brooklyn, in August, and the capture of Fort Washington, in November, 1776, placed in possession of the British nearly four thousand prisoners, and this number was increased by the arrest of private citizens suspected of complicity with the rebellion, to over five thousand before the end of the year. The only prisons then existing in the city of New York were the "new" jail, which still remains in an entirely altered form, as the Hall of Records, and the Bridewell, which was located between the present City Hall and Broadway. These edifices proving entirely inadequate to the accumulation of these large numbers of captives, to whom they were unwilling to extend the privileges of parole, the British were compelled to turn their large sugar houses, several of the churches, the hospital and Columbia College, into prisons for their reception. These buildings also were soon crowded to overflowing by daily accessions of


captive patriots, who, in many instances, found not even space to lie down and rest upon the hard and filthy floors. Here in these loathsome dungeons, denied the light and air of heaven, scantily fed on poor, putrid and sometimes even uncooked food, obliged to endure the companionship of the most abandoned criminals and those sick with smallpox and other infectious diseases; worn out by the groans and complaints of their suffering fellows, and subjected to every conceivable insult and indignity by their prison keepers, thousands of Americans sickened and died.

Great, however, as were the sufferings of those incarcerated within the prisons of the city, they were exceeded, if possible, by those of the unfortunate naval prisoners who languished in the prison ships of the "Wallebought." They were originally the transport vessels in which the cattle and other supplies of the British army had been brought to America, in 1776, and which had been anchored in Gravesend Bay and occupied by the prisoners taken in the battle of Brooklyn, upon the occupation of the city by the British forces. These soldiers were transferred to the prisons on shore and the transports, anchored in the Hudson and East Rivers, which were devoted more especially to the marine prisoners, whose numbers were rapidly






## Prison Ships in the American Revolution



increasing, owing to the frequent capture of American privateers by the king's cruisers.

"A large transport, named the *Whitby*," says General Jeremiah Johnson, "was the first prison ship anchored in the Wallabout. She was anchored near Remsen's mill, about the twentieth of October, 1776, and was then crowded with prisoners. Many landsmen were prisoners on board of this vessel; she was said to be the most sickly of all the prison ships. Bad provisions, bad water and scanty rations were dealt to the prisoners. No medical men attended the sick, disease reigned unrelieved, and hundreds died from pestilence, or worse, starved on board this floating prison.

"I saw the sand beach between the ravine in the hill and Mr. Remsen's dock, become filled with graves in the course of two months; and before first of May, 1777, the ravine alluded to was itself occupied in the same way. In the month of May, 1777, two large ships were anchored in the Wallabout, when the prisoners were transferred from the *Whitby* to them. These vessels also were very sickly, from the causes before stated. Although many prisoners were sent on board of them, and none exchanged, death made room for all. On a Sunday afternoon, about the middle of October, 1777, one of the prison ships was burned; the prisoners, (except a few, who, it is said, were burned in the vessel) were removed to the remaining ship. It was reported at the time that the prisoners had fired their prison, which, if true, proves that they preferred death, even by fire, to the lingering sufferings of pestilence and starvation. In the month of February, 1778, the remaining prison ship was burned at night, when the prisoners were removed to the ships then wintering in the Wallabout."



In 1779, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Good Hope* were used as prison ships, the latter vessel being destroyed by fire, in March, 1780. Her place in the Wallabout was supplied shortly after by the *Stromboli*, *Scorpion* and *Hunter*, all nominally hospital ships. Many other old hulks, the old *Jersey*, the *John*, the *Falmouth*, the *Chatham*, the *Kitty*, the *Frederick*, the *Glasgow*, the *Woodlands*, the *Scheldt* and *Clyde*, were converted into prison ships.


Of all these the old *Jersey* (or the "Hell," as she was called from the large number confined in her—often more than a thousand at a time—and the terrible sufferings they endured) won an infamous prominence in the sad history of the prison ships.

"The first care of a prisoner, after arriving upon the *Jersey*," says Captain Dring, "was to form or be admitted into some regular mess. On the day of his arrival it was impossible for him to procure any food; or even on the second day he could not procure any in time to have it cooked. No matter how long he had fasted, nor how much might be his sufferings from hunger and privations, his prison guards would on no occasion deviate from their rule of delivering the prisoner's morsel at a particular hour and at no other, and the poor half famished wretch must absolutely wait until the coming day before his pittance of food could be boiled with that of his fellow captives.

Messes, consisting of six men each, were all numbered, and every morning when the steward's bell rang at nine o'clock, an individual belonging to each mess started, stood ready to answer to its number. As soon as it was called, the person representing it hurried forward to the window in the bulkhead of the steward's room from which was handed the allowance for the day. This was for each six men what was equivalent to the full



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ration of four men. No vegetable of any description, nor butter was allowed; but in place of the butter a scanty portion of so-called sweet oil, so rancid and often putrid that the Americans could not eat it and always gave it to the foreign prisoners in the lower hold, who took it gratefully and swallowed it with a little salt and their evening bread. These rations, insufficient and miserable as they were, were frequently not given to the prisoners in time to be boiled on the same day, thus obliging them often to fast for another twenty-four hours, or consume it raw, as they sometimes did."

At the expiration of the war, the prisoners remaining on board of the *Jersey* were liberated, and the old hulk, in whose depths so many had suffered and died, was abandoned where she lay. The dread of contagion prevented every one from venturing on board and even from approaching her polluted frame. But the ministers of destruction were at work. Her planks were soon filled with worms, which, as if sent to remove this disgrace to the name of our common humanity, ceased not from their labor until they had penetrated through her decaying bottom, through which the water rushed in, and she sank. With her went down the names of many thousands of our countrymen, with which her inner planks and sheathing were literally covered, for but few of her inmates had ever neglected to add their own names to the almost innumerable catalogue. The exact number of these unknown martyrs, who perished in the prison ships and who were buried in the loose sands of the lonely Wallabout, will probably never be accurately known. It was estimated shortly after the close of the war, when the data was more easily ob-


tainable than now, that upward of eleven thousand died in the *Jersey* alone. The statement was never denied, either officially or by those then resident in New York or elsewhere, who, from their connection with the British commissary department, had full opportunities of knowing the truth. Calculating, as we safely may, the deaths on board the *Jersey* as averaging five a day, during the time (1779-80, April, 1783) she was occupied as a prison ship, and adding thereto the large number transferred from her to the hospital ships, where they died, as well as the hundreds exchanged from time to time, and who reached home only in time to die, the above estimate does not seem to be exaggerated if applied to the mortality, not of the *Jersey* alone, but of all the prison ships.

For several years after the close of the Revolution, the bones of those who died on board of prison ships were to be seen, scarce covered in the falling banks of the Wallabout, or strewn upon its shores and bleaching beneath the winter's storms and the summer's sun. And, though during this period several patriotic individuals called the attention of Congress and of the public to these exposed and neglected remains, yet no formal movement seems to have been made toward their proper interment until 1792, when the citizens of Brooklyn, at an annual town meeting, resolved that the bones disinterred and collected by John Jackson, who had recently become the owner of the Remsen farm on which they were strewn, should be removed to and buried in the graveyard of the Reformed Dutch church, and a monument erected over them. A committee of which General Johnson was chairman was appointed to





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carry the resolution into effect; but their application, in 1793, was refused by Mr. Jackson, who, being a prominent politician and sachem of the then influential Tammany society, or Columbian order, subsequently offered to the society an eligible piece of land upon his property in the Wallabout, for the purpose of erecting thereon a suitable sepulchre. The society accepted his offer, and on the tenth of February, 1803, an eloquent memorial was prepared and presented by the learned and distinguished Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell to the House of Representatives, then in session in Washington. From Congress, indeed, much was expected, as the subject of the application to them was purely national and one which deeply interested the public sensibility. No measures were, however, adopted by that honorable body, and the matter rested until 1808. On February 1st, of that year, it was again revived by the Tammany society, who appointed a Wallabout committee, which proceeded to take immediate steps toward effecting the long-talked of and long-neglected sepulchre, of the remains of which thirteen hogsheads had been collected. They initiated an extensive correspondence, published a stirring appeal in the columns of the public press, invited the cordial co-operation of their patriotic fellow citizens in every part of the Union, and in various ways strove to arouse a national interest in the sacred trust which had been confided to their care. In this they were eminently successful, and the nation, aroused by their appeal, touched by the memories which clustered around those martyr graves amid the sand hills of the Wallabout, and shamed, it may be, by a consciousness of its own too great neglect, turned at last with a quickened impulse of generous affec-

tion toward the work of providing for those honored warriors a place of final deposit.

Indeed, so unexpected was the zeal manifested by the public, and so effective were the individual exertions made in behalf of this object, that the committee were induced at a much earlier period than they had originally contemplated to commence the building of the vault. On Wednesday, April 13, 1808, the corner-stone was laid. The imposing military and civic procession which took place on that occasion formed at the old ferry (now Fulton ferry, Brooklyn), under the direction of Major Aycrigg, grand marshal of the day, and marched through Main, Sands, Bridge, York and Jackson streets to the vault, on Jackson street, adjoining the navy yard.

Arriving at the latter place the artillery were posted on an adjoining hill; the other parts of the procession took appropriate positions, and Benjamin Romaine, grand sachem of Tammany, assisted by the Wallabout committee and the master-builders, laid the corner-stone of the vault, upon which was the following inscription:

<sup>1</sup> In the name of the spirits of the departed free—Sacred to the memory of that portion of the American seamen, soldiers and citizens who perished on board the prison ships of the British at the Wallabout during the revolution.

This is the corner-stone of the vault erected by the Tammany society, or Columbian order, which contains their remains, the ground for which was bestowed by John Jackson, Nassau island, season of blossoms. Year of the discovery, the three hundred and sixteenth, of the institution, the nineteenth, and of American independence the thirty-second, April 6, 1808.

The completion of the ceremony was followed by a national salute by the marine corps and the artillery,



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and solemn music by the bands. There, before the procession, some two thousand citizens gathered in a circle around the door of the vault; Joseph D. Fay, a member of Tammany, pronounced a brilliant and eloquent oration over "The Tomb of the Patriots." At the conclusion of his address, the procession returned to the place of rendezvous, at the ferry, where they formed a circle around the liberty pole, near the market, gave three cheers and dispersed to their homes.

Upon the completion of the vault, the remains were removed, on the twenty-sixth day of May following, with a civic and military pageant unprecedented for splendor and impressiveness, and which was witnessed, as then estimated, by upward of thirty thousand persons. At the head of the procession rode a trumpeter mounted on a black horse and dressed in black relieved with red, wearing a helmet ornamented with flowing black and red feathers, and bearing in his right hand a trumpet, from which was suspended a black silk flag edged with red and black crape, bearing the following motto in letters of gold:

Mortals, avaunt!  
11,500

Spirits of the martyred brave  
Approach the tomb of Honor, of Glory, of  
Virtuous Patriotism.

He was followed by the chief herald in full military dress and mounted on an elegant white horse, richly caparisoned, bearing the staff and cap of liberty, from which was suspended an elegant blue silk shield edged with red and black crape, the field covered with thirteen stars in gold, emblematic of the original American constellation.

Major Aycrigg, the son of a sufferer in the sugar house, and Captain

Alexander Coffin, himself twice a sufferer in the prison ships, acted as his aid. The long line which followed was composed of cavalry, artillery, infantry, the members of the Cincinnati, the clergy, the Tammany society in full and imposing regalia of their order surrounding the thirteen coffins filled with the remains of the prison ship dead, to which one hundred and four revolutionary veterans, headed by Samuel Osgood and Henry Rutgers, acted as pall-bearers; the sailors, members of the municipal, state and general governments, foreign diplomatists, societies, trades, Masons, and others. The central feature of the procession, however, was the grand national pedestal, as it was called, consisting of an oblong square stage erected on a large truck carriage, the margin of which represented an iron railing; below this drooped a deep festoon which covered the wheels; on the stage was a pedestal representing black marble, eight feet long, six feet high and two feet wide, the four panels of which bore the following inscriptions on the four sides:

Americans! Remember the British.

Youth of my country! Martyrdom prefer  
to slavery.

Sires of Columbia: Transmit to posterity  
the cruelties practiced on board the  
British prison ships.


Tyrants dread the gathering storm,  
While freemen, freemen's obsequies perform.

From a staff on the top of the pedestal was displayed a blue silk flag, 18x12, emblazoned with the arms of the United States, the staff itself, eighteen feet high, being crowned by a globe, on which sat the American bald eagle, enveloped in a cloud of crape.

The "Genius of America" was represented by Josiah Falconer, a



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member of the Tammany society, and the son of a Revolutionary patriot. His dress was a loose under dress of light blue silk which reached to his knees, over which was a long flowing white robe, relieved by a crimson scarf and crape. He wore sandals on his feet, and on his head a magnificent cap, adorned with the most elegant feathers which could be obtained, all in the Mexican style. On the stage and around the pedestal, stood nine young men, each holding by a tassel the end of a cord connected with the flag. These represented patriotism, honor, virtue, patience, fortitude, merit, courage, perseverance and science, and were styled the attributes of the genius of America. They were all dressed in character, with a plume of feathers in their hats, a white silk scarf relieved with crape, and each wore a scarlet badge, edged with dark blue silk fringe, in the shape of a crescent, inscribed in gold with the name of the attribute which he represented; and each held also in his hand a blue silk banner, emblematic of the institution to which he belonged. This beautiful structure was drawn by four horses draped in ribbons and crape, and under the charge of two postilions.

The procession, after passing through various streets, reached the East River, where, at different places, boats had been provided for crossing to Brooklyn. Thirteen large open boats transported the thirteen tribes of the Tammany society, each containing one tribe, one coffin and the pall-bearers. The grand sachem, father of the council and other officers not attached to tribes, accompanied by the chief herald, his aids and the trumpeter, led the van, the boats following in order. The car was embarked on board a vessel specially constructed for the purpose, and


transported under the management of several masters of vessels, who volunteered their services, the Genius and supporters retaining their positions. "This beautiful structure," says the account, "in its passage attracted the notice of every eye. From the current, it received the direction down the river, which made its course circuitous, describing a line of perfect beauty, the elegant standard floating in the wind, on which were seen the badges of each society, the white robes loosely flowing around the tall and graceful figure of the Genius, and the chased colored pedestal which supported them, presented to the imagination of every beholder an object of the most pleasing admiration."

At Brooklyn ferry the procession formed again, and being joined by many citizens and women of Brooklyn, marched to the tomb of the valiant dead. The tomb was open to receive them. The remains of American martyrs were about to be honored with rights of sepulture. Amid the impressive silence which reigned, the Reverend Ralph Williston addressed "The God of Battles" in a most solemn, eloquent and pious supplication. Dr. Benjamin De Witt then delivered the formal oration.

At the close of the oration, the coffins were deposited in the tomb, the ceremonies were closed with the solemn benediction, "To the King Immortal, Invisible, the All Wise God, be glory everlasting. Amen," and the procession returned to the Brooklyn ferry, from whence its passage to the city was pleasant and expeditious. It was formed there again and proceeded to the park, where a circle was formed, the car of liberty and the standards of the different societies were placed in the center, and an air from the band was performed, after which, by a



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signal from the grand marshal, the procession was dismissed.

Thus ended the solemnities of a funeral procession which had excited more interest than any other that had ever taken place in America, and which was, as the event proved, as grand in promise as it was empty in result.

For awhile after the temporary interment of the bones of the martyrs, there seemed to be no doubt that a nation's gratitude would be converted into the gold which should build their monument. Tammany Hall flamed with excitement. Committees were appointed to collect money, individuals proffered donations, the state itself contributed \$1,000. But all this fervid excitement soon collapsed. Tammany Hall, good at the beginning, did not keep up the stimulus. Some money was collected, but scattered no one knew or cared where; private donations were not called for, and the sum duly appropriated by the state was finally returned to the treasury, to be realized, it is hoped, with increase at some future day, when the patriotism of our people shall finally make amends for the long delay of the past.


So the bubble burst—the tide of popular enthusiasm. The old elements were dissolved in the current of the new comers, and the very purpose of this vault and its wooden covering was well-nigh forgotten. In course of time, by an alteration of the grade of Jackson street the walls of the vault were infringed upon, and finally the very lot on which it stood was sold for taxes! The bones of the martyrs sold for taxes! Then Benjamin Romaine, the treasurer of the fund of 1808, a true patriot and fully earnest in his efforts to secure a monument, came forward and bought it. He had been himself a sufferer by imprisonment in the old sugar house

prison at New York and he now took pleasure in rescuing from desecration the remains of those whose sufferings he had shared and whose memory he revered. He erected an ante-chamber over the vault, and other appropriate adornments and inscriptions.

The better to prevent any further desecration of this, to him, hallowed spot, Mr. Romaine appropriated the tomb as a burial place for himself and family, and with that intent placed there, many years before his death, the coffin in which he should be interred.


The interior of the tomb, up to this time, has thus been well described by an old resident of Brooklyn:

“One Saturday of schoolboy leisure for that mischief which Satan finds for idle hands to do, I determined to penetrate the depths of this tomb, and sought the building fully bent on gaining the interior and knowing all that could be revealed to the astonished eye. This was not very difficult, the fastenings were loose, and after some little toil the exterior door swung open and revealed a sort of vestibule, in which were a few plaster busts of distinguished heroes, covered with the incrustations of dampness and neglect. There were steps leading below into a vault. These I fearlessly descended and then stood entranced and nearly paralyzed by a sense of awe which has not left me to this day. Standing, chiefly in perpendicular positions around the vault, were thirteen immense coffins, each having thereon the name of one of the thirteen original states. I could see enough through interstices to show me that these were filled with bones, and I knew that I was standing in the midst of that noble army of martyrs whose blood had gone up as a holy and acceptable sacrifice on the altar of American freedom. I have felt the thrill of





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other altar places, have felt deep emotions at the grave and sublime sensations upon the mountain tops, but I am very sure on no other occasion did I ever feel my whole nature so elevated to a sense of majestic reverence, as in the presence of that sublime and silent company. Resting on one or two of the coffins which were laid horizontally, was one smaller coffin of the ordinary size of one individual. This was vacant, but had upon its lid the name of Benjamin Romaine, as if it was intended that some person of this name yet walking among the Lilliputians of the earth in his dust, be placed here to lie among the giant patriots, secure, if with them forgotten upon earth, to rise with them hereafter."

And there, in that vault, and in the coffin so long and so reverently prepared, was buried Benjamin Romaine (at his death in 1844, at the advanced age of 82), a fit sentinel of that group, who performed deeds of heroic sacrifice, the worthiest whom friend, pen, pencil or monument can commemorate.

Two years before his death, however, in the year 1842, the citizens of Brooklyn, through a highly reputable committee, petitioned the legislature for permission to remove the bones, for the purpose of appropriate sepulture. Against this Mr. Romaine remonstrated. He said: "I have guarded these sacred remains with a reverence which, perhaps, at this day all may not appreciate or feel, for more than thirty years. They are now in their right place, near the Wallabout, and adjoining the navy yard. They are my property. I have expended more than \$900 in and about their protection and preservation. I commend them to the protection of the general government. I bequeath them to my country. Their concern is very

sacred to me. It lies near my heart. I suffered with those whose bones I venerate. I fought beside them—I bled with them."

In consequence of this remonstrance nothing was then done. But after the old man had passed away, public attention in the year 1845, was again called to the neglected condition of these remains, and the matter was also brought to the attention of Congress, by a report introduced by the military committee to the House of Representatives recommending an appropriation of \$20,000 for the purpose of affording a proper tomb and fitting monument to the martyrs. This also failed in its object and the matter slept for ten years.

At the expiration of that period, in 1855, a large and influential meeting of the citizens of Brooklyn was held, at which it was resolved "that the time has arrived when the cities of New York and Brooklyn can not without criminality, longer delay the necessary efforts for rearing the monument to the martyrs of the prison ships," and an organization was formed for the purpose, entitled the Martyrs' Monument Association, in which each senatorial district in the state of New York, and each state and territory were represented. They set to work with commendable activity, selecting a fitting site—the lofty summit of Fort Greene—secured plans for the proposed monument, agitated the subject publicly and privately, solicited donations, and yet there is no monument or stone bearing the record of their patriotic devotion to principle, and their more than heroic death.

The remains of the martyrs were finally removed to Fort Greene, June 17, 1873, but there the work has ceased. No monument marks the spot where they rest. No inscription informs the visitor where they repose on that hill.




# Religious Influences in American Civilization—Its Founders

Spiritual Power as the  
Greatest Factor in Nationality & Life  
and Character of Early Clergy who Ministered to  
Physical and Moral Ills of the Community & Embodiment  
of Political and Scholastic Thought of the People & Experiences of an  
Early Clergyman, the Reverend Edward Taylor, Related in His Diary and Letters

Original Genealogical Investigations  
BY JOHN TAYLOR TERRY  
OF NEW YORK

Contributed for Historical Record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY  
By Frank Dwight Taylor, of Detroit, Michigan




**R**ELIGIOUS thought in America has passed through the same evolutionary processes that mark every phase of life. The very nature of American civilization is that of growth, intellectually and spiritually as well as politically. While the birth-cry of the American people was that of "liberty," and ever increasing liberty, it has always held steadfast to the highest ethical principles. Dogmas, and even creeds, may pass away, but the great throbbing pulse of spirituality permeates American civilization today as it never has before, until the spirit, if not the form, of Christian brotherhood is entering into the political and business life of the nation as it never has before. The demand for greater civic purity, financial integrity, corporate responsibility, and the popular cry of the democracy for "the square deal," is the most convincing evidence of the spiritual forces that control the destinies of civilization.

It is interesting at this time to look back at one of the typical old-time religious leaders in America and compare his experiences, his teachings, and his position in society, with that of the religious leaders of today. This record relates such an instance. It is an interesting study of an old-time pedagogue, who was a vigorous advocate for Oliver Cromwell, an enemy of monarchy, and who ministered to the physical as well as the spiritual ill of his people as the town physician, while upholding the dignity and learning of the scholar. It is one of those illuminative side-lights into social life and citizenship in the first days of anglo-Saxon civilization on the Western Continent.

The genealogical researcher, who conducted this investigation, was for years one of the most distinguished financiers in New York where he was associated with many of the epoch-making movements. His investigations were recorded at the time, and this transcription is with the authority of a lineal descendant of the clergyman whose experiences are herein related, who has been a factor in building a commercial dominion around the Great Lakes.—EDITOR



## R eligious Influences in Colonial Civilization



**R**EVEREND Edward Taylor was born at Sketchley, near Coventry, Leicestershire, England, in 1642. His parents educated him for the ministry among the Dissenters, but their sufferings became very severe after 1662. The ejection of two thousand dissenting clergymen, and the persecution which followed, induced him to a voluntary exile. He remained some years after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and sailed from England in 1668. He had declined to take the oath required of all Dissenters, after the restoration of Charles II. At this distance of time, it is difficult to obtain information respecting his family connections in England, although, as he spent four years at Cambridge University, it may be supposed that they were of a superior class. An acrostic letter which he wrote contained the names of two brothers and one sister, James, Samuel and Alice.

From the date of his sailing from England till he reached this country, and for some time thereafter, he kept a diary with daily insertions, from which I make some extracts.

"A. D. 1668 April 26, being Lord's day, I came for sea taking boat at Execution Dock, Wapping, and a smooth tide, a gentle gale of wind and a prosperous fare to Gravesend," etc. The journal continues until, as recorded: "Lord's day May 3. I had a sad forenoon but toward evening the Shipmaster sent for me to go to prayer with them." And again, "Lord's day May 24. The wind in the morning was very low, yet a right northeast wind, etc., afterwards it was higher. I then being *put to exercise* spake from John 3rd Ch., 3rd v." "Lord's day June 21st. I applied the doctrine I de-

livered the previous Lord's day." "Saturday, July 4th. . . . After the day clearing up we saw land on both hands, Plymouth on the left and Salem on the right. About five o'clock we saw the Islands in our passage up to Boston." "Lord's day July 5th. About three o'clock we came ashore."


He brought letters to Increase Mather, with whom he lodged two nights; also to "Mr. Mayo, minister of God's word to his people who meet in the new meeting house," and to John Hull the mint master, who invited him to his house till he was settled in college, and also invited him to bring his chest to his warehouse. "This gentleman would not be said Nay, therefore I was with him and received much kindness from him. I continued with him, until I settled at Cambridge.

"July 14th I went to Cambridge to speak with the President (Chauncey)." "July 23rd. Being settled in College pupil under Mr. Thomas Graves, Senior Fellow, I continued there three years and a quarter," etc. Again, "Mr. Graves, not having his name for naught, lost the love of the Undergraduates by his too great austerity, whereupon they used to strike a nail above the hall door catch while we were reciting to him in the Hall, at which disorder I was troubled, etc. When he went to read to us 'Natural Physic' he would read to us out of Maguirus which was reputed none of the best, and which had not been read by the other classes in the College and so we did refuse to read it, and I also (although since I read it am sorry I opposed it) insomuch that he seeing he could not prevail with me to read it through . . . gave me the unworthiest language that ever I received of any man to my knowledge."

The tutors were changed, and



# Experiences of Early American Clergymen



"Mr. Brown now being Tutor carried so respectfully to us that he had our very hearts, and we scarce did anything without his advice. So long as I remained in College, the Lord gave me the affections of all both in College and in the Town whose love was worth having. Some who spoke me fair, but grudged me my charitable and well grounded esteem of good will being an object of their envy, when on this account I proposed to lay down my place at Commencement, the President by his incessant request and desires prevailed upon me to tarry in it as yet. . . .

"November 17th, 1671. Being quarter day, a messenger sent from Westfield to the Bay for to get a minister for that people, being by eight or nine elders met at the lecture at Boston the day before directed to myself came to me with a letter from Mr. Increase Mather, Pastor of the Second Church at Boston, whom for an answer I referred to the Reverend President and Fellows, reserving liberty to advise with friends and finding Mr. Danforth for it, Mr. Oakes indifferent rather advising to it, the President altogether against it at this time and the Fellows advising rather to it than anything else giving as a reason why their advise was not positive because they *were to respect the College good*, hereupon I was both encouraged and discouraged, but Mr. Danforth the Magistrate driving hard advised to take other advice, wherefore delaying to give an answer to the 21st day, I did on the 18th advise with Mr. Increase Mather and Mr. Thacher whose advice was positive for it."

He accepted the call, and they started on the twenty-seventh November, "not without much apprehension of a tedious and hazardous journey, the snow being about mid-

leg deep, the way unbeaten or the track filled up again over rocks and mountains, the journey being about 100 miles, and Mr. Cooke of Cambridge told us it was the desperatest journey that ever Connecticut men undertook.


"The first night we lodged at Malbury, from thence we went out the day following, about half an hour before sunrising for Quabaug (Brookfield), but about eleven o'clock we lost our way in the snow and woods, which hindered us some three or four miles, but finding it again by marked trees, on we went but our talk was of lying in the woods all night, for we were then about thirty miles off from our lodging, having neither house nor wigwam on the way, but about eight o'clock at night we came in through mercy in health to our lodgings from which the next day we set out for Springfield, which we arrived at also in health, and on the next day we ventured to lead our horses in great danger over Connecticut River, though altogether against my will, upon the ice which was about two days in freezing, but mercy along with us though the ice cracked every step, yet we came over safely and well to the wonder of all who knew it.

"This being the 1st December we came to Westfield the place of our desire in health where we first called at Capt. Cook's who entertained us with great joy and gladness, giving us many thanks for coming and at such a season. . . . The men of the Town came to welcome me," etc. "On Lord's day after I preached to them my first sermon from Matthew 3d. Ch. 2d v. being December 3, 1671."

Lockwood says that "Mr. Taylor did not determine for some time to stay, but there being a prospect of



# Religious Influences in Colonial Civilization



organizing a Church, he began to incline to settle." The population was small and the inducements for an educated man to make the place his home for life were few; but "he soon became connected with an event where the interests of this section of the Colony became involved which required his energy, his talent, and his foresight, to conduct to a successful issue." He went to Westfield four years before the breaking out of King Philip's War, during which the inhabitants were kept in a state of excitement and fear. Through the day they labored within reach of their loaded guns or of sentries to give an alarm, and in the night were regularly gathered into the fort, while guards mounted the turrets of the watch-house, etc. The buildings of four families were burned, and several persons were killed or carried away.

No aid was to be expected from the government, which advised the inhabitants to quit their homes and unite with other towns for more efficient protection. Mr. Taylor and others in behalf of the inhabitants, wrote to the state authorities for aid, but were refused with the consoling remark, "It's good doing what we can and leave the rest to God. To Mr. Taylor's presence and influence it was very much owing that the settlement did not break up."

Preparations for the organization of a church were not made until the spring of 1679. Five churches were invited to convene for the purpose, on the twenty-seventh August. Four of the five churches were represented, and the then ministers were Peletiah Glover of Springfield, John Russell of Hadley, and Solomon Stoddard of Northampton.

The war was ended, and a minister was settled. New colonists increased the population. The church accommodations became too contracted for the worshippers. It was voted to build a gallery on one side of the meeting-house, "to make it comely and comfortable as speedily as may be." Two hundred acres of land were sold to purchase a bell, that the people might no longer be summoned to meeting by beat of drum.

Mr. Taylor discharged the duties of a physician, ministering alike to the bodily and spiritual wants of the population scattered over an extensive territory.

I present his love-letter, written "to Miss Elizabeth Fitch," at her father's house in Norwich, Connecticut, dated "8th of 7th month, 1674." The letter was in two parts. The body of the first part was a square inclosing a triangle, and in the center of all a heart. A ring was also drawn upon the paper with the words, "Love's ring I send which has no end."

Rising from the center of the square at the top was a dove of exquisite workmanship, holding an olive-branch in its mouth, and these lines were written upon the body of the dove so small as to be scarcely legible:

This Dove and Olive branch to you  
Is both a Post and emblem too.

There was much more written that was illegible.

Westfield 8th of 7th month, 1674.


My Dove:

I send you not my heart, for that, I hope, is sent to heaven long since, and unless it hath awfully deceived me, it hath not taken up its lodgings in any one's bosom on this side of the royal city





# Experiences of Early American Clergymen



of the great King, but yet the most of it that is allowed to be bestowed upon creature, doth solely and singly fall to your share. So much my post pigeon presents you with here in these lines. Look not, I beseech you, upon it as one of love's hyperboles, if I borrow the beams of some sparkling metaphor to illustrate my respect unto thyself by, for you having made breast the cabinet of your affections as I your's mine, I know not how to offer a fitter comparison to set out my love by, than to compare it to a golden ball of fire, rolling up and down my breast, from which there flies now and then a spark like a glorious beam from the body of the flaming sun, but I, alas, striving to catch these sparks into a love-letter unto thyself, and to guide it as with a sunbeam, find that by what time they have fallen through my pen upon my paper, they have lost their shine and look only like a little smoke thereon instead of gilding it, wherefore finding myself so much discouraged, I am ready to begrudge my instrument for, though my love within my breast is so large that my heart is not sufficient to contain it, yet I can make it no more room to ride in than to squeeze it up betwixt my black ink and white paper, but know that it's the coarsest part that's conversant there, for the purest part's too fine to clothe in any Lingua housewifery to be expressed by words, and this letter bears the coarsest part to you, yet the purest is improved for you. But now my dear love, lest my letter should be judged the lavish language of a lover's pen, I shall endeavor to show that conjugal love ought to exceed all other love:

1st. It appears from that which it represents, viz: the respect which is between Christ and his Church (Ephesians v. 25) although it differs from that in kind (for that is spiritual and this human), and in a degree that is boundless and transcendent.

2nd. Because conjugal love is the ground of conjugal union.

3rd. From the Christian duties which are incumbent on persons of this state, as not only serving God together, a praying together, a joining together in the ruling and instructing of their families (which cannot be carried on as it should be without a great degree of true love), a mutual

giving each other to each other, and a mutual encouraging each other in all states and grievances. And how can this be when there is not love surmounting all other love? It's with them therefore for the most part, as with the strings of an instrument not tuned together, which when struck upon make a harsh, jarring sound; but when the golden wire of an instrument, equally drawn up, and rightly struck upon, tuned together, make sweet music whose harmony doth enravish the ear, so when the golden strings of true affection are strained up into a right conjugal love, thus doth this state harmonise to the comfort of each other and the glory of God when sanctified. But though conjugal love must exceed all other love, it must be kept within bounds, too, for it must be subordinate to God's glory, the which that mine may be so, *it having got you in my heart doth offer my heart with you in it*, as a more rich sacrifice unto God through Christ, and so it subscritheth me.

Your true love until death,  
EDWARD TAYLOR.


It is sometimes said that the old New England Puritans had no poetry in them, but I think that this letter, with its drawings of a heart, ring and dove, rather tends to disprove such an assertion.

Reverend Edward Taylor and Elizabeth Fitch were married in 1674. She died in 1689, leaving eight children. Mr. Taylor again married in 1692, Ruth Wyllys of Hartford, Connecticut. She was the daughter of Samuel Wyllys, who was born in 1632, a state senator for over thirty years, and she was a granddaughter of John Haynes, governor of Massachusetts in 1635, who removed to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1637, and was elected first governor of Connecticut in 1639, and was elected governor every alternate year until about 1654.

Governor Haynes married, in 1636, Mabel Harlakenden, who it is said



## Religious Influences in Colonial Civilization



came from England for that purpose, both having been born in or near Fenny Compton, England. Of her we read that "she was descended through many lines of kings and noblemen from William the Conqueror, the first three Henrys, the first three Edwards, John of Gaunt," etc.

Governor Wyllys owned the property in Hartford upon which stood the Charter Oak, and I remember that fifty years ago it still was called "the Wyllys place."

Ruth Wyllys had one son and five daughters.

Honorable Eldad Taylor was the fourteenth and youngest child of Edward Taylor and sixth of Ruth Wyllys. He died in Boston in 1777, while a member of the Provincial Congress and of the governor's Council, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The five daughters above mentioned all married clergymen, as follows: Reverend Benjamin Colton of West Hartford; Reverend Ebenezer Devotion of Suffield; Reverend Benjamin Lord of Norwich; Reverend William Gager of Lebanon; Reverend Isaac Stiles of North Haven, father of President Stiles of Yale College.

Reverend John Taylor was the fourteenth child of Honorable Eldad Taylor and Thankful Day of West Springfield. He was settled at Deerfield for about nineteen years as pastor, and dropped suddenly while preaching in his pulpit. He recovered, but lost his voice for many years, finally regaining it sufficiently to preach occasionally, but never again as pastor. It is recorded of him that he was a man of great ability as a preacher of the Gospel, and I have many of his manuscript sermons which tend to prove this.

I heard him preach in Hartford about 1828, from the text, "Unto you that fear my name shall the Son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings;" and although then but a child, I have never forgotten it. He was married at Enfield, Connecticut, to Elizabeth Terry.

The reader of this will have observed that Reverend John Taylor was grandson of Reverend Edward Taylor, and sixth in direct descent from Governor Haynes and Mabel Harlakenden. His wife, Elizabeth Terry, was also sixth in direct descent from Governor William Bradford of the *Mayflower*, as follows, viz.:


She was the daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Terry and Abiah Dwight. He was the son of Major Ephraim Terry and Ann Collins. She was daughter of Reverend Nathaniel Collins (pastor at Enfield), and Alice Adams. Alice Adams was daughter of Reverend W. Adams and Alice Bradford. Alice B. was daughter of Honorable William Bradford and Alice Richard, and William B. was son of Governor William Bradford of the *Mayflower*. So that in marriage of Reverend John Taylor and Elizabeth Terry we have the Pilgrim and Puritan descendants allied.

The news of the battle of Lexington reached Enfield, Connecticut, on Sunday, and on Monday morning following the Nathaniel Terry named above left Enfield for Boston as captain in command of fifty-nine men. He continued engaged during the War of the Revolution as captain, major, quartermaster and colonel. He was a man of wealth, and sacrificed almost all his property in the patriot cause.

The children of Reverend John Taylor and Eliabeth Terry were as



# Experiences of Early American Clergymen



follows: Elizabeth, born 1789; married the Reverend James Taylor of Sunderland, Massachusetts. Jabez Terry, born 1790; married Esther Allen of Enfield, Connecticut. John, born 1792, of Bruce, Michigan; married Phebe Leach. Harriet, born 1794; married Roderick Terry of Hartford, Connecticut. Henry Wylls, born 1796, of Canandaigua, New York; married Martha C. Masters. Mary, born 1798; married Josiah Wright of Syracuse, New York. Nathaniel Terry, born 1800; married Laura Winchell. And four children who died in infancy.

The descendants of the Reverend John Taylor are related by blood to the following presidents of Yale College: President Stiles, President Day and President Woolsey. The wife of President Clapp was also a granddaughter of Reverend Edward Taylor. Elizabeth Terry, his wife, was also distantly related to both the Presidents Dwight. I may also state that Samuel Terry, one of her ancestors, was patentee of the town of Enfield.

To return to the Reverend Edward Taylor, a communication from Westfield in the *Boston News-Letter* says he died the fourteenth of June, 1729, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, "and what a rich blessing God sent us in him, almost fifty-eight years experience has taught us. . . . He was eminently holy in his life and very painful (?) and laborious in his work, till the infirmities of great old age disabled him. He continued to have the sole oversight of his flock till October 26, 1726, when the Reverend Mr. Bull was ordained among us, in which solemn action he bore his part."

Judge Sewall writes, eighteenth of April, 1728: "The Rev. Mr. Taylor of Westfield sits in his great chair, and cannot walk to his bed

without support. He is longing and waiting for his dismissal."

A tombstone still stands in the old burying-ground at Westfield with this inscription: "Here rests the body of y<sup>e</sup> Rev. Mr. Edward Taylor y<sup>e</sup> aged, venerable, learned and pious pastor of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ in this town, who after he had served God and his generation faithfully for many years fell asleep June 24th., 1729 in y<sup>e</sup> 87th year of his age."

His grandson, President Stiles of Yale College, says that "Mr. Taylor was very curious in Botany, and different Branches of Natural History, an incessant student, but used no spectacle glasses to his death. He was a vigorous advocate for Oliver Cromwell, civil and religious liberty. A Congregationalist in opposition to Presbyterian church discipline. He was a physician for the town all his life. He concerned himself little about domestic and secular affairs. He greatly detested King James, Sir Edmond Andros and Randolph, and gloried in King William and the Revolution of 1688. He was exemplary in piety and for a very sacred observance of the Lord's Day."

Nearly all his professional books, which he had transcribed as he had opportunity, were in manuscript. His manuscripts were all handsomely bound by himself in parchment, of which tradition says he left at his death more than a hundred volumes in prose and poetry. Fourteen of these were in quarto. Before his death he prohibited their publication.

His library descended to his grandson, President Stiles, and many of the manuscripts were given by President Stiles and his father, Reverend Isaac Stiles, to the library of Yale College.



# Anglo-Saxon Foundations in the American Character


*Investigations into Strains  
of Blood that Founded the Western  
Continent and Moulded the Republic & Sociological  
Import of Modern Genealogical Investigations as a Basis for  
Final Judgment of American Nationality & American Home-life as  
Exemplified by the Spooner-Ruggles-Bell Lineages in Early American Republic*

BY

SARAH ALICE WORCESTER

URBANA, OHIO

Descendant of the American Progenitors who are Recorded in this Investigation




**T**HE American Nation today, with its hundred million people, is an interesting sociological study. In it is woven the romance and history of all the nations of the earth. President Eliot, of Harvard University, presented a strong argument in the last issue of these pages in support of the Pilgrim foundation in American character. Similar arguments have been presented in behalf of the Dutch foundations; while President Finley, of the New York University, has been making an investigation into the French influences in American civilization. Similar investigations into Spanish and Scandinavian blood and sinew are being pursued.

While American nationality has been absorbed from the dominant strains of the world's civilization, it is essentially Anglo-Saxon. American nationality, as it exists today, is being innoculated with new blood and ambition, but still maintains the iron constitution of the Anglo-Saxons. Whether or not through these many intermixtures this will finally be blended into a racial composite remains for history to relate, but the time is now here when it is our duty to civilization to accumulate and record the evidence upon which must be based the final judgment.

This is the great service of genealogical investigation today. Through these researches, sociologists may follow the thread of sustained racial characteristics and hereditary influences through the generations and centuries. The investigation herein recorded is one of the simple narratives of the qualities and character, intellect and public service, that follow a single lineal strain. It begins with one of the modest and typical immigrations to America, in 1637, with a record of its Old World antecedents, and follows it through the American Revolution and the building of the American Republic. Its value is that of thousands of similar lineages that have contributed to the foundation and the development of the republic of the Western Continent, and, as is usual in these investigations, it is contributed by one of the contemporary representatives of this strain of blood which is still a dominant force in American civilization.—EDITOR



# Anglo-Saxon Foundations in American Life




**I**N tracing back our ancestry, we are reminded of the work of that eminent archæologist, Doctor Schlieman, in his excavations of the various sites of ancient Troy: Stratum


after stratum is laid bare, each one in turn bearing evidence of a life and individuality of civilization marking the Troy of that special period. So we, in our genealogical researches, find that each ancestor belongs to a period quite distinct from that of his predecessor or successor, and that each one in turn represents the general character of the generation to which he belongs. And as the explorer, in pursuing his work, unexpectedly discovers some column of marvelous strength and beauty, which stands as an epitome of the civilization of that period, so we, in our quest, not unfrequently come upon some character which looms through the mist of years, a *tower of strength*, some "cornerstone, polished after the similitude of a palace."

My mother's maiden name was Lucy Spooner Bell, the name Lucy Spooner having been given her in memory of her great-grandmother, Lucy Spooner. This latter was of the fourth generation in direct line from William Spooner, the first of the name in our country, who came while yet young, to Plymouth, Massachusetts, early in 1637. From the Plymouth Colony records it appears that he was apprenticed during his minority to Mr. John Coombs, a well-to-do citizen of the place, and that on attaining his majority, he was intrusted with the management of the Coombs estate, and the custody of the children. In 1660, he removed to a new settlement in the Dartmouth Purchase. He died in 1684. As appears from his will, he held lands


in his own name, and an interest in the purchase, which were confirmed to his heirs in their proprietary rights. We have, then, from the records the testimony of a well spent life; a youth of faithful and competent service, a manhood of sturdy self-reliance, an old age of well earned competence, at peace with God and man.

Samuel, the second son of his marriage with Hannah Pratt, held several positions of trust in Dartmouth. He was twice appointed to the office of constable, which at that time covered the duties of collector of taxes and preserver of the peace. He married Experience Wing. In 1739, he died, leaving ten children. The fourth child, Daniel Spooner, born in 1694, lived to the great age of one hundred and three. He settled permanently in Petersham, Massachusetts, where he was chosen deacon of the First Church. As evidence of his vigorous old age, it is related that he made the journey on horseback from Petersham to Vermont, on a visit to his children, after he had passed his ninetieth year. He is quoted as having been an active, thorough-going, reliable man, devoted to his family and friends, He was ever alert to the interests of his town and the welfare of his country. Five sons and two sons-in-law served in the War of the Revolution. Deacon Spooner, although indulgent and kindly in his family, giving his children all the educational advantages afforded by the neighborhood, was yet a rigid disciplinarian. He was a carpenter, and it is related that on his return Saturday night from his week's work away from home, he would call up his large family of boys, and without any inquiry, give each of them a whipping, presuming that by their conduct during the week,






## Historic Lineages in Building of Republic



they all deserved it. In 1728, he married Elizabeth Ruggles, a descendant of John Ruggles, the first of that name in our country, who came to New England in 1635, two years before his brother Thomas.

The oldest child of Daniel Spooner was the Lucy Spooner to whom allusion has already been made. She was born October 29, 1729 and died April 2, 1821. In a way she may be considered the pivotal point of this history, inasmuch as her husband, Edward Ruggles, and Paul Dean, the husband of her daughter Elizabeth, are two of the Revolutionary ancestors of whom this paper is to treat, and to whose great-granddaughter this memorial is dedicated. She is described as a woman of marked refinement and intelligence, having an energy of character and an aptitude for business very rare with her sex. Left a widow at the age of forty-eight, she retained possession and control of the large estate left her by her husband, until within a few years of her death, which occurred in her ninety-second year. In her father, Deacon Daniel Spooner, we find a character of sturdy integrity, of straight and severe lines, of massive power, which in our genealogical research we may well call "a column of strength," resisting the demolishments of time, and offering substantial support to the frail foundations of those days; while the graceful daughter was like a corner-stone, "polished after the similitude of a palace."

Edward Ruggles, our second oldest maternal Revolutionary ancestor, was of the fifth generation in direct line from Thomas Ruggles, who came from Nazing, Essex County, England, in 1637. The records state that he was descended of a highly respectable family "of gentlemen of good note."




In 1620, he married Mary Curtis of Nazing. They came to Roxbury, Massachusetts, two years after his brother John. They are both very favorably mentioned by the Apostle Eliot in the records of the Roxbury church, of which he was pastor. His son Samuel, born in England, in 1629, married Hannah Fowle of Charlestown. He resided in Roxbury and was very actively engaged in public life. He was selectman fourteen years, assessor during the same period, and representative for the four critical years succeeding the revolution of 1688. He was for several years captain of militia, and when Governor Andros and his associates were seized and imprisoned, Joseph Dudley (afterwards governor) was committed to his especial charge while temporarily released from prison. He, or his son Samuel, was one of the eight associates who purchased of the Indians, in 1686, the territory which is now the town of Hardwick, Massachusetts; and he, with his son Samuel and four others, in the same year bought a tract styled the Mashomoquet Purchase, which afterwards became the town of Pomfret, Connecticut. He died in 1692 at the age of sixty-three.

Samuel, his son, born June 1, 1658, married Martha Woodbridge, born, July 8, 1680, died in 1738. She was the daughter of Reverend John Woodbridge, of Newbury, Massachusetts, and Mercy Dudley, who was the daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. The records give the following interesting note in reference to Mrs. Ruggles—"that not only was her father a clergyman, descended from numerous clergymen on both sides (including the famous Reverend Robert Parker) but her uncle, Benjamin Woodbridge, the first graduate of Harvard College, three of her brothers, a brother of her husband,



# A Anglo-Saxon Foundations in American Life



and three of her sons, also sustained the clerical office and all had an honorable rank in the profession." Her father, Reverend John Woodbridge, came from Stanton, Wiltshire, with his uncle, Reverend Thomas Parker, to New England.

In 1639, he married Mercy Dudley. She was born September 27, 1621, and died at Newbury, July 1, 1691. Mercy Dudley was one of a noted family of children. Her brother Joseph followed his father as colonial governor of Massachusetts, and her sister Anne, who married Governor Simon Bradstreet, was quite celebrated in early New England history as a poetess, being called a second "Sappho," and the "morning star of American poetry."


Governor Thomas<sup>1</sup> Dudley, the grandfather of Mrs. Samuel Ruggles (2nd), deserves more than a passing notice. He was born in Northampton, England, in 1576. He was an officer in the service of Holland before joining the Puritans, and afterwards retrieved the fortunes of the Earl of Lincoln by the faithful stewardship of his estates. He was the son of Roger Dudley, who was a captain in the wars under Queen Elizabeth, and who was slain early in life. In the history of the Dudley family, we find the following quotation. "Dudley Castle is hard on the borders of Worcestershire, but the Castle itself standeth in Staffordshire." It was first built by the Norman followers of William the Conqueror. Recent investigations show that the older branches of the family tree of Governor Thomas Dudley<sup>1</sup> are

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting also to note that Governor Thomas Dudley, with his son-in-law Simon Bradstreet, was founder of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Some of the old willows set out by him for a palisade, to defend those early settlers from the savages and wild beasts, are still in existence.

loaded with crowns, regal and imperial; and with coronets galore, among others the jewels of Alfred the Great, William the Conqueror, Charlemagne and several of the Plantagenet kings glitter with all that enchantment which distance lends to the view.


But to return to our narrative—Samuel Ruggles (2nd), born June 1, 1768, inherited his father's military spirit, and succeeded him in many of his offices. He was captain of militia, assessor, representative, and selectman for nineteen years. His funeral is mentioned in Sewall's Diary, "Feb. 28 (1715-16) Captain Samuel Ruggles was buried with arms. . . He is much lamented at Roxbury."

Reverend Timothy Ruggles, the son of the last named, born November 3, 1685, was ordained pastor of the church in Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1710. He married Mary, daughter of Benjamin White of Brookline. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and held a high rank in the ministry. He was pre-eminently a man of business, and apparently more active and efficient than any other individual in promoting the settlement of Hardwick, Massachusetts. Through his influence, six sons and a daughter of his own family, five nephews and two nieces, and many members of his parish, were among the first settlers. He visited the town several times, both arranging the financial affairs of the people, and ministering to their spiritual wants. He died in office, in 1768, aged nearly eighty-three. The epitaph on his headstone describes him as an "Able Divine and a faithful minister. Having a peculiar talent at composing Differences and healing Divisions in Churches, he was much improved in Ecclesiastical Councils." Reverend Timothy Ruggles, then, may be considered the






## Historic Lineages in Building of Republic



keystone of the arch which spanned the early civilization, the progress, material and spiritual of Rochester and Hardwick.

Following the direct line of descent, we now come to Edward Ruggles, the seventh child of Reverend Timothy Ruggles and Mary White. He was born in Rochester, Massachusetts, August 30, 1723, and died in Hardwick, Massachusetts, May 21, 1778. His record of service, as given in the application blank. D. A. R., states that he was "ensign of militia in Hardwick, Massachusetts, and on the alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched with Captain Hazeltine's company of minutemen from Hardwick to Lexington. Length of service, ten days. Immediately after the memorable 19th of April, this company, under a new captain, promptly reported for duty at Cambridge. Edward Ruggles was one of this company. He inherited from his father, Reverend Timothy Ruggles, a large landed property, and having all the advantages of an education, he became a very prominent as well as useful man. He was appointed, in 1773, one of a committee of seven to draw up instructions to the General Court, to the effect that the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of Hardwick were infringed upon. Three of his sons rose to honorable positions in the army, and Paul Dean, one of his sons-in-law, was a soldier of the Revolution. He married Lucy Spooner, daughter of Deacon Daniel Spooner of Petersham, Massachusetts, a noted patriot, who encouraged five of his sons and two sons-in-law to take up arms in the war for independence."

Paul Dean was the fifth in direct line from Walter Dean, who is said to have come from Chard, England, and who was a tanner by trade.



He married Eleanor, daughter of Richard Strong of Taunton, England. In 1636, he was living at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and in 1640, at Taunton. He was representative in 1640, and selectman from 1679 to 1686. Ezra, son of Walter, married Bethia, daughter of Samuel Edson of Bridgewater. He died about 1732. Seth, the son of Ezra, resided in Taunton, and had five sons and one daughter. Paul, the son of Seth, married, in 1745, Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Whitcomb, and removed from Taunton to Hardwick. He was a carpenter and farmer. He died in 1767, leaving a family of ten children, whom his wife, with remarkable energy, kept together till they were able to provide for themselves.

Paul, the oldest son of the preceding, married in 1773, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Ruggles and Lucy Spooner. She died in 1810, and Paul Dean married for a second wife, Sila, daughter of David Aiken. He is the third Revolutionary ancestor on our mother's side, being one of the sixty minutemen who marched from Hardwick to Lexington on the alarm of April 19, 1775, in Captain Hazeltine's company. After this, thirty-two of these minutemen reported for duty at Cambridge, and served in the War of the Revolution. Paul Dean was one of this number. He was one of the many farmers who left the plough standing in the furrow that they might give their aid to the cause of independence. He was a man of intelligence, industry and thrifty habits. Although quiet and retiring in disposition, little inclined to the notoriety of public life, still the high regard in which he was held by his townsmen was such that he was often called upon to serve them in the important trusts of the town. His second



# A Anglo-Saxon Foundations in American Life

child, Lucy, married in 1801, James Bell of Walden, Vermont, and their second child was Lucy Spooner Bell, the noble woman to whom this memorial is dedicated.

In McDougal's history of Scotland we find the following quotation: "John Austin, of pure Norman extraction, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, invented the tulip-shaped bell, for which he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and afterward took the name of Bell. The within is the coat of arms. The alternate checks are white and red (virtue and valor). Bell was an unyielding Presbyterian, and during the religious controversy there, he was obliged to flee, and went to Tyrone county, Ireland. From there eleven brothers came to the United States. Hugh settled in Virginia, James in New Hampshire, Andrew in South Carolina, Robert in Massachusetts, Henry in Maryland, Alexander in Vermont, William in Connecticut, Archibald in Rhode Island, Donald in Pennsylvania, Joseph in New Jersey. The name of the eleventh is forgotten. From the eleven brothers all the Bells in the United States are supposed to be descended."

Moses Tyler (2nd), the oldest Revolutionary ancestor of whom we have knowledge, was the son of (Captain) John Tyler and Hannah Messenger, grandson of Moses Tyler (1st), and Prudence Blake, and great-grandson of Job Tyler and Mary —, who emigrated from England in 1658. It is supposed that Job Tyler died in Andover, Massachusetts, about 1700, at nearly eighty years of age. He left four sons. Moses (1st), Hopestill, John and Samuel. Moses, the eldest, lived to be eighty-five, according to the legend in the old North Andover (Massachusetts) cemetery. He had eleven sons. The second eldest,

Captain John, lived in West Boxford, Massachusetts. He married Hannah Messenger, and Moses Tyler (2nd), of Revolutionary fame, was their son. He married Miriam Bailey, and appears to have lived in several places before going to reside in Pembroke, New Hampshire.


When the "Honorable Continental Congress" recommended to the United Colonies that all persons notoriously disaffected to the cause of America should be disarmed, the colony of New Hampshire, on April 12, 1776, issued the request that all males (with the usual exceptions) above twenty years of age, should sign the following pledge:

"We, the subscribers, do solemnly engage and promise that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the United American Colonies." This was known as the "Association Test," and as signed by the people, was a "Declaration of Independence" of New Hampshire, similar to that of the patriots who signed the national declaration, July 4, 1776. Preceding that event, it seems to have been a suggestion or encouragement of those who were contemplating similar action for the nation. Bold and hazardous was the step thus to resist the authority of the most powerful sovereigns in the world. Had the cause to which these men pledged their lives and fortunes failed, it would have subjected every individual who signed it to the pains and penalties of treason, to a cruel and ignominious death.

In the list of signers to this pledge, as returned by the selectmen of Pembroke, is found the name of Moses Tyler. After this, in June, 1777, when New Hampshire was called upon to send troops for the



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defense of Rhode Island, Moses Tyler enlisted in the company of Captain Simon Marston; this company was discharged from service January 7, 1778. Thus, not only did he make a bold stand for freedom, at the risk of life and fortune, but at an advanced age he also took up arms in defense of the common cause.

The eleventh child of this noble patriot was Hepsibah, and we are not surprised to find her name on record as a defender of hearth and home against the British and Tories. She was born in Pembroke, New Hampshire, December 5, 1754. She married in 1775, James Bell, who died from an accident, in 1778, leaving a son James, and a daughter, Hepsibah. This son James has already been mentioned as the husband of Lucy Dean, and father of Lucy Spooner Bell.

Mrs. Hepsibah Tyler Bell afterwards married Colonel Robert Johnston of Newbury, Vermont, who brought to her eight children by a former marriage, and by whom she had seven children. She was left at home with this very large family while Colonel Johnston was absent on military duty, and her bravery in defense of hearth and home gave her a record in Vermont annals, and entitles her direct descendants to a bar on their D. A. R. insignia.

It is related that when word came that the British were going to attack Newbury and other towns, that Mrs. Johnston took what stock she could at a time on a raft belonging to her husband, and unaided, towed them across the Connecticut River to the New Hampshire side, going over and back several times till all were beyond the reach of the hungry Briton. She then took a spade and dug a hole in the garden large



enough to bury her silver and other valuables. She then reloaded her pistols and awaited the coming of the enemy. The British, hearing that Newbury was informed of their intended attack, changed their plans, and went to Royalton, burning that town. Not long after this, a noted Tory, knowing that Colonel Johnston was absent from home, persuaded some lawless men to make a raid on his house. They broke into the house while Mrs. Johnston was in bed with her children, raked open a bed of coals and lighted a candle. Mrs. Johnston sprang from the bed, blew out the candle, and seizing the tongs, drove them from the house.

It is said that in writing the service of Colonel Johnston, his wife should stand beside him, *an equal*, if not more. She was a woman of extraordinary frame, weighing, it is said, over two hundred pounds. One of her descendants thus characterizes her: "Mrs. Johnston was a remarkable woman; physically a tower of strength, morally without reproach, spiritually, a humble follower of Christ." Here then, again we find in our genealogical excavation, a *stately column, a polished stone, a tower of strength*. How scant and meager the items which stand as inscriptions upon her monument, giving in a few bold strokes the outline of a character, grand in its beauty and symmetry! Would that we knew more of the history of her life, of the details of her career, that we might be able the more intelligently to paint her character, and render her the honor so clearly her due.

"One generation passeth away and another cometh." "All the rivers flow into the sea." Thus may we fittingly group the words of the ecclesiastical preacher.




# Negroes in the American Revolution

Slaves who Stood on the Battle-line as Soldiers in the Cause of Liberty when the American Republic was Born

BY

DAVID E. PHILLIPS

COLUMBUS, OHIO




**F**EW persons of the present day realize the service rendered in the struggle of our country for liberty in the War of the Revolution, by the negro soldiers, who were found in almost every regiment.

Ten years prior to the beginning of the war, the Massachusetts census alone showed a negro population of over five thousand, and it is probable that most of the able-bodied men were enlisted and engaged in the service at one time or another during the period of that great conflict. One of the very first victims was Crispus Attucks, a young colored man, killed in the riot in Boston, on March 5, 1770, and known in history as the Boston Massacre. Several were at the battle of Bunker Hill.

Peter Salem (Salem, Middlesex), was born a slave in Framingham, Massachusetts, probably about 1750, the property of Jeremiah Belknap, a native of Salem, from which town Peter took his name. Mr. Belknap sold him to Major Lawson Buckminster, a foremost citizen of Framingham, and an officer of the Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Salem is described as a man of great physical strength and vigor,



tall, erect and of soldierly bearing. He first became a minute-man of Framingham, and upon receiving the news of the advance of the British troops upon Concord (twelve miles distant), on the morning of April 19, 1775, together with most of the able-bodied inhabitants, under their townsmen, Colonels John and Thomas Nixon, hastened to the scene of action, covering the distance in two hours.<sup>2</sup> He joined in the pursuit of the British in their retreat towards Boston, and in just four days he returned home, to await the next call to service in the cause of liberty. We next hear of him a few weeks later, as a soldier in the army under General Artemas Ward at Cambridge, in the First Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Colonel Thomas Nixon, his townsman.


The seventeenth of June, 1775, was to be a day to be commemorated as long as America shall be a nation, and Peter Salem, the negro soldier-slave, was in the thickest of that fierce battle of Bunker Hill. At the first announcement that the British were landing at Charlestown, his regiment hastened to the scene of the threatened attack at the hill, where doubts had been thrown up the night

<sup>1</sup>Major Buckminster was a kinsman of Reverend Joseph Buckminster, fifty years minister of Rutland, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup>This is according to the testimony of Ezekiel Howe and Benjamin Berry, of the Framingham Minute-men.



# Negro Soldiers in the American Revolution



before. Prominent among the British troops were the marines, commanded by Major Pitcairn, of Lexington and Concord fame.<sup>3</sup> This courteous and gallant officer had been twice wounded in the first attempts to carry the works. Again he rallied the discomfited troops, and leading them in person with drawn sword, and mounting the redoubt he cried, "Now for the glory of the marines." Just at this point, inside the works, in line with the First Massachusetts Regiment, stood Peter Salem with leveled musket, obeying the injunction, "not to fire until you can see the whites of their eyes"; with aim so true and its object within such close range, but one result could follow.

As the line of muskets were discharged, Major Pitcairn fell, his body pierced, it is said, with several bullets beside that fired by Peter Salem.<sup>4</sup> He was carried from the field by his son, in whose arms he soon died.

<sup>3</sup>"When the troops arrived, weary and hungry, Major Pitcairn and other officers go into Wright's tavern and call for brandy, Major Pitcairn holding his glass in one hand, stirs his grog with his finger, and says, 'I will thus stir the Yankee blood before night.' Before noon he realized that the Yankee blood had been stirred effectively, and hotter than he thought possible, and his own life will yet go out in the fire he has kindled." From Coffin's *Boys of '76*.

<sup>4</sup>In Trumbull's great historic painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill, in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, Peter Salem is one of the conspicuous figures. (Colonel Trumbull on that day was with his regiment in Roxbury, and witnessed the battle from that point.) This painting has been reproduced in many forms, among which were the notes of Charlestown and Boston banks, prior to 1850, and showing Peter Salem as one of the figures. Later it is said he was omitted from these engravings.

This was only one of the many pathetic and heart-breaking incidents of that memorable day.<sup>5</sup>

Again and again we hear from Peter Salem, through the medium of the Massachusetts Archives of the Revolution, during the years of 1775 and 1776, in various Massachusetts regiments, and so on for six or seven years of almost continuous service in Massachusetts, Vermont, and on the Hudson, generally with troops under Colonel Nixon, who always spoke of him in the highest terms of admiration, as a brave and faithful soldier. All this service worked for his emancipation. After the close of the war he returned to Framingham where he married, in 1783, Katy Benson, a granddaughter of Nero, a native of Africa and the property of Reverend John Swift, of Framingham.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Booker T. Washington in his *Story of the Negro*, Vol. I, page 314, in a footnote, refers to a letter written by Aaron White, of Thompson, Connecticut, in which he states that in the year 1807 he heard a soldier of the Revolution, who was present at the battle, relate the story of the death of Major Pitcairn. He said that "he had passed the storm of our fire without, and munting the redoubt and waving his sword, demanded in a loud voice of the rebels to surrender. His sudden appearance and his commanding and audacious air so startled those immediately in front of him that they neither answered or fired. At this critical juncture, a negro soldier sprang forward, and with musket at the Major's breast, shot him upon the spot."

<sup>6</sup>Reverend John Swift was the first pastor of the Framingham church, which was "emboideed" October 8, 1701, with eighteen members; he remained its pastor for a period of forty-four years, until his death, in 1745. In his will, dated September, 1743, he thus disposes of five negro slaves (or servants), giving Francis to his son, Reverend John Swift, of Acton; Guy to his son-in-law, Reverend Phillips Payson, of Walpole; Nero to his son-in-law, Ebenezer Robie. His two negro women,



NEGRO PATRIOT AT BUNKER HILL—Site of the home of Peter Salem, at Leicester, Massachusetts  
—A negro soldier who fought in the American Revolution, for the cause of Liberty, when a republic was born



Monument to the negro revolutionist, Peter Salem, erected by  
the Sons of the American Revolution, over his  
grave at Framingham, Massachusetts

## Negro Soldiers in the American Revolution

Some time later he removed to Leicester, not far from Worcester, where he remained for many years. He owned a tract of land upon Salem Road so named after himself. Here he built his little home and planted a number of poplar trees and cultivated his garden. He, however, plied his trade of basket making among the farmers of the town, into whose homes he was always admitted. His happy and genial nature made him a universal favorite, especially with the children, who delighted to gather about him after the work of the day was over, and, sitting in the chimney corner, with one or two of the youngest upon his knee, the blazing fire lighting up his shining face, he told his stories of war and adventure when out with the colonel (Nixon). He always found a hearty welcome at the hospitable board of those, who like him, had been in the "service," and were to him, "companions in arms." His military training gave him soldierly bearing and a marked courtesy of manner, which he never forgot. In response to a salutation or recognition with which everybody greeted him, with promptness and precision, Peter's right foot found its way into the hollow of his left, his body grew erect, while his right hand sprang to a level with his eye.

It was a sad day for him when, as a result of advancing age and infirmities, he went around to pay his farewell visit to such of his old friends as

Dido and Esther, for the service of his wife until her death, after which they are to be the property of his daughter Martha, the wife of Major John Farrer.

Nero, who married Dido, was the cause of much trouble in the church, which he desired to join, although he was of "excellent character."


time had spared, before going back to Framingham to spend his last days, where he died August 16, 1816.

Can any one deny that this humble negro is entitled to a full share of credit among the most valiant of the heroes of 1776? He was one of the first to respond to the first call, he won honors in the redoubt on Bunker Hill. He imperiled his life through seven years of arduous and trying war for that freedom for others which he could not share until he had won it for himself upon the battlefield.

After the lapse of nearly a century a memorial has been placed above his resting-place in Framingham, by the local chapter Sons of the American Revolution, bearing the following inscription:

PETER SALEM  
A Soldier of the Revolution  
CONCORD  
BUNKER HILL  
SARATOGA  
Died, August 16th, 1816

Every Memorial Day fresh flowers are scattered over his grave, while the flag he helped make possible floats above. A year or two ago Henshaw Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Leicester, acquired possession of the site of his little home in Salem Road, restored the well, and otherwise improved and beautified the spot, and caused to be placed in the stone wall by the roadside a large boulder bearing this inscription, "Here lived Peter Salem, a negro soldier of the Revolution." This story is only one of many that might be told, and is a fair illustration of the share of the burden borne by the negro in the nation's struggle for that freedom it was so long in sharing with all its children.



# First Generals who Organized the American Revolution


**Investigations into the  
Beginning of Revolt that Gave the  
World the Great Republic which now Leads the  
Nations in the Work of Civilization & Generals who have been  
Long Unknown are Now Being Given True Historical Position Through  
Modern Research & Investigations Regarding Brigadier-General Seth Pomeroy**

BY

**COLONEL ALBERT A. POMEROY**

SANDUSKY, OHIO

Lieutenant-Colonel and Aide-de-Camp on staff of General Harmon, Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic—Late Quartermaster of McLaughlin Squadron, Ohio Veteran Volunteer Cavalry, 1861-1865  
—Late Editor of the *Financial Daily News* of Cleveland—Author of the History of the Great Lakes—Publisher of the *Marine Record* of Cleveland—Secretary and Annalist of the Pomeroy Family Association in America



**T**HE first generals who led the American people into their revolution, which resulted in the birth of the great American republic on the Western Hemisphere, have long been subject to historical controversy. While General George Washington, that great "father" of the nation, was the commander-in-chief, he was not the organizer nor the first general in the epoch-making revolt. The revolutionists had been marshaled and the first blow struck before he became connected with the revolt.

I have been much interested in this phase of American history because it has been my privilege to pursue long investigations into the service of my own lineal ancestor, Brigadier-General Seth Pomeroy, who, like many of the earlier generals of our War for Independence, has been somewhat neglected by the historians. In fact, I have found that even some of our leading hereditary societies have not yet given these early generals the his-

torical honor that is due them in the making of the republic.

It may be of interest, therefore, if I relate in this great national historical journal, something of my experiences and discoveries along these lines. It will be necessary for me to confine myself to my own investigations, but the general principle is applicable to thousands of other phases of our national annals.

This record will be corroborated by statements based on historical fact, supported by certificates, concerning the definite military rank of the "General Officers" who actually organized and led the Colonial armies of Massachusetts.

I would refer as a first source of my investigation to the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution," comprising seventeen splendid volumes, compiled and edited by James J. Tracy, Esquire, chief of the Archives Division, Massachusetts, which contain a very complete and satisfactory roster of all Massachusetts soldiers and company

# First Generals of the American Revolution

officers in that service, but is comparatively silent concerning the specific rank of the generals who first organized and moulded them into the component parts of an army. And it is disappointing to note that American histories of the Revolution have also been silent on the important questions: Who were the first generals of the Massachusetts Army? What was their military rank?

Therefore, great interest naturally attaches to the record published in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, Number 4, Volume IV, relative to the rank and prominence of Lieutenant-General Artemus Ward. That article prompts me to a duty we owe to other generals of the American Revolution. When a soldier has attained to the honor of the rank of a general officer, especially in the piping times of war, he is entitled to consideration as a general, and our children should have a speaking acquaintance with the names and rank of all the first generals of the War of Independence. While each family has its records, and the tradition is handed down from father to son that they have an ancestor who was a general in the Colonial Army, every one not conversant with the facts may deny them unless they are fortified by printed history. For that reason many soldiers of the Revolution, and incidentally their descendants, are denied the prestige that attaches to eminent military rank.

One serious and embarrassing complication presents itself to the writer in support of the above contention, because of the silence of history about the grade of the general officers elected by the Colonial Congress to marshal and command the troops which assembled in response to the first alarms, which I will present in a few lines, by way of illustration:

902 F Street, Washington, D. C.,  
February 19, 1910.

MY DEAR MISS POMEROY:

Your favor of the 6th inst. to Recording-Secretary-General has been referred to me for reply. I beg to say that according to Appleton's Encyclopedia your ancestor, Seth Pomeroy, was appointed Brigadier-General, but declined. As his highest title during the Revolution was Colonel it will be impossible to credit him with the title of Brigadier-General.

Sincerely yours,  
(Signed)

Reg. Gen. N. S., D. A. R., (Per Y.)

On appeal from the above ruling, the following note was received:

902 F Street, Washington, D. C.,  
March 10, 1910.

MY DEAR MISS POMEROY:

Your letter of March the 5th has been received. As it has been the rule of the Society to give credit for service and titles only as they appeared in official records during the Revolutionary period (1775-1783), this office has been compelled to confine itself to the conditions thus imposed upon it. I should be very glad indeed to give Seth Pomeroy the highest title with which he could be credited, provided we can secure the official proof of service, but we must ask assistance in doing this.

Will you kindly furnish us the certificate from the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts showing that he served in the capacity of Brigadier-General during the Revolution. It is our understanding that the tablet<sup>1</sup> erected at Peekskill was erected by the Sons of the American Revolution<sup>2</sup> and not by the Government.

Trusting to hear from you soon, giving us official proof of service for which we have asked, I am,

Yours very sincerely,  
(Signed)

Registrar-General, N. S., D. A. R.

<sup>1</sup>The tablet referred to was not erected at Peekskill, but on the walls of the chapel of the Military Academy at West Point. This could not have been possible except by direction of the West Point officials, which is equivalent to government authority.—AUTHOR.

<sup>2</sup>The monument at Peekskill was erected, not by the Sons of the American Revolution, but by the Sons of the Revolution, in New York.—AUTHOR.



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OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF SETH POMEROY AS BRIGADIER-GENERAL—Tablet erected at the United States Military Academy at West Point in which he is recorded first in the list of brigadier-generals

The burden of proof that Seth Pomeroy was a general in the War of the Revolution, asked for in the above official notes, naturally rests upon the annalist and secretary of the Pomeroy Family Association.

The evidence will involve proof of other important questions of history of general interest to all patriots, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the Revolution, who honored Major-General Seth Pomeroy by the erection of a stately monument at Peekskill-on-the-Hudson, New York; the Seth Pomeroy chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, which is about to erect a commemorative statue to his memory in Northampton, his native town; the officers of the West Point

Military Academy, where there is a tablet on the walls of the chapel giving his Continental Army rank as brigadier-general (an illustration of which is presented in this number of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*).

It may also be of value to the descendants of other generals of the Revolution, who may have met with like denials regarding the military rank of their ancestors in the War of the Revolution; his own descendants and kinsmen; and all others who desire a speaking acquaintance with the names and rank of the generals who actually organized and led the first soldiers of the Revolution. I have the honor to offer for consideration the historical documents accompanying this paper.

# First Generals of the American Revolution

It will be observed that the certificates, herewith, include all of the generals appointed and commissioned by the congresses of the commonwealth of Massachusetts before they were taken into the pay of the Continental Army, giving their names and specific rank, as well as the names of the speaker, the secretary, and fifteen members of the House of Representatives, and as the writer has said, are quite as authentic and valuable to all descendants of the generals named as they are to the descendants of Major-General Seth Pomeroy. Also, these certificates will answer for them the same purposes, as they can not be disputed by any one who would insist that the term "General Officer," used in history, does not mean a general in rank, but perhaps a colonel. These certificates are also good evidence that the archives of the commonwealth of Massachusetts are rich in what might be termed "silent Revolutionary history."

## Massachusetts Congress Elects General Officers

"At a Congress of Delegates from the several Towns and Districts in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, convened at Salem on Friday the seventh day of October, A. D. 1774.<sup>3</sup>

"Thursday 27th October 1774:

"It was then moved, That the Congress proceed to the choice of General Officers, and Resolved, that they would first make choice of the Gentleman who should have the chief command, and the committee having sorted and counted the Votes Reported, That the Hon. Jedediah Prebble Esq<sup>r</sup>. was chosen.

"The Congress then proceeded to bring in their Votes for the second in

command, and the committee having sorted and counted the Votes, Reported, That the Hon. Artemus Ward Esq. was chosen.

"The Congress then proceeded to bring in their Votes, for the third in command, and the Committee having sorted and counted the Votes, Reported that Col<sup>o</sup>. Pomeroy was chosen."

"Record of the Proceedings of a Provincial Congress of Deputies, of the several Towns and Districts in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Convened at Cambridge on Wednesday the first day of February, A. D. 1775:<sup>4</sup>

"Thursday 9th February 1775, A. M.

"Resolved, That the Hon. Jedediah Preble Esq<sup>r</sup>. Hon. Artemus Ward Esq<sup>r</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Seth Pomeroy, Col<sup>o</sup>. John Thomas and Col<sup>o</sup>. William Heath, be, and they hereby are appointed General Officers, whose Business and Duty it Shall be with such and so many of the Militia of this Province, as shall be assembled by order of the Committee of safety, effectually to oppose and resist such attempt or attempts as shall be made for carrying into Execution by Force, an Act of the British Parliament, entitled: 'An Act for the better regulating the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England,' or who shall attempt the carrying into execution by force, another Act of the British Parliament, entitled: 'An Act for the more impartial Administration of Justice in the cases of Persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the Law, or for the suppression of Riots & Tumults in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay,' so long as the said Militia shall be retained by

<sup>3</sup>Records of the Provincial Congresses: Extract from Vol. 1, page 24

<sup>4</sup>Records of the Provincial Congresses: Extract from Vol. 1, page 74.

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the Committee of Safety and no longer; and the said General Officers shall while in the said service, command, lead and conduct such opposition, in the order in which they are above named, any Order or Orders of any former Congress, varying therefrom notwithstanding."

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts  
"Office of the Secretary,  
"Boston, May 2, 1910.

"I certify the foregoing to be true abstracts from the Records of the Provincial Congresses preserved in this office.

(Seal) "Witness the Great Seal of the Commonwealth

"ISAAC H. EDGETT,  
"Deputy and Acting Secretary."

## Major Seth Pomeroy at the Siege of Louisburg

Perhaps the siege and capture of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, was one of the most important enterprises engaged in by the colonists of New England, and while it was an aggressive action it proved to be one of the best measures of self-defense they could have adopted; also, it exhibited clearly the spirit and temper of this generation of men. The causes leading up to this independent action by the colonists were many; but a limit was finally reached when a body of Frenchmen from Cape Breton surprised the small American garrison of Canso, and destroying the fort, plundering the fisheries, and burning the buildings, had carried to Louisburg eighty colonists as prisoners of war.

In this emergency, as usual, Massachusetts took the initiative, and obtained by a single vote in majority the permission of the Legislature to prepare for conflict, by organizing an expedition against Louisburg and its fortress, "the greatest of modern

times." Solicited to engage in the enterprise, Pennsylvania furnished a small supply of provisions, and New York donated some ammunition. New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts enlisted about four thousand volunteers. The fishermen of Marblehead, who had been driven from the fishing-banks by French privateers, gladly joined in the expedition, supported by the plowmen of the Merrimac, the lumbermen of the Kennebec, the hunters of the Penobscot, and the pioneers located about Fort Massachusetts. On the last day of April, 1745, the small fleet, with its inefficient cannon, reached its destination, landed its soldiers, and with grand audacity began to bombard a city whose walls were thirty feet in height, and surrounded by a ditch or moat of eighty feet in width, fortified by two hundred and thirteen great cannon and manned by one thousand six hundred soldiers.

It was here that Seth Pomeroy learned something more of war on a larger and more scientific scale. He had accepted a commission as a major for this expedition, tendered by Governor Shirley, captain-general and the governor-in-chief over his Majesty's possessions in Massachusetts Bay in New England, a photographic copy of which is herewith presented, the original being in possession of Mr. George Eltweed Pomeroy, of Toledo, Ohio (a great-great-grandson of Seth Pomeroy). The writer has copies of the letters which passed between Major Pomeroy and his wife during this campaign, but space forbids their presentation. The object of the introduction of this campaign into this paper is merely to show the opportunities Seth Pomeroy had of military training, and the duties of a field officer, as it was due principally to his knowledge and

# First Generals of the American Revolution

skill in handling soldiers on the battlefield that prompted the congresses to appoint him to the rank of major-general in the Revolution.

On June 15, 1745, after a siege of thirty days, Louisburg with its all but impregnable fortress, was reduced; and was surrendered by its commander, Governor Duchambon, to a force of less than four thousand colonial militia. An entry in Major Seth Pomeroy's journal says: "Commodore Warren saith, that if the King of England had known its strength he would not have sent less than twenty ships of the line and ten thousand regular forces to attack Louisburg."<sup>5</sup>

## Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy at Crown Point

There was comparatively few alarms of war for ten years following the capture of Louisburg, to call Major Seth Pomeroy into the field, but during that time the French settlements had been gradually encroaching upon our frontiers, and measures were taken in 1755 to protect the colonists against Indian depredations, and an expedition was organized against Crown Point, commanded by Sir William Johnson. Of the contingent furnished by Massachusetts, Seth Pomeroy held the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and after the death of Colonel Williams early in the engagement, he took over the command as ranking officer, and defeated Baron Dieskau after a conflict lasting several hours. General Dieskau was wounded and taken prisoner, and his army routed after a loss of more than one thousand men. After this battle Seth Pomeroy received a commission as colonel,

<sup>5</sup>See another page, this issue, for more detailed account of this grand triumph of the American colonists.

vice Williams killed in battle. On another page will be found an etching of this document. The reader, although conversant with all the episodes of this Lake George engagement, will perhaps find the appended report interesting as it was written by:

## Colonel Seth Pomeroy to Colonel Israel Williams

"Lake George, Sept. 9, 1755.

"HONORED AND DEAR SIR:

"Yesterday was a memorable day. I being the only field officer in Col. Ephraim Williams' regiment supposed to be living, think it my duty to let you know what happened on the 8th of this instant, which was yesterday. This forenoon, until two of the clock having been spent in council, and many letters to be written, I must be excused for my shortness and imperfections.

"On the Sabbath, just at night, we had news that a large body of men marched up Wood creek southwardly. Supposing that they intended to cut off our wagons, or attack the Fort at the carrying place, we sent on Monday morning about 1200 men, near 200 of them being Indians, commanded by Col. Williams, Col. Whiting, and Col. Cole of Rhode Island, to attack them. Whiting was in the middle, Cole bringing up the rear, and Old Hendrick, King of the Six Nations, before with Col. Williams. When they had advanced about three miles the guns began to fire. It was then between 10 and 11 of the clock. We put ourselves into as good a position of defense as we could, not knowing but what our men would retreat and bring the enemy upon us. To our great surprise it was not long before they retreated. Those who came first were bringing wounded men with them, and others soon flocked in by

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hundreds, a perpetual fire being kept up and drawing nearer and nearer, till nearly 12 of the o'clock, when the enemy came in sight.

"The regulars marched, as near as I could tell, about six deep and nearly twenty rods in length, in close order, the Indians and Canadians at the last wing helter-skelter, the woods being full of them. They came within about twenty rods and fired in regular platoons, but we soon broke their order by firing our field pieces at them. The Indians and Canadians directly took trees within handy gun-shot. They fought with undaunted courage till about 5 of the o'clock in the afternoon, when we got the ground. I can not tell our loss nor the loss of the enemy yet with any certainty. As soon as they retreated, I ran out upon the ground before where I stood to fight and found ten dead and three wounded. Among these last was the General of the French army and his Aide, whom I ordered carried to my tent. He came with the sure assurance to lodge in our tents that night, and to his great surprise, he did, but, blessed be God, as a wounded captive.

"Col. Williams was shot dead in a moment, and before he had time to fire his gun. Capt. Hawley was also shot mortally before he fired his gun. My brother, Lieutenant Daniel Pomeroy,<sup>6</sup> I have an account of as being well till the army retreated. He asked, 'What! are we going to run?' 'Yes,' it was said. 'Well,' he replied, 'I will give them one more shot before I run.' Further of him I do not hear. Our people are out burying their dead now; when they return I can give a more particular account. We design to make a stand here until we have a sufficient

<sup>6</sup>His dead body was recovered and brought in later in the day.

reinforcement. What number that must be I can not now tell, but it is sure the enemy still intend to stop us before we get to Crown Point.

"The French General saith, that 'if we give them one more such a dressing, Crown Point and all their country will be ours.' They however intend to put a stop to that. But I hope to God they will be disappointed, for I judge, humanly speaking, that all depends on this expedition. Therefore, I pray God would fire the breasts of this people with a true zeal and noble, generous spirit to the help of the Lord, against the mighty. And I trust that those who value our holy religion and our liberties, will spare nothing, even to the one-half of their estates. General Johnson was shot in the thigh, but the bone was not broken. Major-General Lyman was not injured. Both behaved with steadiness and resolution.

"I desire the prayers of God's people for us, that we may not turn our backs upon our enemies, but stand and make a glorious defence for ourselves and our country.

"From your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "SETH POMEROY."

To the earl of Lincoln, who had demanded to know of him in 1756, "Whether the troops, raised by the several Colonies, would act in conjunction with his Majesty's forces, according to his Majesty's command," he replied: "Yes; but only upon the condition that the terms agreed upon by the several governments should not be altered." And this reply was prophetic. Less than twenty years later came the great struggle for colonial liberty involved in the question and reply, and Major-General Seth Pomeroy was found at the front.

# First Generals of the American Revolution

## Activity of the Committee of Safety

James J. Tracy, chief of the Archives Division, Massachusetts, has been the personal custodian of the colonial, provincial and Revolutionary records, and all accumulated records of Massachusetts from 1629 to the present time, during the last twenty-one years, and has compiled and published many volumes of state papers; therefore, it will be impossible for the author to present the historical documents under consideration more comprehensively than to quote from a personal letter written by him, and which is of rare interest:

"The first Provincial Congress, under date of October 26, 1774, recognizing the possibility of armed opposition to the British troops acting under orders from General Gage, passed a resolve appointing a Committee of Safety, and providing that the militia should be called out whenever deemed necessary by that committee, and also directed that vacancies in company or regimental offices should be filled without delay; also, requesting the Colonels of regiments to take measures to secure a quarter part of the militia under their voluntary agreement to march at a moment's notice. The last provision was intended to provide for a quickly available force and was authority for the organization of companies and regiments of minute-men. The following day three General Officers were appointed to command and direct the movements of the militia in case they were called out."

The general officers thus commissioned at this time were:

Honorable Jedediah Preble, commander-in-chief.

Honorable Artemus Ward, lieutenant-general.

Colonel Seth Pomeroy, major-general, and third in command.

Under date of December 8, 1774, John Thomas and William Heath were chosen as general officers (major-generals) in addition to those previously appointed.

"The second Provincial Congress, on February 9, 1775, confirmed the powers of the Committee of Safety, repeated the recommendations of the previous Congress relative to the militia, and appointed Jedediah Preble, Artemus Ward, Seth Pomeroy, John Thomas and William Heath as general officers (same grade as above specified), ranking in the order named, to command the militia and minute-men in case they were called into service. On February 14, 1775, John Whitecomb was chosen as an additional general officer (major-general). The Provincial Congress did not have to pass any legislation concerning the organization of the militia save to provide for the enrollment of the minute-men."

## Militia System of Organization Automatic

"The militia system had been in existence from the Charter of 1692, and could be depended upon to work automatically. Every male throughout the province, by rule of his sex, was a member of the militia. There was no choice in the matter and but few exemptions. The locality of a man's habitation designated the company of which he was a member, and such company comprised the active members known as the 'train band,' and the reserve members were known as the 'alarm list.' The men elected their company officers; the company officers elected their field officers. From such regiments were enlisted

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and impressed the men who served in the campaigns of the French and Indian Wars. The system worked so smoothly that no rosters were required to be returned to the Secretary of the Province, and the elections became so much a matter of routine that no record exists in the Provincial archives of the confirmation of the appointments of company or regimental officers subsequent to 1692. Records of the appointment, as well as of the service, of officers when in the field are preserved in the Military series and Muster-Roll series.

"Proof of my statement, that the militia system was thoroughly organized, is to be found in the fact that within a week after April 19, 1775, approximately 20,000 minute-men and militia were assembled at Cambridge and Roxbury. Pay-rolls covering 19,860 men are now on the shelves of the Archives Division. The Committee of Safety and the general officers were swamped by this spontaneous outpouring of the militia and minute-men of the Province. It was not an army, however, that they had at their disposition, but an armed assemblage. Not a man had been enlisted to serve for a given time and no one could be detained longer than it pleased him to remain. The service covered from two days to four weeks. It was at once recognized that a disintegrated force, such as had assembled, would be of little use in armed opposition to the King's troops."

## The Massachusetts Army

On April 23, 1775, the Provincial Congress passed a resolve for an army of thirteen thousand six hundred men to be immediately raised to serve until December 31, 1775. The

work of recruiting began at once and regimental organizations were formed as rapidly as possible. In May, Artemus Ward was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts Army, vice Jedediah Preble, retired, and John Thomas was commissioned as lieutenant-general of the same army, vice Artemus Ward, promoted; Seth Pomeroy retaining his rank as senior major-general. In June, Warren, Whitcomb, Heath and Frye were appointed major-generals. The question of the appointment of brigadier-generals came up several times but was postponed, and there is no record that any brigadier-generals were appointed for the Massachusetts Army until January 20, 1776, when Timothy Danielson was chosen brigadier.

## The Continental Army

On June 22, 1775, the Continental Congress appointed major-generals and brigadier-generals for the army of the United Colonies, and Seth Pomeroy was designated as the first of the eight brigadiers chosen, the others being Richard Montgomery of New York, David Wooster of Connecticut, William Heath of Massachusetts, Joseph Spencer of Connecticut, John Thomas of Massachusetts, John Sullivan of Maine, Nathaniel Green of Rhode Island; Horatio Gates of Virginia, adjutant-general, ranking in the order named. The major-generals being; first, Artemus Ward; second, Charles Lee, with George Washington as commander-in-chief.

Mr. Tracy, in a letter to Mr. S. H. Pomeroy, of New York City, a great-great-grandson of Major-General Seth Pomeroy, writes: "Recognizing the very strong desire your Family Association Secretary had to get proof of the fact that Seth Pomeroy acted as a general in the War of the

# First Generals of the American Revolution

Revolution, I decided that I would make a search along entirely different lines than were covered in the previous search for the proofs desired. I was at last successful in finding hidden away in the resolve passed in January, 1776, a definite statement that Seth Pomeroy was entitled to wages as a major-general for service; and also found in still another group of records an entry showing that a warrant had been drawn for the payment of two months' and nine days' service, rendered by Seth Pomeroy as a major-general. This proof can never be contested."

## Military Rank and Pay Established

*"Resolve making an allowance to the General Officers.*

*"In the House of Representatives Jan'y. 25th 1776.*

*"Whereas there has no Establishment been made for the General Officers appointed by the Congress of this Colony for their Services in the Massachusetts Army from the Time they enter'd into said Service untill they were put into the pay of the Continent, or were otherwise discharg'd—Therefore Resolved, That there be allowed, & paid out of the publick Treasury of this Colony to the General Officers appointed by the Congress of this Colony for their Services in the Massachusetts Army, from the time they Enter'd into said Service, untill they were put into the pay of the Continent, or were otherwise discharged, at the several Rates following.—Viz:—*

*To the Honble General Ward, who served this Colony as Commander in Chief—*

*Twenty one pounds per month—*

*To General Thomas, who served this Colony as Lieu<sup>t</sup> General—*

*Eighteen pounds per month—and*

*To Generals Pumroy, Whitcomb, Heath, and Fry, who served this Colony as Major Generals*

*—Sixteen pounds per month Each,—accounting Twenty Eight Days to a month—and they are hereby respectively desir'd to make up their Accounts accordingly, and lodge them with the Secretary of this Colony, for examination, & allowance of the Committee on the Muster Rolls of the Army.—<sup>1</sup>*

*"Sent up for Concurrence*

*"J Warren Splr*

*"In Council Jan'y 25, 1776*

*"Read & concurred*

*"John Lowell Dp<sup>y</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup> P T*

*"Consented to*

*"W Sever*

*"Cha Chauncey*

*"Caleb Cushing*

*"Jed<sup>h</sup> Foster*

*"Eldad Taylor*

*"J Winthrop*

*"Michael Farley*

*"S Holton*

*"B Lincoln*

*"J Palmer*

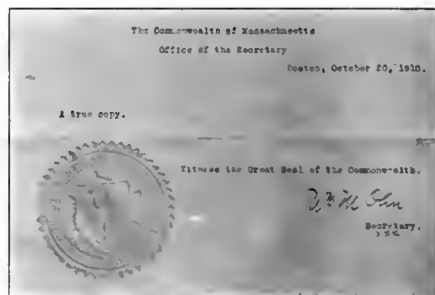
*"Moses Gill*

*"Jabez Fisher*

*"B White*

*"John Taylor*

*"John Whetcomb"*

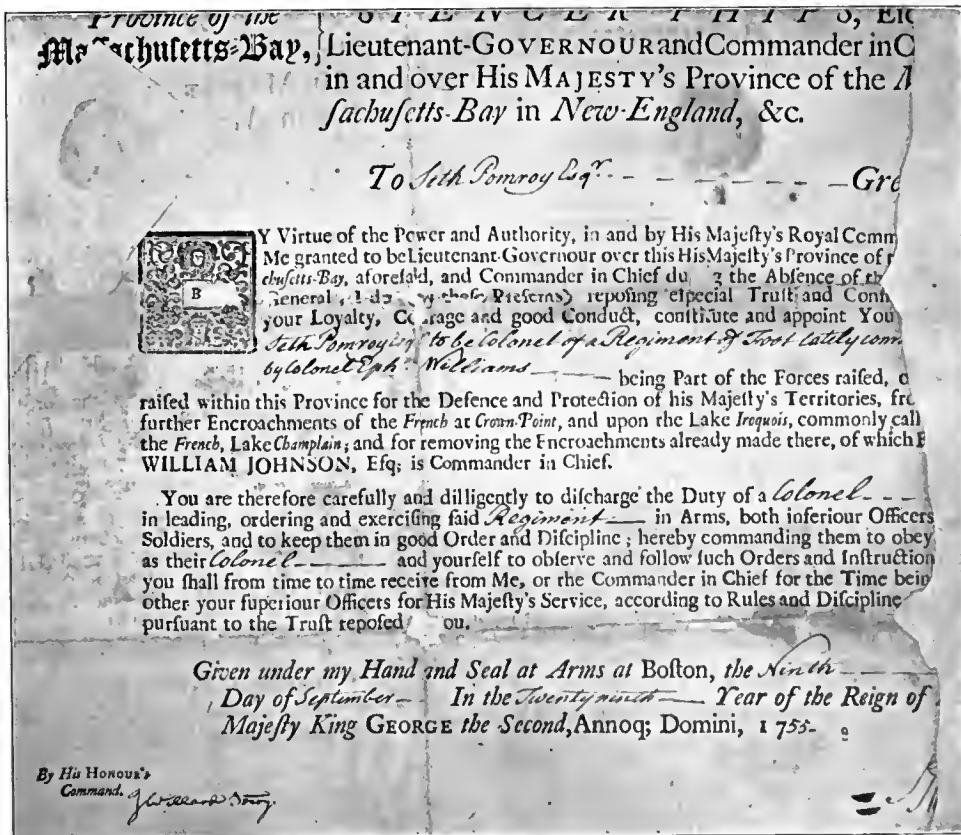


Photographic evidence of sworn statement under the seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

<sup>1</sup>From Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 208, page 3.



# I nvestigations into Original Sources



ORIGINAL DOCUMENT APPOINTING SETH POMEROY A COLONEL IN THE COLONIAL ARMY—  
Photographic reproduction of official credentials under authority of His Majesty, King George the Second, 1755

## Warrant Issued for Pay for Service as Major-General

"Records of the Honorable the Council, at a Great & General Court, or Assembly, for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; begun & held at Watertown in the County of Middlesex on Wednesday, the twenty sixth day of July AD 1775."

"Thursday January 25th 1776.

"Account of Seth Pomeroy Esqr for Two Months and Nine Days

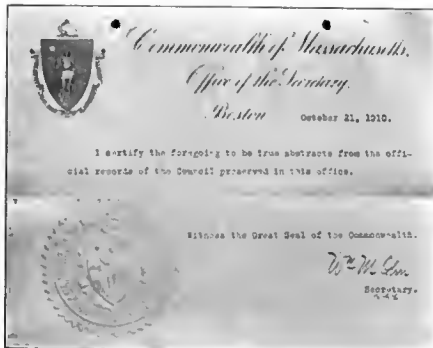
"Council Records, Vol. 17, page 230.

Wages as a General in the Service of this Colony. Read & Allowed & Ordered that a Warrant be drawn on the Treasury for Thirty Seven Pounds two Shillings and nine pence in full of said Account. War<sup>t</sup> drawn & Sign'd by fifteen of the Council—

## Responding to War Alarms

It will be remembered that Seth Pomeroy was appointed major-general of the Massachusetts Army, October 27, 1774, and was soon busily engaged in organizing the

# First Generals of the American Revolution



Photographic evidence of sworn statement under the seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

militia at Cambridge and other centers, which, in the spring of 1775, gathered around Breed's Hill. It is evident that General Pomeroy attended the first alarms of war, according to the records contained in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," that "Captain Lemuel Pomeroy's company of Southampton, General Pomeroy's regiment, marched April 21, 1775, in response to the alarm of April 19, 1775; service 22 days." Also, that "Capt. Jonathan Allen's company of minute-men, Gen. Pomeroy's regiment, marched April 20, in response to the alarm of April 19, 1775"; like announcements continue through those historic volumes. The writer has copies of two muster and payrolls from "Lexington Alarms," et cetera, in the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston, Vol. II, page 183, transcribed by Mrs. Deborah J. S. Darling: "A Muster Roll of the Minute Company under the command of Cap. Jonathan Allen, in Gen<sup>l</sup> Pomeroy's regiment." This roll of Captain Allen's contains a list of sixty-seven names. The men in this company were from Northampton. Fifty-two of these men enlisted in

the Continental Army, the others returning to their homes after a service of from eight to twenty-two days. It is apparent that nearly all the men capable of bearing arms were in the Revolutionary service at one time or another. While the men marched to the scenes of the conflicts, the elders, the anxious wives, mothers and sisters were offering intercession to Him whose hand alone could turn aside the whining bullet, or the pestilence which wanders about in the camp of the cold and underfed soldier.

The battle of Lexington infused new life and confidence into the people. From the plains of Piscataqua, the charmed region of the Berkshire Hills, the distant valley of the Connecticut, the villages and hamlets of the Hamptons, of Worcester and Essex, the undisciplined patriots sprang forth to reach the scene of contest. Although entering upon his seventieth year, General Pomeroy was immediately upon the ground. His early training as a field officer in the French and Indian wars made his presence invaluable at this time. In conjunction with the efforts of his brother officers it is said the undisciplined and tumultuous camp was converted into some semblance of an army. And for nearly two months the work of conversion to discipline continued.

## Surprise and Capture of Fort Ticonderoga

Soon after the battle of Lexington, Major-General Pomeroy, "then at the head of the undisciplined forces investing Boston," laid before several members of the Provincial Congress (of which he had been the member from Northampton before the alarms of war), a plan for surprising and taking possession of Fort Ticonderoga. In pursuance of this plan Benedict

## I nvestigations into Original Sources

Arnold had been sent into the Hampshire Grants, as Vermont was then called, to raise the men and means to accomplish the undertaking. Fearing, from the tenor of letters he had received, that Arnold was likely to be unsuccessful, General Pomeroy communicated his plans also to several members of the Provincial Assembly of Connecticut, then in session at Hartford, and solicited their interest in the enterprise. These gentlemen immediately entered into the spirit of the affair, and very soon enlisted a number of persons in its behalf. Three of these, Captain Noah Phelps, Bernard Romans and Edward Mott, gentlemen of standing and reputation in the colony, having received £300 in money from the treasury, immediately started upon the adventure.

In 1848, an article written by Honorable Nathaniel S. Dodge concerning the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, appeared in the "American Review" (Whig), from which the following is taken: "It was early in the evening of the first of May, 1775, that three strangers on horseback arrived at Col. Easton's inn. The public was at this time in such a state of alarm that every trivial incident was magnified into great importance, so that the news of the guests soon ran over the village. Various were the speculations upon their character and purpose, and all were disposed to guard against harm to the commonwealth. Colonel Easton was a staunch Whig, that they knew; also, that Colonel John Brown, who had just been sent for to join the conclave, was a friend of the people's rights; and more than all, the minister, Parson Allen, who had just entered, was not to be doubted, for he had preached resistance to England ever since the passage of the Stamp Act; so that, finally quieted

of their fears, the veterans of the village inn drank their usual potions and retired in good season to their homes.

"It was here, then," says our authority, "during the night of the first day of May, 1775, that the plan for the attack upon Fort Ticonderoga was concerted. Sixteen men only had been raised for the expedition in Connecticut, ten from Southampton, and fourteen from Northampton, Massachusetts, the main reliance for men being placed upon volunteers who should be raised on the New Hampshire Grants. To this Colonel Brown opposed the objection that the people on the Grants were mostly poor and could not leave their plows. As a preferable plan, Colonel Easton offered to raise fifty men from his own regiment, all of whom should be mustered at Bennington within four days, at which place Colonel Brown with the Connecticut men was to meet him. Forty-eight hours after this the whole force, including Ethan Allen's men, was mustered on the common at Bennington."

On the fourth day of May the Whig parson, Reverend Thomas Allen, thus writes to General Pomeroy:

Pittsfield, May 4, 1775.

GEN. POMEROY, SIR: I have the pleasure to acquaint you that a number of gentlemen from Connecticut went from this place last Thursday morning, having been joined by Col. Easton, Capt. Dickenson, and Mr. Brown with fifty soldiers, on an expedition against Ticonderoga; expecting to be reinforced from the Grants above here, a post having previously taken his departure to inform Col. Ethan Allen of the design, and desiring him to hold his Green Mountain boys in actual readiness. The expedition has been carried on with the utmost secrecy. We expect they will reach there by Saturday, or the Lord's day at farthest. We earnestly pray for the success of this important expedition, as the taking of those places would afford a key to all Canada. . . . As to your important operations, Sir, you have the fervent prayers of all good men, that

William Shirley Esq. Captain  
General and Governour in Chief in & over  
His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts  
Bay in New England

To Seth Pomeroy Esq. Greeting

By Virtue of the Power & Authority in & by His Majesty's Royal Commission to me granted I do by these presents, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, constitute & Appoint you the said Seth Pomeroy to be Major of the

Regiment (whereof Samuel Willard Esq. is Colonel) of the Forces raised within this Province for an Expedition against Cape Breton (of which Forces William Pepperell Esq. is appointed Commander in Chief) and to be Captain of the third Company in the said Regiment.

You are therefore to lead, Order & Exercise said Regiment and Company in Arms, both in your Offices and Soldiers, keeping them in good Order & Discipline hereby commanding them to obey you as their Major and Captain, & with them to do & execute all Acts of Hostility against His Majesty's Enemies the French & others. And you are to observe & follow such Orders & Directions as you shall receive from Time to Time from my self or from the Commander in Chief of the said Expedition or other your Superior Officer in the Field, according to the Rules & Discipline of War, pursuant to the Trust reposed in you.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Boston  
at Boston the twenty fourth day of February, 1744. In the  
eighteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King  
George the Second

By His Excellency's Command  
John Leonard Esq.


W. Shirley

Boston March 20. 1744. Seth Pomeroy Esq. this day took the Oath app<sup>d</sup> by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oath of Allegiance & Supremacy, & repeated & subscribed the Test or Declaration, & took the Oath of Abjuration before M<sup>r</sup> Justice

The Secretary



# Investigations into Original Sources



success may attend them. I hope God will inspire you with wisdom from above in all your deliberations, and your soldiers with fortitude, and that Boston will speedily be delivered into your hands, the general thereof and all the king's troops.

I have but one observation to make: It is, that seldom or never do the greatest generals duly improve a victory when one is obtained.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) THOMAS ALLEN.

Twelve days after the date of this letter, on the 16th of May, 1775, Fort Ticonderoga had surrendered at the demand of Ethan Allen.

Edward Mott said in a letter, written to the Provincial Congress immediately after the surrender of the fort: "After we had generously told him our whole plan, Mr. Arnold strenuously contended and insisted that he had a right to command us and all our forces, which bred such mutiny among our soldiers as almost frustrated our whole design. . . .


Ethan Allen was not the man to be brow-beaten, especially when he was in the right; and though at most times his temper was completely under his control, he was occasionally most fearful in his anger. He bore the insults of Arnold for several days with much patience, until at length, finding one of his orders countermanded, he sought Arnold, and seizing him by the collar, said in his stentorian voice: 'Go back to those who sent you here, and tell them if they want Ethan Allen to resign his command to send a *man* to take it.'

## At the Battle of Bunker Hill

General Seth Pomeroy, exhausted at length by the increasing toils of his office, sought relaxation in an absence


of a few days upon his farm on the Connecticut. Arriving there upon the evening of the 15th of June, he had barely passed a single night at home when a messenger from Israel Putnam summoned him again to Boston. "We have determined," says Putnam in his letter, "to draw our forces nearer the city, and to take possession of the heights of Charlestown." Foreseeing that such a step would bring about immediate hostilities, the old general unharnessed one of the horses from the team and ordered him to be immediately saddled, and started at noon of the 16th day of June for the camp. By riding all that night, and twice obtaining a fresh horse upon the road (the last from General Ward), he reached the scene of action at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The troops of the enemy were then landing from Boston. The heights in every direction were covered with spectators and combatants. Cannonballs from the ships of war were sweeping the neck of land over which he must pass to reach Bunker Hill. Remarking to his attendant that his horse was "too valuable an animal to have shot," he alighted and crossed the narrow pass on foot in safety and reached the intrenchments. As he appeared in sight a shout of welcome went up from the troops awaiting the attack. It is said that Colonel Putnam seized him by the hand, exclaiming: "You here, Pomeroy? God! I believe a cannon would wake you up if you slept in the grave!" Refusing proffers that he should take over the command, the old warrior advanced to the barricades and took command of the Connecticut troops. With a rifle of his own manufacture, which he had carried thirty years before at






## First Generals of the American Revolution



the siege of Louisburg, he directed the fire of the men with whom he had affiliated during those two hours of terrible struggle for the birth of American liberty. Toward Pitcairn there existed in the hearts of the colonists a deadly hatred. Observing him at the head of a column which had once been repulsed, and now again returning to the attack, General Pomeroy pointed him out to the men who stood by his side, and the next moment Pitcairn fell mortally wounded. During the last attack of the British, General Pomeroy's gun was struck by a musket-ball and the lock broken so that it was rendered useless. After the soldiers with him had fired all their ammunition, as had the other troops in the thin line of battle, and perceiving that the British had gained the intrenchments on his flank, he retired with his men, stepping backward, and it is reported that he said: "Seth Pomeroy must not be shot in the back."

### Appointed First Brigadier-General of the Continental Army

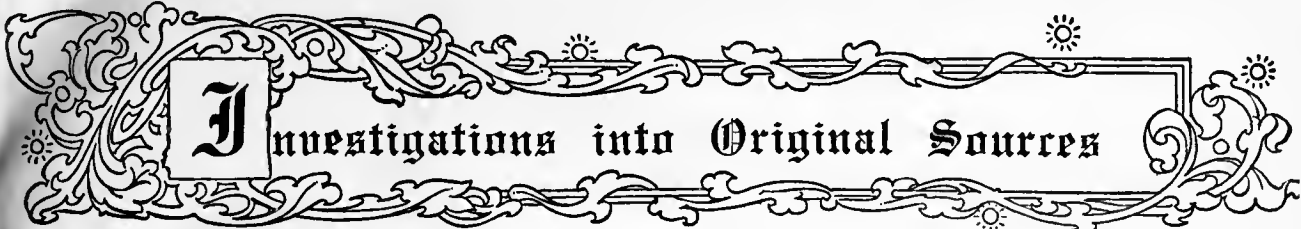
On June 22, 1775, a few days after the battle of Breed's Hill, Major-General Seth Pomeroy, of the Massachusetts Army, was appointed First Brigadier-General of the Continental Army. After holding this rank four weeks, he felt too certainly the disadvantages of his venerable age to do justice to the cause in active military life in the field, and voluntarily resigned his office that younger men might take up the burden, and retired to his farm, to come forth later, like another Cincinnatus, at the darkest period in the struggle for freedom. Another cause is also assigned for his retirement:




Concerning this passage in his life, Harper's Cyclopaedia of United States History, by Lossing, page 1115, says: "In 1774-75, Col. Seth Pomeroy was a Delegate to the Provincial Congress, and was chosen a General of militia in February, 1775, but fought as a private soldier in the battle of Bunker Hill. On his appointment as Senior Brigadier-General of the Continental Army some difficulty arose about rank (among the other brigadiers) when he resigned and retired to his farm, but when late in 1776, New Jersey was invaded by the British, he again took the field, and at the head of the militia marched to the Hudson River at Peekskill, where he died February, 1777."

Under date of July 19, 1775, a resolve was passed in the Continental Congress that John Thomas, of Massachusetts, be appointed First Brigadier-General vice Pomeroy retired; "and that Gen. Thomas's commission bear the same date as the one given General Pomeroy," i. e., June 22, 1775. This promotion enabled General Thomas to gain five numbers in the regular establishment, as he was the sixth brigadier-general under the original resolve, and at once settled the question of seniority. This action may be accounted for by consideration of the importance of Massachusetts in the struggle for liberty, as well as of his activity and efficiency as an organizer.

Although he had retired from the active duties of camp life, General Pomeroy continued his labors in the great cause by training the young men to the use of arms, infusing into them a spirit of military ardor, urging early enlistments, and thus supplying disciplined troops for the rank and file of the army. His services in this respect were repeatedly acknowledged by both Provincial and Con-




## I nvestigations into Original Sources



tinental congresses. This voluntary duty at his home in Northampton was continued until January 31, 1776, when we find an official record of a ballot by the House of Representatives of the Continental Congress appointing him colonel of the Second Hampshire County regiment of Massachusetts militia, this appointment being "Concurred in by the Council Feb. 8, 1776; reported commissioned Feb. 8, 1776." This record may be found in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," page 845. Our family records tell us that at the close of the year 1776 he was personally solicited by General Washington to join the service for the ensuing campaign, and that he determined to again enter into the active duties of the field, although seventy years of age. In January, 1777, he left Northampton for the front, and joined the patriot army, then stationed at Peekskill, under the command of General McDougall.

Regarding the muster and pay-rolls in the archives of the Massachusetts Commonwealth, it is now only necessary to say that as Seth Pomeroy was appointed major-general on October 27, 1774, and held that rank until June 22, 1775, when he was taken up as a brigadier-general in the Continental Army, it is evident that those rolls which designate him as "General" are correct records, and should be observed as such, notwithstanding all opinions to the contrary, especially as the rolls under consideration were for service performed in response to the alarm of April 19, 1775, and before June 22, 1775, when he became a Continental general. It is suggested that if a soldier is commissioned as a general in time of war it is usually in recognition of what he has to his credit as a military officer, and his other qualifications.



It is wise for us to recur to the history of our ancestors. Those who are regardless of their ancestors and of their posterity, who do not look upon themselves as a link connecting the past with the future, in the transmission of life from their ancestors to their posterity, do not perform their duty to the world. To be faithful to ourselves, we must keep both our thoughts and affections; living in the memory and retrospect of the past, and hoping with affection and care for those who are to come after us. We are true to ourselves only when we act with becoming pride for the blood we inherit, and which we are to transmit to those who shall fill our places.—*Daniel Webster*



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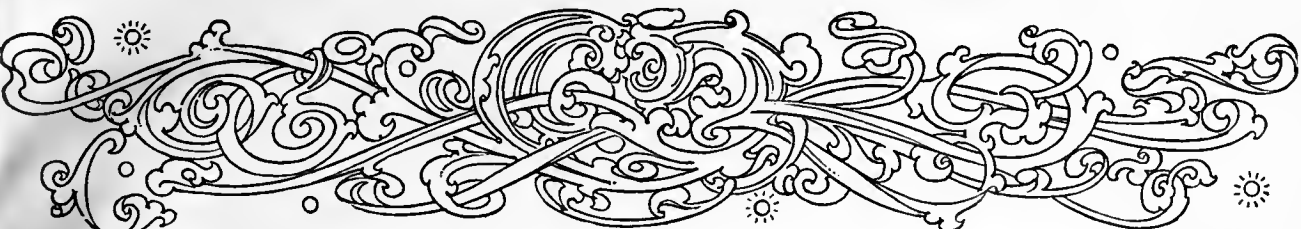
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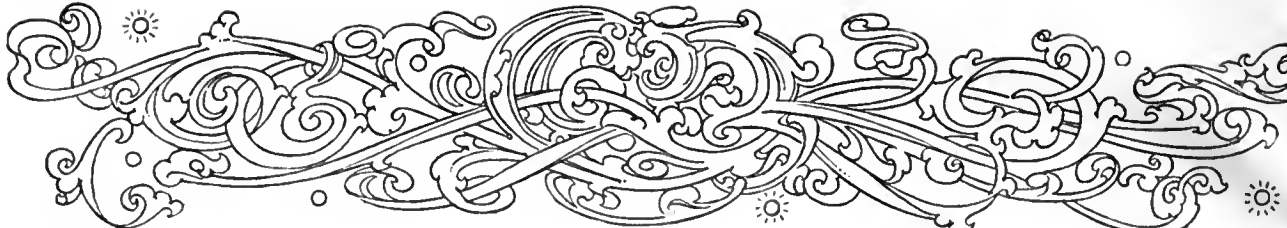

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- ILLINOIS—"More than merely interesting reading." *Chicago Daily News*.  
 "A sumptuous production." *Chicago Examiner*.
- CONNECTICUT—"It is certainly a beautiful specimen of typographical art, as well as valuable for the quality of the reading matter which it contains." *Waterbury American*.
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AMERICA'S GREATEST GLORY AND GREATEST GRIEF—Semi-Centenary of the "Call to Arms" when more than three million answered Bugle Summons in Defense of Constitutional Principles, in which they believed, at cost of nearly a million lives in greatest fratricidal war in annals of mankind—Historic sculpture erected at Syracuse, New York—Cyrus E. Dallin, Sculptor





# The Journal of American History

VOLUME V  
NINETEEN ELEVEN

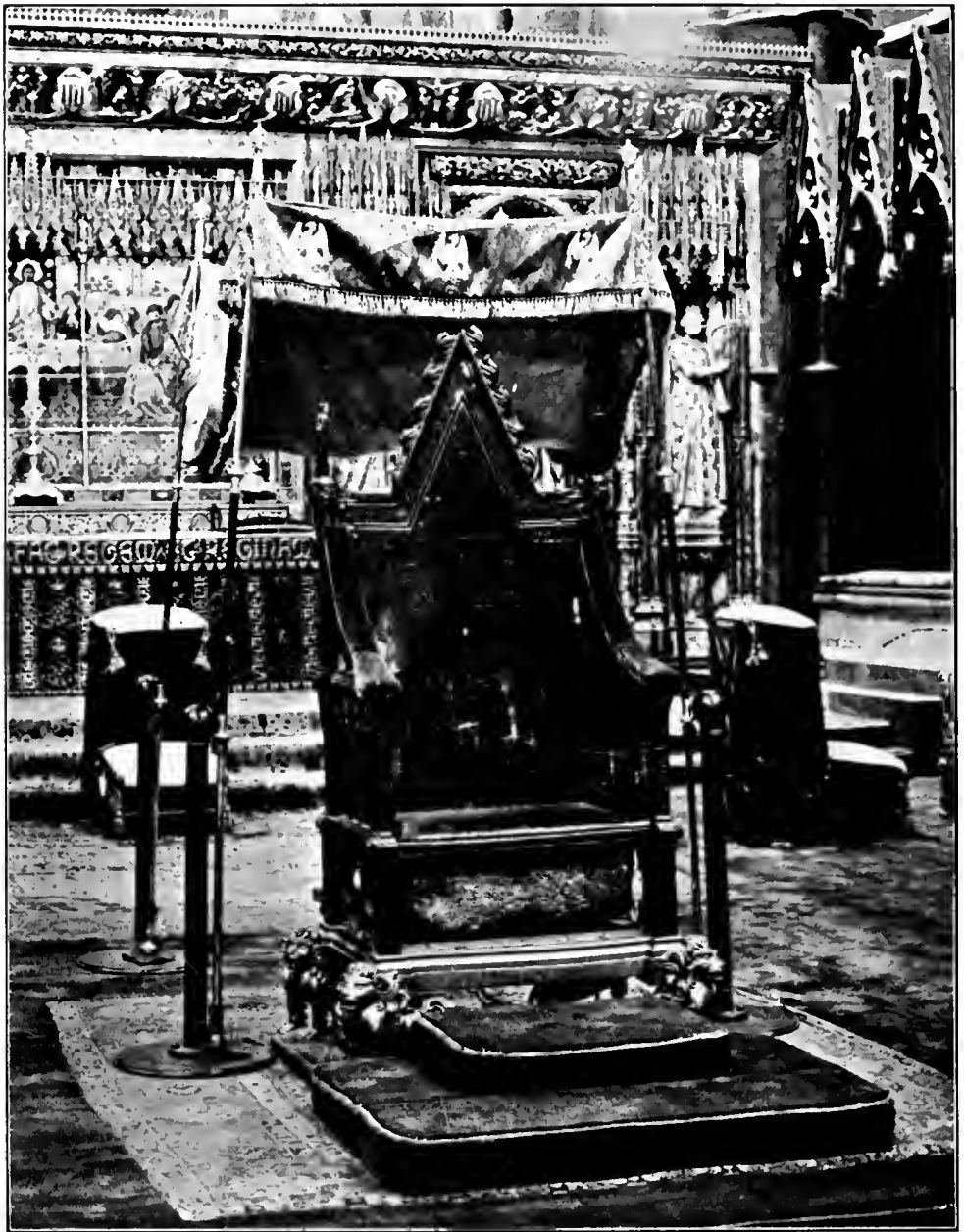


NUMBER II  
SECOND QUARTER

## Anniversaries of Great Events in American Progress

Centennial of First Settlement in Oregon & Fiftieth Anniversary of  
First Settlement in Montana & Four Hundredth Anniversary of the  
First Map Bearing "America" & Hundredth Anniversary of First Steam-  
boat West of Alleghanies & Great Developments in Western America

**T**HIS year of 1911 marks several notable anniversaries in the progress of American civilization. This is the semi-centennial of the political birth of the Great West—the fiftieth anniversary of the first settlement of Montana, the formation of the territory of Nevada, of Colorado and of Dakota; the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of Kansas as a state. This is the centennial of the first settlement in Oregon, and consequently the business development of the great Northwest, inasmuch as it was a business institution known as the Pacific Fur Company, founded by John Jacob Astor, that explored and opened the Oregon Territory. One hundred years ago the first steamboat west of the Alleghanies was built and operated on the Ohio River, thus beginning the great system of commerce and transportation which has since built the Middle West into a great empire of trade. This is the four-hundredth anniversary of the first settlement at Porto Rico and the conquest of Cuba, both of which have become important factors in American history. Four hundred years ago the death of the man who gave America its name occurred in Saint Die, France. This is the three-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of American agriculture by the first cultivation of tobacco in Virginian colonies in 1611. These anniversaries are to be celebrated throughout the country and will be given official record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY.—EDITOR



CORONATION CHAIR WHICH LAID AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS—Ancient Crowning Chair used at the Coronation of King George V, in Westminster Abbey, which for seven centuries has inaugurated some of the greatest epochs in the world's civilization and which for more than a hundred years was the Origin of American Government and American Institutions—Copyrighted, 1911, by Underwood & Underwood of New York City



# France Extends Greeting to America

## "Justice One Day Will Rule the World"

Tribute of Eminent French Statesman Before the Historical Painting by Jean Paul Laurens, at Baltimore, Maryland, Entitled "The Surrender at Yorktown" & There Great Nations, France, England and America are to Celebrate a Hundred Years of Peace

BY

HONORABLE JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, LL. D.

Ambassador to the United States from France—Former Minister to Denmark from France

The celebration of one hundred years of peace between England, France and America is soon to take place in the three countries. Ambassador Jusserand, the eminent French statesman at Washington, while standing before the historical painting by Jean Paul Laurens, in Baltimore, Maryland, voiced the sentiment of the world when he stated: "Justice one day will rule the world; its progress is slow but constant." The occasion was the dedication of the great mural painting entitled: "The Surrender at Yorktown." After paying tribute to Mr. Julian LeRoy White, and the Baltimoreans who had assembled on the notable occasion, the eminent statesman expressed the greetings of his nation to the Americans, speaking especially of the brotherhood of the French and the American people which was cemented in the American Revolution. The official record of the historical summarization is given in these pages as the national repository.—EDITOR

**T**O the patriotism, energy and good taste [three eminent virtues] of the municipality of Baltimore, of the Municipal Art Society, and of the Daughters of the American Revolution, ever ready to second a good cause, is due the great picture commemorating a great deed.

The picture due to that master, Jean Paul Laurens, foremost among those artists in whom modern France takes pride, represents one of the most memorable scenes in the history of the world. It was unique in the way it came about and unique in its consequences.

Two nations fought for the liberty of one; and the one who offered her help stated beforehand that she would accept nothing for what she might do; that her only motive in taking part in the war was the in-


dependence of the United States; that she would never lay down her arms until that was achieved, and when achieved, she would be contented. She not only said so, but did it.

It was unique in its consequences. For its result was not the submission of one country or part of one country to the rule of another country. It was not the securing of an indemnity of war. It was the freeing of a people that wanted and deserved to be free, and the addition of one more to the number of great powers.

The men who took the leading part in those fateful events are shown in the foreground of the picture. Chief among them, surrounded by the American generals, who had borne with him, from the first, the brunt of the war, is to be seen Washington, of whom it is praise enough to recall that he stands so truly apart among men, and even



ANGLO-SAXON ORIGINS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION—Historic collection of Jeweled Crowns and Sceptres of British Sovereigns—Gold and Gems valued at more than \$15,000,000 and deposited in Tower of London—To these crowns may be traced sources of American history and beginnings of American Political forms—Photographed for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY—Copyrighted, 1911, by Underwood & Underwood of New York



among great men, that it is not possible to say of any one, not even of any great one: "He reminds me of Washington."

Near him are his beloved Lafayette, the wise tactician, Rochambeau, a soldier of experience and of admirable character, whose fate it was to know another revolutionary war and to take part, as a Marshal of France, in the fight for our own hearths when the whole of Europe was leagued against our country. There is also that Admiral de Grasse, who did what no one else could have done for American independence, namely, secure for the French fleet that mastery of the sea which we possessed so rarely, but which fortunately we held at this most tragic and propitious hour, when the fate of the States trembled in the balance, and when, but for the presence of the French ships barring the Chesapeake, Cornwallis would have escaped, and the issue of the contest remained in doubt. Washington, whose judgment was never at fault, felt it when he wrote to De Grasse with his usual generosity: "The honor belongs to Your Excellency."

But there is something more to be discovered in the picture. Men of various other nationalities came over, fought bravely and won the gratitude of the United States. They were only individuals, and the help they brought was commensurate with the extent of their own personal merits. But behind the image of individual American and of individual Frenchman, is to be seen the image of a nation. It was not one man, two men, a dozen men, who took part in the fight. It was, in perfect whole-heartedness, the ensemble of the peoples, men and women, young and old. Governments acted, but their decisions would have been of no avail if they had not

been seconded by public opinion and the good will of the entire community.

As regards France, this was shown, among a great many other ways, by the fact that special orders had to be sent to the naval surgeons at Brest, ordering them to be strict in their medical examination because everyone wanted to go, and concealed any illness or infirmity which might have prevented their being selected. And this was shown also by the fact that, after all was over, when independence had been secured, and events were happening in France and in Europe which might well have centered the attention of the country on different questions, the news having come of Washington's death, the French republic went into mourning, all the officers of the army wore crape, and flags were flown at half mast. Such a token of mourning and admiration had never been given anywhere else at any previous time, nor has it ever been given since.

Justice one day will rule the world; its progress is slow but constant. One of the most striking tokens of what the future has in store for a better mankind is given by the very event pictured by Jean Paul Laurens. There appear the representatives of three nations at the end of a deadly war, filled with hatred for one another; but that war was a just war and national wounds inflicted in the cause of justice ever heal.

A picture showing representative men of the same three countries today would tell a very different tale. It would tell of three nations at the head of all others in their liberal aspirations, united in the same love of progress, in the same ardent desire for the improvement of the many; and whereas two of them knew in former times a hundred years' war, all three now are about to celebrate a hundred years of peace.



ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH NOW IN POSSESSION OF

## The Surrender at Yorktown

The painter of this historic mural masterpiece that was recently unveiled at Baltimore, Maryland, is a Frenchman who feels the spirit of American liberty. Jean Paul Laurens was born in the Lauraguais, a district in the south of France, between Toulouse and Carcassonne. At an early age the strong bent of his talent was manifest, and when an itinerant Italian painter came to decorate the village church the child was fascinated, and obtained his father's permission to follow this master as an apprentice. After two most trying years, still wholly self-taught, the lad at fifteen took refuge with an uncle in Toulouse, bringing with him a knowledge of the merest rudiments of his art; and one precious drawing, a copy from a well-known painting. With this modest artistic baggage, and by the friendly aid of two discerning professors, he obtained admission to the School of Arts in Toulouse, of which in later years he was to become the distinguished director. Here the longed-for training was secured, and the next few years brought valuable results. Talent and untiring perseverance triumphed (successively), over the most serious difficulties of every kind, and at last the long dreamed of prize was secured, which meant a three years' residence in the art center of the world. The young student now found himself in a world of untold privilege and delight. Working diligently at the Beaux Arts, in the Louvre, and at the studio of Coignet, he lost not a moment. But alas, the three years of comparative abundance soon had flown, and now he adopted a mode of life so strictly ascetic that only one result could have followed. Fortunately, at the urgent instance of a close friend, he returned to the south, and found in the embrace of his own native mother earth fresh health, strength and enthusiasm.

## By Jean Paul Laurens

From a somewhat later visit to Toulouse, Laurens returned again to settle in Paris, bringing with him this time the prize of prizes the life companion whose features for months past constantly had been taking shape upon the canvas or the paper before him. A telltale revealed the true situation to a warm friend who has told the story: The works of Edgar Allan Poe were widely read in France at this time, owing to a translation by the poet Beaulaure. The tale known as the "Oval Portrait" seems to have made a strong impression upon the young artist. It is a story of another artist and his young bride. To the painter, in his drawing, young Laurens gave his own features; to the lady of the story, those of his own future bride. In France, the happy family life is so widely the rule that it might seem superfluous to dwell on this period. But it is difficult to overlook the influence, strong and gentle, which has enabled Mr. Laurens to weather many a storm. The fact is patent to the visitor who enjoys the cordial hospitality of the Merovingian house in the picturesque little village of Yport by the sea, in Normandy; or the attractive city residence, built also for himself by Mr. Laurens, which looks upon the fine private gardens and trees of the Observatory. The young artist already was known to frequenters of the annual exhibitions in the Salon, when in 1872, his "Death of the Duc d'Enghien" awakened a keen interest. The picture was bought for a private collection in Philadelphia. A few years later, in 1877, he took his place in the front rank with his painting of the "Death of General Marceau," with which he secured the great medal of honor of the Salon; the Staff of the Austrian Army, at their own request, have come to pay the last tribute of respect to the remains of their fallen foe.



MR. THEODORE MARBURG, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

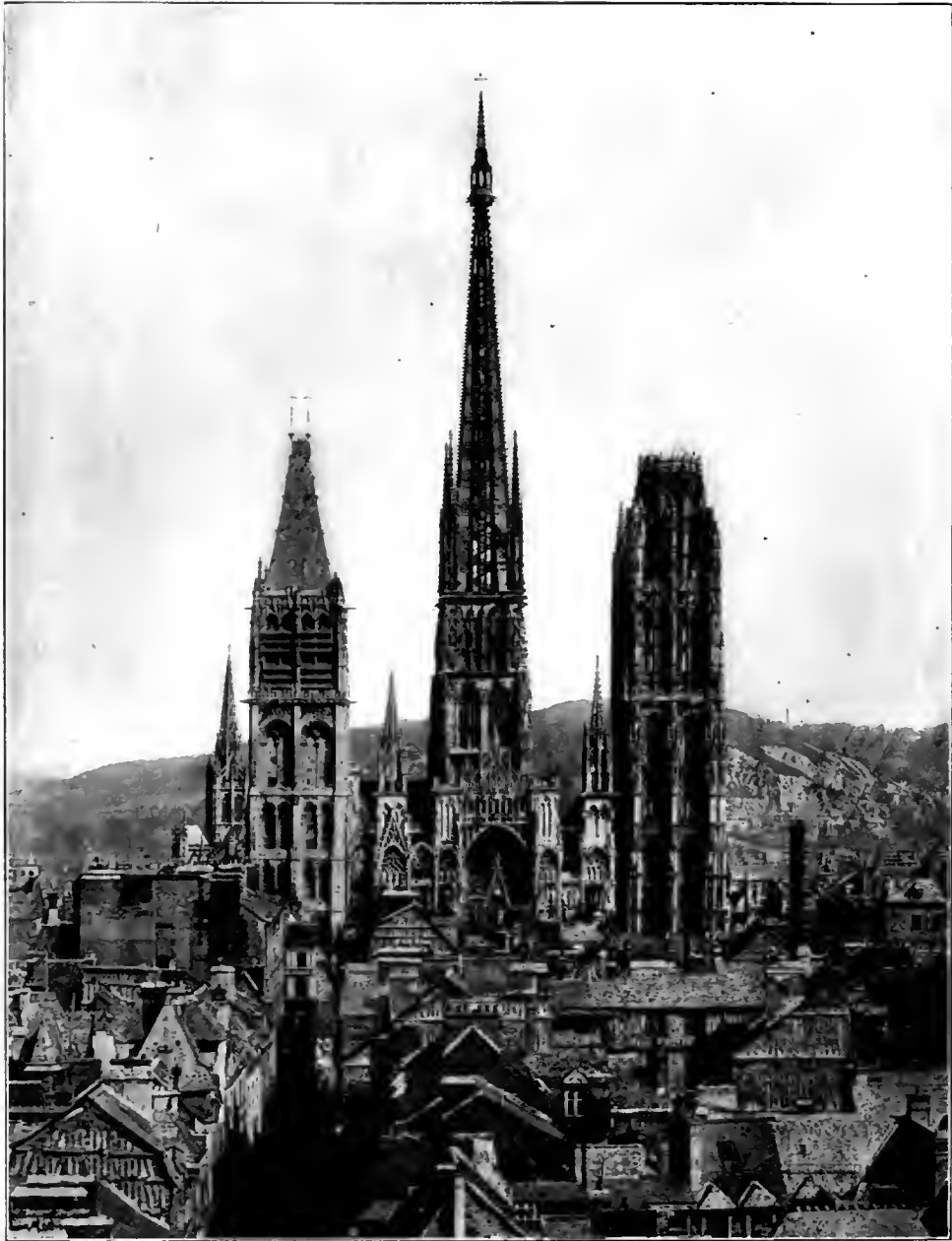
## Historic Painting in Baltimore

About this time Laurens was called to enter a new field, which he soon made his own. By the director of the Beaux Arts, he was invited to execute for the Pantheon, the great Parisian Temple of Fame, his well-known mural decorations which represent the death of Sainte Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris. Among various other commissions he painted ceilings for the Odeon Theater and the palace of the Legion of Honor, and important mural decorations for the capitol at Toulouse. Later he was requested to cooperate with other artists in the decoration of a large room in the Hotel de Ville, the great central city hall of Paris. This invitation he declined, explaining that, in his opinion, the result of such co-operation in the one room must inevitably prove most inharmonious. Eventually, the decoration of the whole room was assigned to him. On each wall is depicted some stirring episode in the history of Paris. Here may be seen his well-known "Vault of Steel." It represents a visit of Louis XVI to the mayor of Paris. The king is about to ascend the broad stairway leading to the Hotel de Ville, passing under the vault of steel, formed by the crossed swords of the city councilmen. The National Manufactory of tapestry of the Gobelins is indebted to Mr. Laurens for a number of large and important designs. One of these also was on exhibition at the Salon of 1910. It represents a visit of the young King Louis XV to the Manufactory. As an illustrator and portrait painter, Mr. Laurens has also won distinction. His own portrait by himself may be seen in the well-known collection at the Uffizi in Florence. To form a clear idea of the variety and importance of his work, it would be necessary to examine, not only various private collections, but those of widely scattered museums, not excluding such distant points as Moscow and Tokio.

## Exhibited at the Paris Salon

The loftiest ideals have always appealed to Mr. Laurens, his subjects being mainly taken from history, sacred or profane. His favorite sources have been the Bible, Tacitus, Shakespeare, Montesquieu, and other great writers. Dignity, simplicity, straightforward earnestness; these personal characteristics are the key to his work. Abhorring the shallow and facile vagueness which appeals nowadays to so many, in various countries and pursuits, he tells his story with simple directness, wasting no time upon the trifling or the obscure. His color is warm and strong, without exaggeration, his personages really stand and move, but they do not gesticulate. To his studio in particular, American art students have for years been attracted in large numbers. As a rule they go abroad for serious work. They know that the master has overcome all obstacles, without favor, and by sheer force of talent and determination; that they must not look to him for direct assistance in the pursuit of special distinctions, but that to each one, in proportion to his diligence, especial attention will be devoted by the "patron," as he is affectionately called by this large family. They already are well represented in the Court House in Baltimore by the attractive decorations of Mr. Charles Y. Turner. A member of the Institute for over twenty years, Mr. Laurens can aspire to few honors which are not already his own. His activity continues unabated. His energies are now devoted to an important piece of work which for some months has been laid aside by his desire to complete the mural painting for Baltimore.

JULIAN LEROY WHITE



BURIAL PLACE OF NORMAN PROGENITOR OF AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS—Cathedral in Rouen, Normandy—Rollo was laid at rest under altar of this church in 813—Rollo's great-grandson, Duke Richard the Good (997-1026), rebuilt the church, and his work was continued by his brother, Robert, Archbishop of Normandy—Historical ceremonies will take place here this year in honor of Rollo, or Robert the First, of Normandy





# Millennial of European Foundations of the American Nation

911-1911


Thousandth Anniversary  
of the Founding of Normandy by  
Rollo, the Contemporary of Alfred the Great  
Norwegian Scholars Trace Relationship between the Vikings  
and American Institutions & Investigations at Royal University in Chris-  
tiania & First Expeditions to America after Epoch of Christianity in Europe

BY

DR. HERMAN O. FJELDE

ABERCROMBIE, NORTH DAKOTA

Member of the Rollo Millennial Committee in America



**T**HIS year of 1911 is the millennial of the Norman foundations to which American civilization traces its origin through William the Conqueror.

In commemoration of this historic event, celebrations are being observed on both continents, during which memorials are to be dedicated.

In Normandy, and in France generally, a grand homecoming festival is being held at its old Norman capital, Rouen, and at the modern capital of France, at Paris. The anniversary occurring during June, around Pentecost time, includes the unveiling of a monument to Rollo. The president of France is the honorary president of the Norman millennial. The active president is Honorable Aug. Leblond, mayor of the city of Rouen. This ancient city of old Normandy has offered two models of the Rollo statue, erected near St. Ouen's church; one to Normands-Forbundet in Norway, and one to

America which, through the Rollo Committee of the Norwegian Society in America, will be placed in Fargo, North Dakota—the Red River Valley of the Northwest, which is the center of the Norwegian settlers in the United States. The unveiling will take place on St. Olaf's Day, the 29th of this July, and President Taft is to be the guest of honor.

The Norwegian-Americans, who form so large a part of the American Northwest and have long been strong factors in our national character, trace their American foundations back beyond Columbus to the Vikings, when they sailed the waters of the Far North as pioneers of the sea.


St. Olaf's Day has become an American day in the Northwest, with its traditions that Olaf Haraldson, christened at Rouen, lifted his people from heathenism to Christianity, and after his death at the battle of Stiklestad, became sainted by his countrymen. In the year of 1121, Erik Upse sailed from Iceland to Greenland, as the only Norwegian



**NORWEGIAN ORIGINS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION**—St. Olaf's Cathedral at Trondhjem, Norway—St. Olaf was greatest Norwegian king, whose birthday is now being celebrated in northwestern America—A young Viking, he was baptized in Rouen by Archbishop Robert, son of the Norman duke, Richard the Fearless—When he returned to Norway and ascended the throne of his forefathers, he converted the whole country to the Christian faith, and was killed in battle at Stiklestad, 29th of July, 1030—St. Olaf's is the finest Gothic cathedral in the Scandinavian countries—It was first built by Olaf the Tranquil (1066-93)—Statuary donated by Emperor William II, of Germany—The Norwegian-Americans have organized to raise a large fund to restore through their American resources, this monument of their forefathers in which the kings of Norway are crowned



# Millennial of the Norman Foundations



bishop to bring Christianity to the American borders.

The historical libraries throughout America are rich in literature of these early discoverers, who came to this continent, which they called Markland, meaning "Woodland," to secure lumber and to make explorations. The Icelandic annals record many of these expeditions.

In preparation of this millennial the Norwegian historians have been making exhaustive investigations into their American connections, and especially those which relate to their Norman foundations. Professor Alexander Bugge, of the Royal University at Christiania, Norway, has been conducting researches in Scotland, England, Ireland and France to discover new evidence which is of much historical importance.

These investigations are of especial value in America because they assist in establishing the European foundations of American history.

Europe, in the latter part of the ninth, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was more or less in an unsettled state. An empire had been formed by Charles the Great, but the people had little of interest in common. The languages, customs, laws, and natural boundary lines were in confusion. The descendants of Charles the Great mostly were fighting for spoils in his extended empire. All rights, justice and plighted faith were constantly violated. The people were oppressed, neglected and overloaded with all kinds of burdens. The nobility was selfish and greedy. All seemed to be in a meaningless chaos, as far as government is concerned.

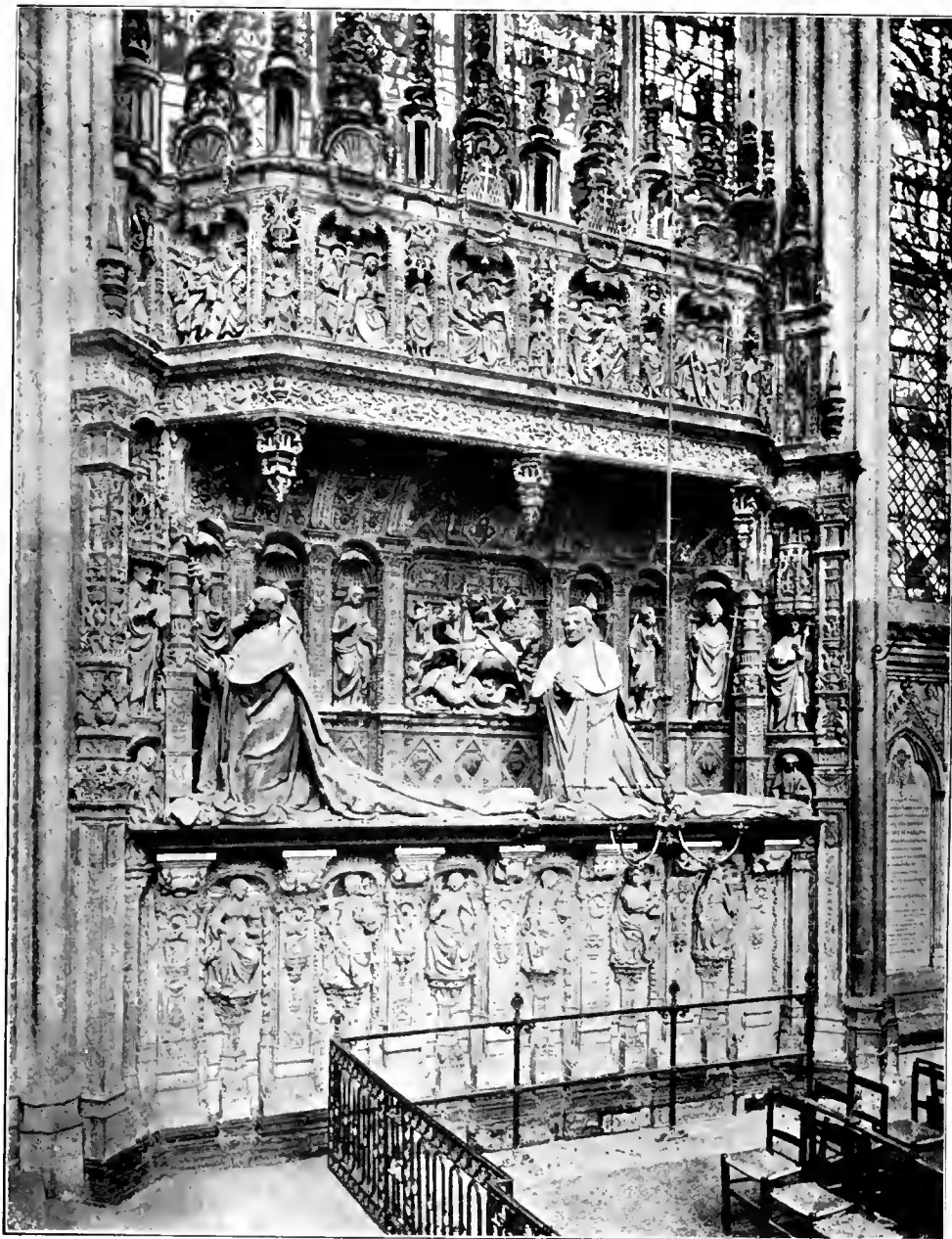
It was a period of sociological transformation. The Saracens from

the south, the Hungarian hordes from the east, and the Scandinavian Vikings from the north were troubling Europe. For a time this made the struggles of the people more complex and hopeless. But conditions finally changed, and the organization of the modern European states and nationalities were during these centuries formed by the Scandinavian Vikings and the Normans.

The Scandinavian Vikings and the Normans must be classed as progenitors to the American race. The United States of America is the political outgrowth of England, which became a Norman country in 1066. The Normans, who conquered England, came from Normandy where the millennial occurs this year. As descendants of the people from Normandy, the inhabitants of this republic have received a great and important inheritance from the Normans and the Viking forefathers.

In 860, the Northmen organized an army and went on an expedition of conquest to the West Frankish kingdom. The Vikings were at this time well organized, had a recognized code of laws, and formed a firm and strong body of men. They knew the art of war and could use war machines, build fortifications and were well trained on land and sea. The cloisters in Netherlands were plundered and mercantile towns destroyed. The Vikings ravaged Paris in 861, and later settled at the mouth of the Seine, in France.

The war between the Northmen and the Frankish kingdom ended by the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, in 911, just a thousand years ago. King Charles the Simple, or the Third, ceded the fertile province from Epte to the sea to Rollo [born 860, died



SHRINE OF AMERICAN HISTORICAL RESEARCHES IN FRANCE—Altar in the cathedral at Rouen where the millennial services are being held this year, during which the statue of Rollo will be presented to America—Photograph for historical record in *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* from Marquis Rochethulon

# Millennial of the Norman Foundations



WESTMINSTER ABBEY OF THE NORMANS—Saint Ouen's Church at Rouen, Norway, called the Westminster Abbey of Normandy—It is one of the most beautiful churches in the world—The Rollo statue, replica of which is to be donated to the people of the United States, is seen on the right—It will probably be dedicated in Fargo, North Dakota, in July of this year (1911), in commemoration of the millennial of Norman foundations

932], who also was given the overlordship of Brittany. Rollo and his men became Franks and the king's vassals. They also promised to accept the Christian faith and were baptized. Rollo's domain in France has since been called Normandy [the land of the Northmen]—and this is its millennial.

It is the anniversary of a new and reconstructed France. Rollo, as the first duke of Normandy, is regarded by the French as one of their greatest

men. One of his descendants and successors as duke of Normandy was William, who conquered England some one hundred and thirty-five years after Rollo's death.

The Norman conquest reconstructed England. If it is true that every Englishman is a lineal descendant of William the Conqueror, it must also be true that the American families largely must regard Rollo as an ancestor, one of the greatest of our Viking forefathers.



### MONUMENT IN HONOR OF THE NORMAN CONQUERORS

Statue of Rollo, founder and first Duke of Normandy (911-13), son of Ragnvald, Jarl of Moere, Norway, replica of which is offered to the United States by the city of Rouen, France, on this millennial of Norman foundations

Photograph from Monsieur Aug. Leblond, depute-maire, of Rouen, for historical record in  
THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY



# Millennial of the Norman Foundations

The encyclopædias and the world's histories give varying accounts about Rollo and his works. Most authorities agree that he came as a fugitive from Norway. Norway was made into one kingdom, in 872, by King Harald Hairfair and his chief advisor and earl, Ragnvald of Moere. The king's duty was to protect his conquered country against piracy, which was forbidden by harsh laws. Rollo was a son of the king's most trusted friend, but he was compelled to leave the country, never to return, because of an adventure in the Baltic seas.

According to Thomas Carlyle in his "The Early Kings of Norway," the Saxon chronicle says [anno 876]: "In this year Rolf overran Normandy with his army, and he reigned 50 winters." Rollo's Scandinavian name was Rolf.

Historians relate that Paris was besieged in 886 or 888 by Rollo and a Danish chief, Sigfried. But Paris was so well defended, the Northmen after several months' siege had to retreat. Eudes, Count of Paris, on account of his bravery in this war, was chosen king in place of the Caroling king, Charles the Bald. It is said that the Franks found Rollo to be a man of genius, and that his warfare was more civilized than was customary among his contemporary warriors. Where he did not meet a too obstinate resistance to arouse his temper, he treated the subjugated people well. Rouen, for instance, was rebuilt and well governed after being conquered by him.

According to the latest research in Scandinavian mediæval history, by Professor Bugge of the University of Norway, it is most probable that Rolf, when he left Norway, first sailed to his brother, Einar, Earl of Orkneys, north of Scotland.

The oldest Norwegian history in Latin says that Rollo, after being expelled from Norway, was ravaging Kataness, northern England, and in Ireland.

Rolf's daughter, Katlin, was married to the Scotch king, Bjolan, who probably was of the O'Beolan family, later the earls of Ross. Their daughter, Nidbjorg, about 930, became a captive of Bjorn Austroene of Iceland, and later an ancestral mother to the Icelanders and many noted families in Norway. This is given as proof that Rollo had a first wife in Scotland or from the islands near by.

Among the Viking chiefs in Ireland in the second half of the ninth century was also Rolf. When he came to France, he had many Norwegian and Irish Vikings with him. Being superior by reason of his extensive experience in warfare, courage and ability, he soon became the head chief among the Vikings in northern France.


These Vikings also were called Danes. Denmark was the nearest Scandinavian country to the Frankish kingdom. The Vikings in France also came from Norway, from provinces now belonging to Sweden, from the Danish part of England, and from the Norwegian settlements on the islands north and west of Scotland. An army also came from Ireland [according to Dudo, the first Norman historian]. There was a very lively intercommunication at this time between Ireland and Gaul and the Scandinavian countries.

In 891, the Vikings lost a great and important battle at the Dyle River near Louvain, and the army had to leave Netherlands and Gaul and went to England. Here it was dismembered by Alfred the Great, in 896.

Rollo was a contemporary of Alfred the Great. He also became a friend of his. But, before this



# Celebrations in France and America



happened, Rollo had joined the Danish chief, Guthrum, in his war against King Alfred. The result of the war was that Guthrum should have all the land north of the Thames, that he should acknowledge Alfred's overlordship, and that he and his men should become Christians. From that we might infer that King Alfred, after this treaty, had visits from the Danish chiefs, and Rolf is said to have gone to France on advice of King Alfred.

The Frankish king, Charles the Simple, and his counselors, concluded that the wisest plan in handling the Vikings was to follow the example of King Alfred and to grant to Rollo a part of the northern France. It seemed impossible to drive the Northmen out of the country. The king and Rollo came to an understanding at St. Clair-sur-Epte, as mentioned before.

Rollo was now Duke of Normandy, which became the thriftiest province in France. He and his men, now defenders of their new country, added a new and strong force in the work of civilization and were great reformers. He always was faithful to his king and went to war for his sake. As a ruler, he was wise and just. Among his people he was regarded for centuries as the personification of law and justice. It was said that a child with a bag of gold could travel through his land unmolested. His country soon was rebuilt and reconstructed, because here the people could work without being disturbed. How he divided his land among his Vikings we do not know, but it is known that he "roped" it among his men.


The Normans retained the independent spirit of the Vikings. They also retained their regard of equal right in law and justice. They transplanted that trait in England,

where we find a culmination in the *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter. The same spirit goes through the constitution of the United States. We can trace the continuation and development of a spirit of freedom from Rollo's time to the present day.

After Rollo became a Christian, we are told that he had not entirely lost faith in Thor, the cherished god among the Norwegians. But he and his successors, and the Normans as a whole, were great protectors of the church. Gothic art and architecture reached its height among the Normans and is still the greatest type of æsthetic achievement in our nationality.

After Rollo became a ruler of Normandy, he was still much occupied by warfare. When he was about eighty years old, he conquered Bessin, which belonged to Normandy according to the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte. Shortly after he abdicated, according to the wishes of his warriors, and his son, William Longsword, mounted the throne.

After this, Rollo lived about five years. His body lies now in the cathedral in Rouen, where also William Longsword has his last resting place. It is interesting at this time, when King George is being coronated in England, on the millennial of Rollo, to note that the latter became the ancestor to all the Norman dukes, and since the Norman conquest of England, to all the English kings. His people, the Normans, were the leading and superior people in Europe for at least two hundred years. They formed a kingdom in southern Italy and we all know the part they took in the crusades. Where the French and English tongue is spoken, Rollo, and among his successors, especially William the Conqueror, will be given historical recognition on this millennial.







#### HISTORIC SILHOUETTES IN AMERICA

Original profile of George Washington, treasured for many years in a private collection in Boston—On the back is this inscription: "The within are profiles of General and Mrs. Washington taken from their shadows on the wall. They are as perfect likenesses as profiles can give. Presented to me by my friend, Mrs. Eleanor P. Lewis, at Woodlawn, July, 1832"—Signed, Elizabeth Boardley Gibson—Mrs. Lewis was great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington



ORIGINAL PORTRAITS OF THE WASHINGTONS

Silhouette of Martha Washington which was presented to her granddaughter and is still well preserved—  
Originals now deposited in the Everett School in Boston, Massachusetts, having been presented  
by Edward Shippen, on November 22, 1866, then president of the Board of Control  
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# Hereditary Foundations of America's Greatest Commoner—Lincoln

Recent Discovery of the English  
Origins of the Lincolns in America &  
Direct Line of Eleven Generations to the Fifteenth  
Century & Samuel Lincoln came to Salem, Massachusetts, from  
Hingham, England, in 1637 & Migration of the Lincolns to Virginia and  
Kentucky & Law of Eugenics Exemplified in the Character of Abraham Lincoln

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**I**NVESTIGATIONS into the origins of eminent Americans, who have entered into the building of the republic, are now being conducted under the auspices of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Among the first of these are the interesting researches into the hereditary foundations of America's greatest commoner—Abraham Lincoln. This vigorous character in the development of American civilization is known almost wholly as a product of the most primitive life on the American frontier. Recent discoveries, however, carry him back through a direct line of eleven generations to the fifteenth century, showing how, generation by generation, he is the product of strong heredity.

Sociologists have found that back of every great event there is a *man*—and that man is the direct result of the progenitors who brought him into the world. He is constitutionally their product. Science now agrees that much of the intellectual and moral strength or weakness begins with heredity before it converges with environment, circumstance and self-development.

These scientific foundations must be considered, to secure the true estimate of the great figures of history. Not only Lincoln, but his compeers during the American Crisis, were from prototypes of generations of American perseverance, fortitude and character.

General Robert E. Lee was the product of centuries of culture and character, passing back through the American Revolution and the colonial epoch to the Privy Council of Charles I, and the third crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion, where one of his ancestors received the title of earl of Lichfield for gallantry at the siege of Acre in the crusades to Palestine.

General Ulysses S. Grant was the product of hardy Scotch foundations, which came to America in 1630, fighting their way through the old French and Indian wars at Lake Champlain, and the American Revolution from the first battle at Lexington, to later penetrate the wilderness of Ohio in the same way that the Lincolns went to the Kentucky frontier to blaze the way for civilization.

Jefferson Davis was the son of a founder of the American republic who first

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stood as gunner in the American Revolution, and through his bravery, became a captain of infantry at the siege of Savannah. Investigations into the origins of men who rise to eminence, give a clearer understanding of the processes of human achievement. In the following pages an entirely new light is thrown on Lincoln, which allows one to better estimate the strange but fascinating individuality of this "plain man of the people."—EDITOR



Lincoln's  
Birthplace

THOSE unconvinced of the laws of heredity can imagine only a vague and curious interest in the subject of Abraham Lincoln's origin. The idea of "a self-made man" has become a shibboleth to large numbers of the American people, who have delighted to see Lincoln, unschooled, unpretentious, rising from obscurity to the nation's highest place by elemental force of character. But there must be some well-defined reason for character, whether it be heredity, circumstance or experience—there is an underlying law for everything in nature.

Unschooled he was, but not uneducated in any true sense. He was formed by biblical study upon which American civilization rested in its pioneer days for its world-history, law,


polity and science. Lincoln's deep reaching down into the principles of human law, as set forth in the American constitution and in the older legal systems, his mastery of the results of the centuries' experience were an intense mental discipline.

Unpretentious, bred in the ruggedness of hardship, as had been also his father and mother, it was truly the supreme power of Abraham Lincoln's personality which made him the leader of the people, the great American "Commoner."

But how much of personality is the result of special creation in the individual, how much is developed from environment, and how much comes to us from ages of transmission of myriad instincts, inherited from countless ancestors? These are the problems that await the solution of science.



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This element of heredity must, however, be considered more seriously in our sociological studies. The men and women who gave their love, their blood and their lives to the making of a man—their gift to America and the world—should be discovered, scrutinized and understood, if we are to have a just and adequate comprehension of the man they helped to produce.


Whether the Lincoln family was of Norman blood or the old Saxon stock is unknown. One of the earliest Lincolns of whom there is record bore the Saxon name of Alfred, but his family intermarried with Normans, and it is probable that he was of the conquering race, for he held many lands, which was not usual among Saxons in the first years after the conquest of England. Alfred de Lincoln, who was living in 1086, was followed in the lordship of his "great Lincolnshire barony" by his son, Alan de Lincoln. Another son was probably Thorold, who bore the office of sheriff. Thorold married a daughter of William Malet, one of the great nobles who came to England with William the Conqueror. It was to Malet that the body of Harold, the leader of the Saxons, was committed for burial after the battle of Hastings. Another Alfred de Lincoln was living in 1130. He was succeeded by his son, Robert, who in turn was followed by a third Alfred, living in 1165-66. Colswain de Lincoln was recorded in 1086, and his son, Picot, in 1111.

When the ancestors of Abraham Lincoln settled in County Norfolk, England, is not known. In the fourth year of King John's reign (1202 or 1203), Ivo de Lincoln figures in the "Pedes Finium" of the county, receiving for twenty pounds sterling a message in Lenn. In 1298, Thomas de Lingcole bestowed upon the Church of Saint Mary Cos-

lany at Norwich, a lamp, a candle, and "the rent of Colegate," for the service of the high altar. Adam de Lincoln, son of William, of Great Yarmouth, while with his wife, Johan, in London, February 3, 1289-90, received a grant from Walter de Wyndesore of the manor of Codesmor in Rutland, and of land in Essex. For these estates a certain yearly rental was to be paid until the death of Walter, after which a flavor of romance is brought into the formalities of the transaction, for thenceforth, in lieu of money payment, a rose was to be offered each year by Adam and Johan, or their heirs, to the heirs of Walter de Wyndesore.

Another early Lincoln in Norfolk was Sir John Lincoln, parish priest of Weeting, in 1387, whose title may have been one of courtesy rather than by right of birth, for "Sir" was not infrequently added to a priest's name in the Middle Ages in England. The name occurs frequently in various documentary remains of Norfolk in the sixteenth century. Nicholas Lincoln of Rollesby was fined three-pence, in 1507, for poaching in waters belonging to Padham Manor. In 1537, another Nicholas Lincoln was rector of Caistor-next-the-Sea.

During Queen Mary's reign, in 1555, one Clover, a schoolmaster of Diss, and three brothers named Lincoln started a little insurrection in Norfolk. It was soon suppressed and the four leaders hanged. The cause of their grievances, real or imaginary, is not clear. Norfolk as a whole had been loyal to the Catholic faith during the religious changes of Henry VIII and Edward VI and had joyfully welcomed the accession of Mary to the throne, so that it is not probable that this disturbance was over religious matters. It may, however, have sprung indirectly from the suffering which



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had come to the poor and to farmers and tradesmen with the dissolution of the monasteries, from which resulted much bitterness of class feeling, born of the resulting hardships and the impotence of the people, clinging to the old order, crushed by the king's will. Probably in some cases this indignation turned to visionary dreams of more or less socialistic conditions of government. The Lincolns were scattered throughout the county, but Hingham, Swanton Morley, Carbrooke and Norwich are the Lincoln homes of most interest to Americans, for in them lived the ancestors of Abraham Lincoln.

The line of Abraham Lincoln, so far as it has already been brought to light by recent researches in England, is as follows:

I—The earliest known ancestor was Robert Lincoln of Hingham, Norfolk. He probably was born in the fifteenth century, as he had a grandnephew living at the time he made his will, April 18, 1540. His wife was Johan, and their son was Robert, also of Hingham.

II—This second Robert died in January, 1555-56, when his will was made and proved. By his marriage with Margaret, he had a son, Richard.

III—Richard Lincoln married four times. His first wife was Elizabeth Remching of Carbrooke, and at his marriage with her he made legal provision that certain land inherited from his father, Robert Lincoln, who, in turn, had received it from his father, Robert, senior, should pass upon his own death and that of his wife to the heirs of their marriage. This matter became an important one in the life of their son, Edward Lincoln, who was the father of the immigrant-ancestor of Abraham Lincoln. The second wife of Richard was a widow, named Hobbs; and his third wife was Margery Dunham, also a widow.

He next married still another widow, Anne Smale, whose maiden surname was Bird. She was of the Bird family of Great Witchingham, who bore arms blazoned as follows:

Arms: Argent, a cross patonce between four martlets gules, a canton azure. Crest: Out of a coronet, a demi-greyhound salient proper.


In his will, January 3, 1615-16, Richard Lincoln called himself "of Swanton Morlie," but he was buried at Hingham on December 23, 1620. In many ways his will is an interesting document. He bequeathed certain sums to Hingham Church, to the poor of Hingham, of Swanton Morley, and of Great Witchingham—his wife's home. He provided for the bringing up of his youngest son, Henry, "unto litterature and good education," and there were legacies to his godchildren, as well as to members of his family.

Although the youngest son, Henry, was not in the line of Abraham Lincoln, it is of some interest to note that he was called in later legal documents both "Yeoman" and "Gentleman." The humbler title was clearly not considered in those days as incompatible with gentleness. And "Gentleman" bore then, as still in arms-granting countries, a definite meaning understood of all. Gentlemen were those who had the right, either by inheritance or by direct grant, to bear coat-armor. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that the Norfolk Lincolns, ancestors of Abraham Lincoln, possessed a coat-of-arms.

There are seven known blazons of coat-armor under the name Lincoln or Lincolne. They are as follows: (I) Argent, a leopard rampant sable. (II) Or, a leopard rampant sable, armed argent. (III) Azure, a lion rampant sable, gorged with a ducal coronet or. Crest: A lion rampant as in the arms. (IV) Gules, a lion rampant or. Crest:



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Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-lion proper, crowned with an antique crown of the first. (V) Azure, on a cross vert an estoile pierced argent. (VI) Argent, on a cross azure five mullets or. (VII) Quarterly, per pale indented, or and gules; in the first and fourth a cross of five lozenges of the second. This last coat-of-arms was of the Lincolne family of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire in the time of Richard I.


IV—Edward Lincoln was the sole surviving son of the marriage of Richard Lincoln and Elizabeth Remching. He was not mentioned in his father's will and it is probable that an estrangement had arisen between father and son in connection with Richard Lincoln's fourth marriage. This supposition is based on a suit in chancery brought against Edward Lincoln by his half-sisters, children of this fourth marriage. The occasion of this suit was the desire of the guardians of these young girls—for they were minors at the time—to win for them possession of the land which, as stated above, Richard Lincoln had arranged should go to the heir of his marriage with Elizabeth Remching. It is the documents in this suit which contain the proof of Abraham Lincoln's four generations of English ancestry—Robert, Robert, Richard, Edward—and the credit for discovering this evidence belongs to two men, an American and an Englishman, Mr. J. Sidney Lea and Mr. J. R. Hutchinson.


Whether Edward Lincoln's defense of his patrimony was successful is unknown. Little further is recorded of him. That two of his sons were apprenticed to learn the weaver's trade indicates that he was unable to maintain the social position of his ancestors. His burial in Hingham churchyard is recorded February 11, 1639-40. No trace of his

wife's name has been found, but they had eight children. Thomas, the eldest son, came to America in 1633, and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, about 1635. Daniel Lincoln, another son, came also to the same settlement. Neither he nor Thomas left issue, and Samuel, the third of the three brothers who came to this country, was, therefore, the American ancestor.


V—Samuel Lincoln, son of Edward, was baptized in Hingham, England, August 24, 1622. As was the custom among the middle classes in England, and in those families whose loss of property obliged them to depend upon trade for their living, rather than on the income from land—whether as farmers or landlords—Edward Lincoln had apprenticed his youngest son, while still a child, to learn the weaver's trade. He was bound as apprentice to Francis Lawes of Norwich and it was with him that he came to America. They sailed from England April 8, 1637. Samuel is described in the shipping list as "Samuell: Lincorne: aged 18 years." This would make his birth about 1619. He was for some time at Salem, Massachusetts, perhaps serving his apprenticeship with Francis Lawes. Eventually, he settled in Hingham, where his two brothers already were living. Here he followed his weaver's trade, bought land, and founded the family which was to give America one of her two greatest presidents.

There is a curious likeness between the vicissitudes of the Lincolns of Norfolk, England, and those of their American descendants. A family of the lesser gentry, apparently, living quietly on their own land, the father of the three brothers who came to the New World was obliged to relinquish for his children the social position which they would naturally have held but for the fall of his fortunes—a





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fall brought about, seemingly, by the estrangement from his father, Richard Lincoln. Had Elizabeth Remching, Edward Lincoln's mother, lived until his manhood, his career and that of his children would doubtless have been very different. So in the case of Thomas Lincoln, the father of the president, as will be seen, the circumstances of his early orphanhood, with the consequent loss of any share in his father's property, brought about the hard and rough conditions of his own life and the early years of his age.

VI—To Samuel Lincoln and his wife, Martha, among their eleven children was born Mordecai Lincoln, June 14, 1657. He removed from Hingham to Scituate, Massachusetts, where he was a prosperous and esteemed member of the community. He owned iron works and grist and saw mills. Mordecai Lincoln died in 1745. His first wife was Sarah, the daughter of Abraham and Sarah (Whitman) Jones.


VII—Their son, Mordecai, left Massachusetts and went to Monmouth County, New Jersey, where he married Hannah, the daughter of Richard and Sarah (Bowne) Salter. Later he removed to Coventry, Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he was engaged in the iron industry. He died at Amity, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, in 1736. That he had been able to maintain the social traditions of his ancestry is clear from the fact that he was dubbed "Gent." in the inventory of his estate.

VIII—John Lincoln, the eldest son of Mordecai Lincoln and Hannah Salter, was living at Cærnarvon, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1748, but removed to Augusta County (now Rockingham County), Virginia, where, in 1768, he bought six hundred acres of land. His wife was named Rebecca, and one of their

sons was Captain Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the president, born in Pennsylvania, July 16, 1739.

IX—Captain Abraham Lincoln was captain in the Virginia militia. He fought in the Revolutionary War, and it may have been his soldier-life as well as the impulse—strong in so many of Lincoln's ancestors—to probe with pilgrim-staff or hew with the axe of the pioneer the secret of the wilderness, which led Captain Lincoln, near the close of the war, to sell his Virginia lands and make his way over the mountains into the wilds of Kentucky.


Captain Abraham Lincoln married, first, Mary Shipley, whose sister, Nancy, became the wife of Joseph Hanks, and the mother of Nancy Hanks, President Lincoln's mother. He married, second, Bathsheba Herring, and she was the mother of his youngest son, Thomas. When Captain Lincoln sold his large Virginia estate for five thousand pounds, and when he became the owner of two thousand acres of land in Kentucky, he no doubt felt as secure of his children's protection from poverty as of his own. Little did he dream that his youngest son would have no share in the broad acres by himself reclaimed, probably to a great extent from the wild forests by a gallant struggle with nature, fighting for her own, and with the savages, helping their mother to keep out the stranger. But Captain Lincoln was murdered by the Indians, his property passed to one or both of his elder sons, and the youngest, Thomas, then about five years old, was left a helpless little child without parents (his mother seems to have died before her husband, but the date is unknown), and apparently without any kinsfolk who cared what might be his fate. It was Captain Abraham Lincoln's sudden







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death, during Thomas' childhood, and the consequent loss of protection and property, which made the life of Thomas, President Lincoln's father, the laborious struggle which it was, unbrightened by the relief which education and cultivated tastes may bring.

X—Thomas Lincoln was born in Rockingham County, Virginia, January 20, 1780. So far as can be learned, he was utterly neglected by his two half-brothers, who were young men at the time of their father's death, and he grew to manhood with apparently no care or education except that bestowed by the sisters of his father's first wife—Lucy Shipley (Mrs. Richard Berry), and Elizabeth Shipley (Mrs. Thomas Sparrow). It was Mrs. Berry who brought up Nancy Hanks, daughter of her sister, Nancy (Shipley) Hanks, and the love which was consummated by the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks probably began with the children's hours of play beneath Mrs. Berry's kindly roof.


They were married at Mrs. Berry's home, June 12, 1806, by the Reverend Jesse Head, a Methodist minister. Nancy Hanks has been described as of medium height, fair-haired, gentle and sweet. Thomas Lincoln was very strong, and famous through the countryside as a great wrestler. His son inherited from him his fondness for this sport. Thomas is said to have been rather short and thick-set, with dark hair, gray eyes, and a prominent nose. This last feature was inherited also by his son.

Thomas Lincoln had studied carpentry with Joseph Hanks, Nancy's brother, and while he had neither the means nor the opportunity for an education such as would have been his, without doubt, if his father had lived, he was not at all the letterless boor usually depicted by most of the

biographers of President Lincoln. The signature on his marriage bond is clearly and well written. Before he was twenty-five, he had saved enough money to buy a farm—land destined to fame as the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. This farm was at Buffalo, on the border line between La Rue and Hardin counties, Kentucky, where the Lincoln Farm Association dedicated a memorial shrine May 30, 1911. When Abraham was about four years old his parents moved to a large farm of two hundred and thirty-eight acres at Muldraugh's Hill. Here he had his first schooling, save that which his mother had given him, from Zachariah Riney, a Catholic schoolmaster of the pioneer Kentucky days.


In 1816, Thomas Lincoln was appointed road-surveyor from Nolin to Bardstown, but the next year the family left Kentucky and made a new home near Gentryville, in Spencer County, Indiana. To us this removal seems a tragic mistake, for the living in the new settlement was hard, as all pioneer life must be, save in tropical climates, and to the hardships was added an epidemic of malarial fever. To this, Nancy Lincoln's delicate, worn spirit succumbed, and here she died, October 5, 1818.

Thomas Lincoln's second wife was Mrs. Sarah (Bush) Johnston, a widow, whom he had known as a girl in Kentucky. She brought to the little frontier home, which had been without a woman's care for over a year, much of ordered comfort and welcome cheer, for she was a good woman and lovingly fulfilled to Thomas Lincoln's children the service of mother-care which she had undertaken. No children were born of this marriage. Sarah Lincoln died near Charleston, Illinois, in 1869, her home, where she died, having been a gift from her loved and loving step-son, Abraham Lincoln.





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In 1823, Thomas Lincoln became a member of the Baptist church, a society of that denomination then being formed in the neighborhood of his home. Those who knew him have said that he was an earnest and devout Christian, as were President Lincoln's mother and his step-mother. That a year passed before a funeral ceremony was held for Lincoln's mother was but a sad evidence of the necessary isolation of the Western settlers. It was her loving little son of nine years, the son to whom his mother's sweet memory was always a holy inspiration throughout his after-career of fame and sorrow, who wrote the pathetically childish appeal to the Reverend David Elkins, the minister, who journeyed a hundred miles to hold a Christian service over Nancy Lincoln's grave. About the time when Abraham Lincoln attained his majority, the family moved to Illinois, finally settling at Goose Neck Prairie, Coles County, where Thomas Lincoln, an old man of seventy-three, died in 1851.

The foregoing outline of Abraham Lincoln's ancestry in the line of his surname shows, of course, but one strain of the many which mingled in his blood. Without going into detail, the following notes may serve to distinguish some of the other families of his lineage.

The element of personal sympathy is mingled with our thoughts of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Lincoln. A gentle spirit, bravely enduring the hardships of her life until death gave her victory, our pity and affection go out to her and make more vivid the pathetic aspect of her story. Bereft of father and mother, we fancy her a sad little child growing up in the rough surroundings of a pioneer settlement; then as a serious and charming young girl, married to a frontiersman, Thomas Lincoln, who

lacked the education she had managed to acquire; and later, a fragile mother, falling wearily to death as though to sleep, worn out with the harshness of life—the toil, which had been her lot as the wife of a fighter of the wilderness. Nancy Lincoln seems herself to have been forced into a forlorn struggle with nature and circumstances, a struggle in which she yielded her life.

The efforts, both of Lincoln's enemies and of many of his friends, to convince his countrymen that his origin was of the utmost obscurity, and that in technical gentleness he had no part, have fixed firmly in many persons' minds the idea that his mother's family was as lowly as—they unjustly contend—was his father's. To those who have accepted this opinion, it will perhaps be surprising to learn that the Hanks family of England were gentry, with right to bear coat-armor. The Hanks arms are blazoned: Bendy of six, azure and or, a chief ermine. While proof has not been found that these arms belonged directly to the ancestors of Nancy Hanks, the theory of the social insignificance of the lineage is thus upset.

Another coat-of-arms was granted September 6, 1580, to a mayor of Chester, named Hanke. This was: Gyronny of eight, azure and gules, a wolf rampant or.

Investigations seem to prove that Nancy Hanks is descended from a family living in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, in the sixteenth century. Benjamin Hanks was the immigrant-ancestor, who was in Pembroke, Massachusetts, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. His son, William, removed to Virginia, and was the father of Joseph Hanks. He was living in Amelia County, Virginia, in 1747. Joseph Hanks made his will, May 4, 1793. In it he



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speaks of his "Wife Nanny" and his "Daughter Nancy." Nancy Shipley was his wife, but it may have been a second marriage, for the daughter, Nancy, was born in 1784. This would make Joseph Hanks a very old man, if he was the same Joseph who sold land in Amelia County, in 1747, then a grown man.

Both of Nancy Hanks' parents died when she was a child and she was brought up in the home of her aunt, Mrs. Richard Berry, as noted above. She was twenty-two years old when she married Thomas Lincoln, and but thirty-four when she died. To her it is probable that Abraham Lincoln owed much of the patient strength which helped him through the agonies of his country's struggles.

Abraham Lincoln's grandmother, Mrs. Joseph Hanks, was a Shipley. The Shipleys were an old family in Leicestershire and in Hampshire, England. The Hampshire branch bore the following coat-armor: Arms: Lozengy, argent and sable, a bordure of the last. Crest: Out of an earl's coronet or, the bust of a Moorish prince proper, habited of the first, wreathed about the temples argent and sable. Motto: *Nec placida contenta quieta est.*

It is believed that the Virginia Shipleys came from Leicestershire. Robert Shipley, the father of Nancy Hanks' mother, who married Joseph Hanks, owned over three hundred acres in Lunenburg County, Virginia, but after the Revolution he and his wife, Sarah Rachael, and their family were among the many Virginians who at that time braved the perils of "The Crossing" and founded new homes and, eventually a new state—Kentucky.

Practically all Lincoln's ancestral families were pilgrims and pioneers, and this was surely not without pur-


pose in his making. They followed truth as they were able to see—afar off, perhaps—its light. Some, wayfarers for liberty, marched bravely along perilous ways for the right to live as freemen. Some, perhaps, had in their hearts that one red drop of blood which beats to the road-call, the world-call, the song of the wilderness. In Lincoln was the patient Pilgrim—surely the lover of freedom—and that touch of kinship with wood-folk and forest-ways, which made him understand animals, love children, and which, alas, may have made him uncomprehended, unloved by the world-bound, too spoiled by an artificial and corrupt standard to revere his simplicity.

Abraham Lincoln's grandmother, the wife of Captain Abraham Lincoln, was Bathsheba Herring, the daughter of Leonard Herring of Heronford, Rockingham County, Virginia. It was the researches of Mr. Lea and Mr. Hutchinson that established the Herring connection with the Lincoln family. Leonard Herring was the son of John, who is said by family tradition to have been a younger son of an English family to which belonged Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury in the eighteenth century. The latter bore arms: Gules, three lucies haurient argent, between nine cross crosslets or. He was born in County Norfolk but seems to have been related to the Heron family of Croydon, Surrey, where the archbishop died. The coat-of-arms of the Croydon Herons was: Gules, a chevron engrailed between three herons, close, argent. Crest: A heron close, argent.

The great-great-grandmother of Abraham Lincoln was a Salter. Richard Salter was a notable lawyer of Monmouth County, New Jersey, in 1687. In 1695, he became a member of the House of Deputies,



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and in 1704, a member of the Assembly of Representatives. His legal achievements won for him the high office of chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. In military service he held the rank of captain. Captain Salter married Sarah Bowne, and their daughter, Hannah, became the wife of Mordecai Lincoln.

Among the Lincoln progenitors are the Bownes. William Bowne came from Yorkshire to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1631, with his wife, Anne, and their son, John, who was Lincoln's ancestor. Salem was scarcely a "city of peace" to those whose minds and temperaments were not cast in the mold of the Puritans. The passion of the time for forcing souls and bodies into a harsh prison-house of uniformity made the little settlement a seething whirlpool of sects and enmities. Half-crazed perhaps, by persecution, the Quakers, it is said, ran naked through the streets. The Baptists vainly protested against the intolerance of those who themselves had fled to New England for conscience' sake. In following the records of those days, the modern descendants of the Puritans seem to be looking at a gloomy Ibsen play viewed from the comfortable security of the orchestra-chairs of our twentieth century *laissez faire*—or perhaps an Ibsen play combined with a blood-and-thunder melodrama—thrilling at the Indian massacres, appalled by the desolate horror of witchcraft, alternately indignant at the cruelty, and pitiful to the terrors which perhaps were a cause of the cruelty. But let us not forget, in the revolt of sensibilities made tender not so much by Christian tolerance, perhaps, as by indifference to the value to souls of right thinking, that the Puritans were men and women of splendid valor, who dared peril of sea and savage fury, and the

blighting rigor of life in a northern wilderness, for the sake of a principle which, although it was afterwards shadowed by cruelty and persecution, was high and holy in so far as it recognized the paramount rights of eternal principles over human governments and personal opinions.


About 1645, a little band of Quakers and Baptists shook from their garments the unfriendly dust of Salem and began their pilgrimage for conscience' sake to Gravesend, Long Island, then under Dutch rule. Among these wayfarers for the rights of the soul was one of the most interesting figures which pass across the stage of our colonial history—the Lady Deborah Moody, recognized by the authorities as the chief of the proprietors at Gravesend, a valiant woman, strong in the will to do and to suffer for her Quaker faith.

To Gravesend with the Salem exiles came the Bownes, William Bowne being named as one of the seven patentees, in 1670, he was a magistrate of Gravesend, in 1657. In 1663, a colony from Gravesend settled in Monmouth County, New Jersey. The "Monmouth Patent" was granted April 8, 1665, and two of the twelve grantees, John Bowne and Obadiah Holmes, were ancestors of Lincoln. William Bowne, the father, was not one of the original grantees, but he received land two years later at Portland Point in Monmouth County, and died there, in 1677. One of his sons, James, was a deputy to the General Assembly and a judge. Another, Andrew, became deputy-governor of New Jersey, in 1699, and governor of East New Jersey, in 1701. Major John Bowne, the eldest son of William and Anne Bowne, was born in England, probably in Yorkshire. He has been called "the most prominent citizen of the county [Monmouth],





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esteemed for his integrity and his ability." He was a deputy to the Assembly and was major of the Monmouth County militia. His wife was Lydia Holmes, and their daughter, Sarah Bowne, married Richard Salter, as recorded above.

Abraham Lincoln had in him also the blood of the Holmes. The Reverend Obadiah Holmes was a man of extraordinary ability in many directions. He was of scholarly education, a zealous preacher, a worker in glass, and, as the events of his life prove, enterprising and courageous, with the qualities which make for success in business, and he was possessed of a capacity for leadership in public affairs which won for him high place in the government of the Rhode Island colony. He probably was an Oxford graduate, as in an account of his life which he wrote in 1675, he says that his parents sent three sons to that university. In this account he mentions a brother, Robert Holmes.

The result of researches in England of the ancestry of Obadiah Holmes, made known by Colonel J. T. Holmes recently, show that the American immigrant was baptized at Didsbury, near Manchester, Lancashire, March 18, 1609-10. On November 20, 1630, he married Katherine Hyde in the Collegiate Church at Manchester. His name is not found among lists of Oxford students but two of his brothers matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford; John in 1625, and Samuel in 1632-33. The father was Robert Hulme (not Holmes) of Reddish, in the parish of Manchester. He made his will August 11, 1602, and it was proved January 28, 1604-5. His wife was Alice, and she was buried at the Collegiate Church of Manchester, September 7, 1610.

In 1639, Obadiah Holmes, with


his wife, Katherine, and their son, Jonathan, came to Salem. In 1646, he removed to Rehoboth, and about this time, probably, he adopted the tenets of the Baptists. In 1650, he was accused of holding house-to-house meetings on Sunday, and, in 1651, he was arrested, sent to Boston for trial, and there sentenced to receive thirty lashes. His specified offences were baptizing on Sunday and praying with his hat on. In his "Diary" he describes the suffering he endured in this punishment, which he refused to escape by the payment of a fine. In 1652, he became minister of the Baptists at Newport, Rhode Island. He served as commissioner for several years, was sent as a deputy to the General Court, and was one of the most eminent men in the Colony.

Obadiah Holmes seems to have been imbued with that *wanderlust* which impelled so many of Lincoln's ancestors to leave the old country for the New World, and organize settlements here for the wilderness. In 1664, he was at Gravesend, Long Island, with Lady Deborah Moody's settlement. In 1665, he became a patentee of the new settlement in Monmouth County, New Jersey, though he did not settle there, as did his family. He returned to his old home in Newport and died there, in 1682. Lydia Holmes, daughter of Obadiah and Katherine (Hyde) Holmes, married Major John Bowne, and their granddaughter, Hannah Salter, married Mordecai Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln's heredity includes that of the Jones and Whitman lines. Thomas Jones was one of the first settlers of Hingham, Massachusetts. Abraham Jones, Lincoln's ancestor, is believed to have been the son of this Thomas. Abraham was born in 1629, and was living in Hull, Massachusetts, in 1657. In 1689,



## Recent Discovery of Lincoln Origins in England



he was a deputy to the General Court. He died in Hull, in 1718. His wife was Sarah Whitman, the daughter of Ensign John Whitman, who was made a freeman of Weymouth, in 1638, was deacon of the first church of Weymouth, and was an extensive landholder there. Sarah Jones, the daughter of Abraham Jones and Sarah Whitman, married Mordecai Lincoln, son of Samuel Lincoln, the immigrant-ancestor.

The Lincoln lineage traces directly to the Remchings of England. Richard Remching was Lord of Carbrooke Manor, Norfolk, in the sixteenth century. He died in March, 1567, and was buried in Carbrooke Church. In his will, dated March 12, 1566-67, he mentioned his daughter, Elizabeth, who later became the wife of Richard Lincoln, and the grandmother of Samuel Lincoln, the American immigrant-ancestor. The wife of Richard Remching was Elizabeth; her maiden surname is unknown. Her will, made April 14, 1595, and proved May 24th of the same year, is an interesting human document. It is the last will and testament of a kindly old woman, speaking her affection for her family—son and daughter, grandchildren, the son-in-law and daughter-in-law—and many of the quaintly worded bequests show a most feminine appreciation, even in the solemn hour of death, of her "gowne which cam from London," her pretty kirtle of "silk grogorane," and "petty-coat with a red silke frynge." To be sure, this note is sobered by the many "little prayer bookes" bequeathed as precious legacies, the bequests to numerous ministers, and the "booke called Beza, his testament" which was to go to one of the granddaughters together with "one saye gowne with a velvet cape."


But, one grandchild received no

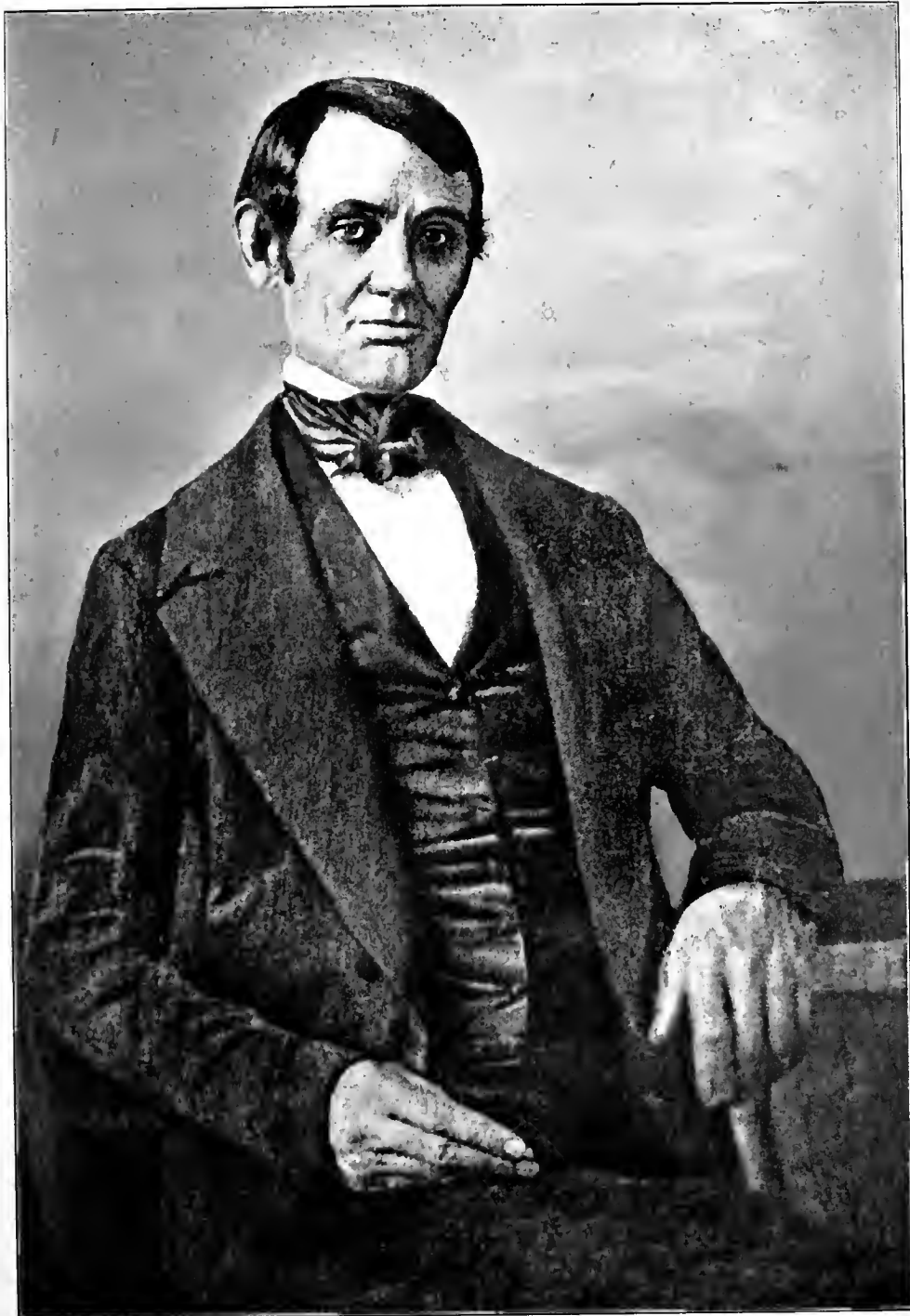
token, no last loving thought. Edward Lincoln, son of her dead daughter, Elizabeth, then a young man of twenty, was as completely ignored in his grandmother's will as he was in that of his father. We may account for the father's forgetfulness by the jealous influence of the step-mother but this very estrangement would—one would naturally think—have made closer and warmer the ties between Edward Lincoln and his mother's kinsfolk. In those troubled times, when households were so often divided because of religious strife, was it perhaps some such matter which brought about the isolation of a boy, who sorely needed kindness of kin, from those whose place it was to befriend him?

The Remching connection with Abraham Lincoln's English ancestors was discovered by Mr. J. Sidney Lea and Mr. J. R. Hutchinson.

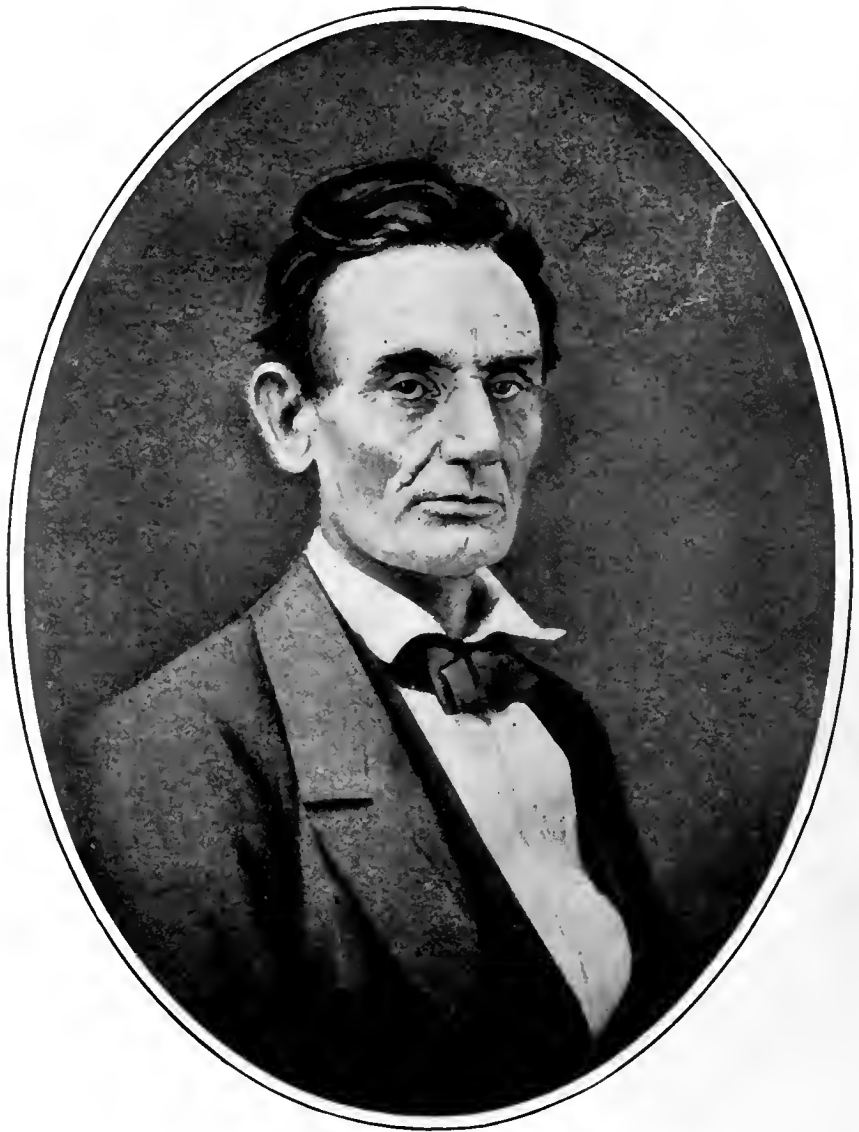
This, then, is the story in outline of some of the men and women to whom America owes a part of Lincoln's greatness. It is not a story of kings and nobles, of brilliant achievement glowing against a splendid background. It is a history of English families of gentle blood, of hardy American pioneers, of men and women who lived their lives simply, bravely, and truly, who bequeathed to Lincoln something of that ardent flame of loyalty to an idea that was his, as well as the tranquil courage which can meet death but never surrenders.

These investigations may disprove the popular fancies of his lack of "gentle" lineage but they should not make him in the eyes of any American less truly a man of the people in the best sense and the truest. He loved all humanity, and gloriously manifested his love for his people, since he died a martyr that we might be preserved a nation.





First portrait of Lincoln taken when he entered politics—Age 37—This daguerreotype, undoubtedly is the first time Lincoln sat for his portrait—It was taken during his campaign for Congress, or shortly after his election, when he delivered his first speech—from 1846 to 1848—Photograph from original daguerreotype in possession of Honorable Robert T. Lincoln, of Chicago, Illinois



LINCOLN AT THE TIME OF JOHN BROWN'S RAID AT HARPER'S FERRY—AGE 50

This negative, taken in 1859, was destroyed in the Chicago fire—Mrs. Lincoln considered it the best likeness of her husband that she had ever seen—It presents Lincoln as he appeared just before his nomination for the Presidency





## Gallery of Famous Lincoln Portraits



Historical Collectors Gather all the Known Photographs of the Eminent American and give them Historical Record in the "Portrait Life of Lincoln" & Original Investigations

BY

EDWARD BAILEY EATON

Antiquarian and Collector

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT



**W**HEN this semi-centenary of the American Crisis, the first collection of all the known original photographs of Lincoln, representing years of research by the most eminent American collectors, has been made. During the exhaustive investigations necessary in making this collection, it was found that many original negatives have been destroyed. These researches have discovered several portraits which hitherto have been unknown, and have created a wide interest in the preservation of historic photographs, relating not only to Lincoln, but to all the great personages in American history, including the statesmen of the Lincoln epoch, such as Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, Stephen Douglas, the opponent of Lincoln for the presidency, General Robert E. Lee and General Ulysses S. Grant, the commanders of the two armies during the American Civil War. The Oldroyd Lincoln Memorial Collection, which now occupies the historic house in which Lincoln died, at Washington, is a shrine that should be visited by every American. Among its treasures are nearly twenty thousand exhibits relating to the life of the great American. The Lambert Collection, in Philadelphia, is the work of one of the leading authorities on Lincolniana. The Frederick H. Meserve Collection of Americana in New York, and the Fay Collection of Photographs of Historic Personages, in Illinois, are among the most valuable collections in America. Many original negatives are treasured in the Handy and Rice Collections in Washington. The largest is the famous Brady-Gardner Collection, in Springfield, Massachusetts, which contains more than seven thousand negatives taken during the American Crisis. The only other collection of its magnitude is deposited in the War Department at Washington, where it is held as official documentary evidence of this great epoch in American history. In these collections can be found practically everything pertaining to the life and character of Abraham Lincoln and the events through which he passed. It has been my privilege, in association with Francis Trevelyan Miller, editor-in-chief of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, to give historical record to these original photographs, so that they form what now is known as the "Portrait Life of Lincoln," the first collection of the famous portraits of Lincoln, which it is believed is a direct and original contribution to American historical literature. The reproductions in these pages are selected from more than a hundred of the copyrighted prints that are recorded in the official volume.



Photograph taken before the Republican National Convention at Chicago, 1860—Found in collection of the late Mr. J. Henry Brown, of Philadelphia



Lincoln as he appeared in the political campaign in 1858—Age 49—Original negative owned by Dr. McWilliams, of Dwight, Illinois—Print in possession of Mr. Stuart Brown, of Springfield



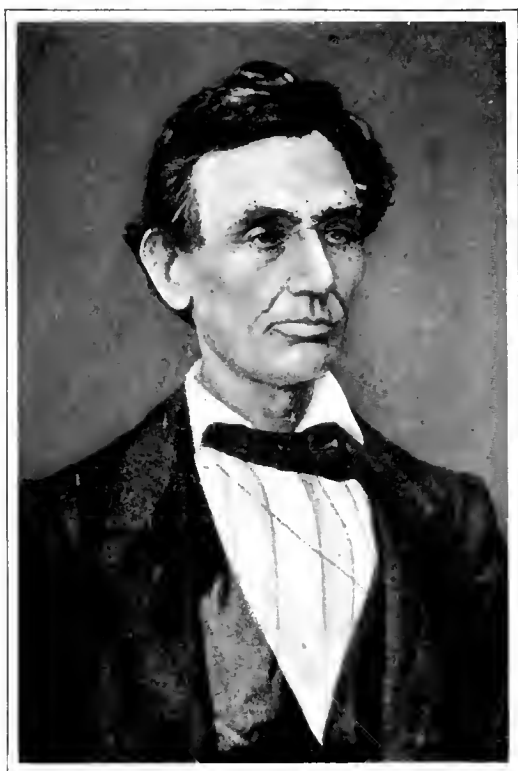
Photograph taken at his home in Springfield, Illinois, immediately after his nomination for Presidency, in 1860—Age 51—Original by Alexander Hesler, of Chicago, destroyed during the fire—Print in collection of Mr. Herbert W. Fay, De Kalb, Illinois



First photograph of Lincoln circulated throughout the country for campaign purposes—Taken in Chicago, in 1857—Lincoln was now 48 years of age—Original negative by Alexander Hesler,



Ambrotype taken August 25, 1858, at Macomb, Illinois, when Lincoln was campaigning against Douglas for the United States Senate  
—Owned by Mr. W. Franklin, of Macomb, Illinois



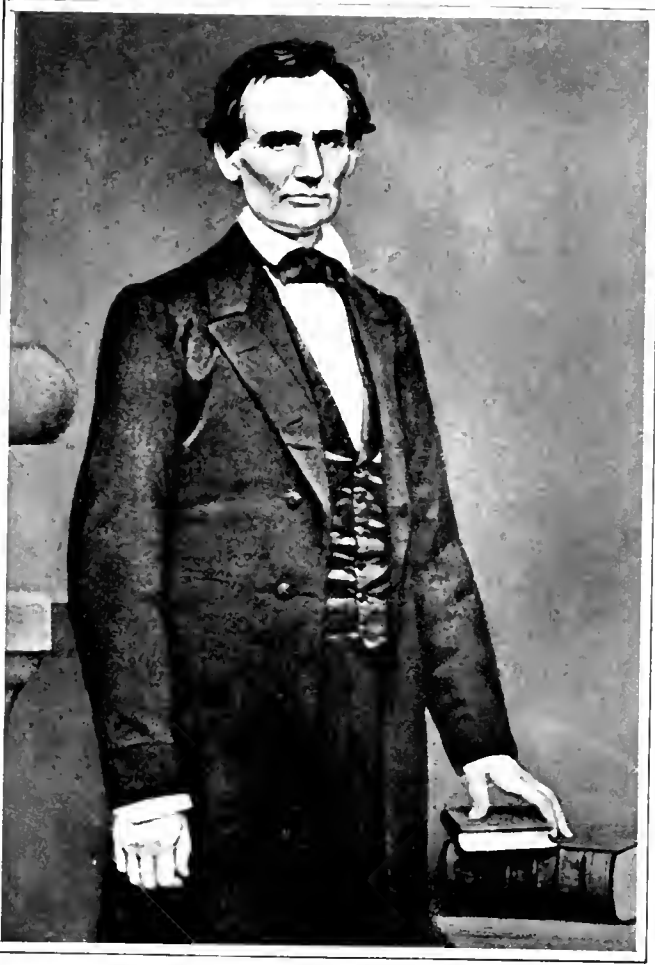
Photograph taken at Springfield, Illinois, in June, 1860—Print owned by Mr. George B. Ayers—Copyrighted, 1894  
—Loaned to Edward Bailey Eaton



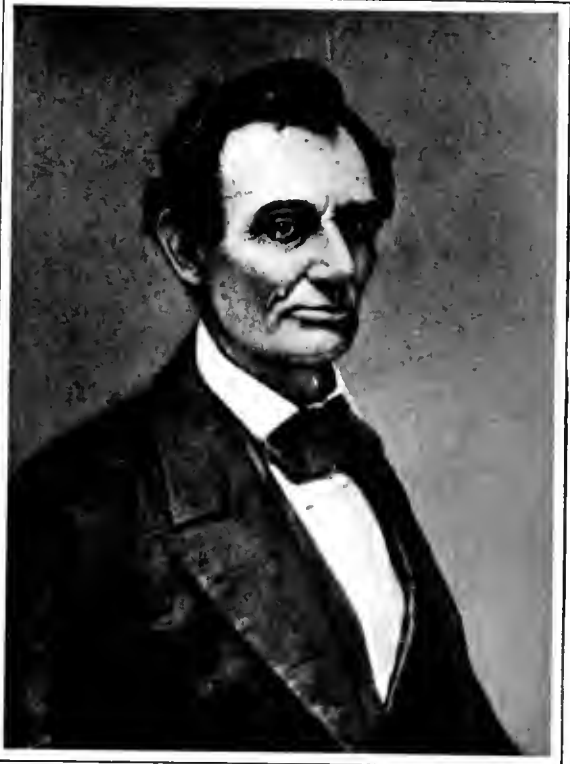
Ambrotype taken at Springfield, Illinois, May 20, 1860—Original presented to Governor Marcus L. Ward, of New Jersey—Now in possession of Mr. Marcus L. Ward, of Newark, New Jersey—Print in collection of Edward Bailey Eaton



Ambrotype taken in 1853, shortly after Lincoln's speech at Galesburg, Illinois—Original owned by Mr. Charles F. Gunther of Chicago—Print in the Brady-Gardner collection at Springfield, owned by Edward B. Eaton



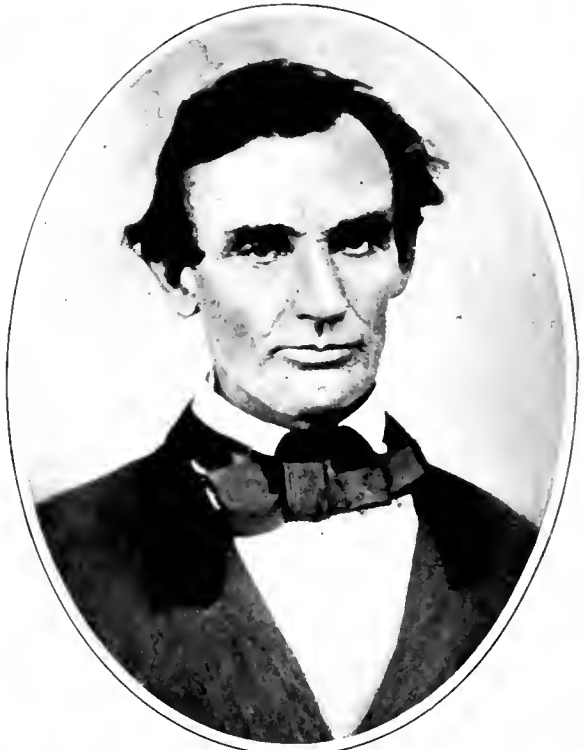
Photograph of Lincoln, taken in 1860, at the time of his "Cooper Institute Speech" in New York, during his campaign for the Presidency—Age 51—Original negative by Mathew Brady, of New York



Lincoln sat for this photograph in Springfield, Illinois, during the memorable campaign of 1858—Age 49 years—Print owned by Mrs. Harriet Chapman, of Charleston, Illinois—Loaned to Mr. Edward Bailey Eaton



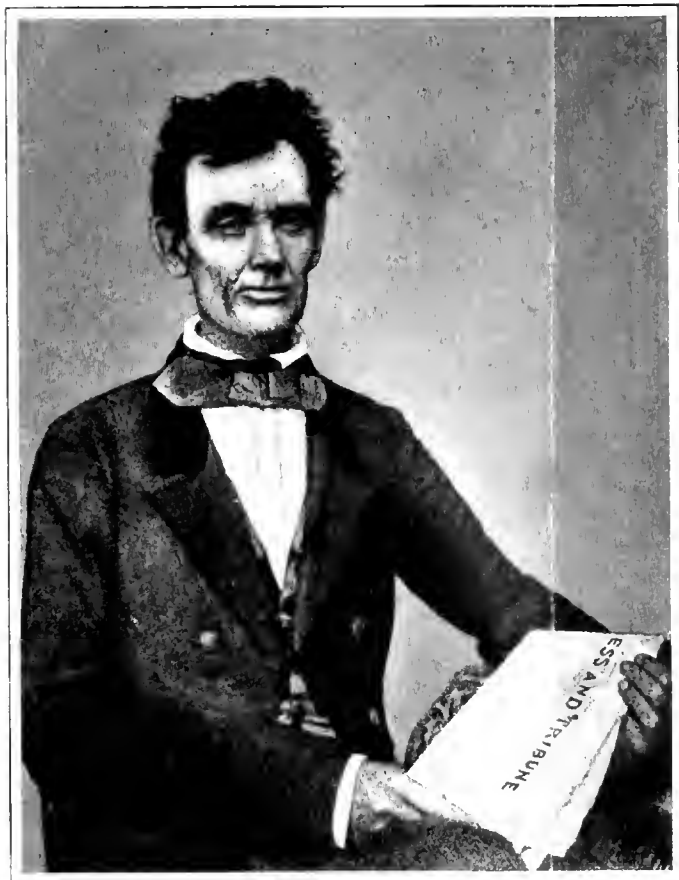
Photograph taken in summer of 1860 for campaign purposes—Original negative owned by Mr. M. C. Tuttle, of St Paul, Minnesota—Print from collection of Mr. Marshall Fish, of Minneapolis, Minnesota



Ambrotype taken at Pittsfield, Illinois, October 1, 1858, immediately after Lincoln had made his speech on the public square—Age 49—Original by C. Jackson, owned by Miss Hattie Gilmer, of Pittsfield, Illinois—Print in collection of Frederick H. Meserve, New York



Faded ambrotype of Lincoln in linen coat, during Douglas' debates at Beardstown, Illinois, in 1858—Original now in Lincoln Monument Collection at Springfield, Illinois—Print in possession of Mr. Osborn H. Oldroyd, of Washington, D. C.



Photograph taken while Lincoln, age 45, was engaged in the Missouri Compromise—Original taken in an itinerant gallery in Chicago, for George Schneider, editor of *Statts Zeitung*



Massachusetts—Print in the collection of Mr. Osborn H. Oldroyd at the Lincoln Museum, Washington



Gardner at Washington—Print from the collection of Mr. Frederick H. Meserve, of New York





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PRESIDENT LINCOLN ABOUT THE TIME OF THE FALL OF RICHMOND IN 1865

Photograph taken a few days before Lincoln went to the capital of the Confederacy to lead upon the ruins of the historic city. Original negative by Matthew Brady—Deposited in the original Brady-Gardner Collection at Springfield, Massachusetts

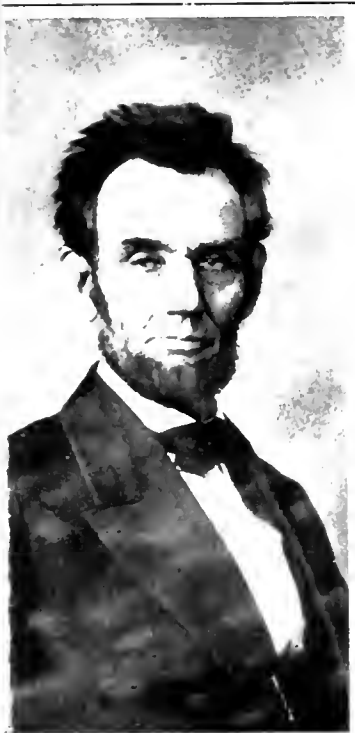
—Copyright, 1909, by Mr. Edward Bailey Eaton



Portrait of Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois, just prior to Lincoln's death in Washington, in 1861—Original negative by F. M. [unclear]  
 Now owned and copyrighted, 1894, by Mr. [unclear]  
 [unclear] of De Kalb, Illinois



Photograph of Lincoln about the time that Lincoln met Grant in 1864—Original negative by Mathew Brady at Washington—  
 Life negative in collection of Mr. Frederick H. Meserve,  
 of New York—Loaned to Edward Bailey Eaton



Portrait of Lincoln by Marshall Fish, of Minneapolis, Minnesota



Portrait of Lincoln by C. Jackson, owned by Miss Hattie Gilmer, of Pittsfield, Illinois  
 --Print in collection of Frederick H. Meserve, New York





Photograph of Lincoln in the closing days of the American Crisis in 1865—Original negative by Alexander Gardner, at Washington—Print from the collection of Mr. L. C. Handy, in Washington, District of Columbia



Photograph taken shortly after Lincoln's election to the Presidency—Believed to be his first portrait with beard, early in 1861, at 52 years of age—Owned by Mr. H. W. Fay, De Kalb, Illinois—Loaned to Edward Bailey Eaton



Photograph of Lincoln at his second inauguration in 1865, age 56 years—Original negative by H. F. Warren, Waltham, Massachusetts—Print in the collection of Mr. Osborn H. Oldroyd at the Lincoln Museum, Washington



Photograph of Lincoln, age 56 years, shortly before his second inauguration, in 1865—Original negative by Alexander Gardner at Washington—Print from the collection of Mr. Frederick H. Meserve, of New York

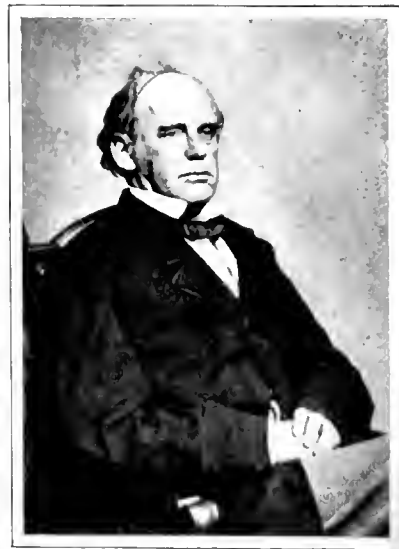
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Lincoln's Vice-President in 1861-1865  
HANNIBAL HAMLIN of Maine



Lincoln's Secretary of War in 1862-1865  
EDWIN M. STANTON of Ohio



Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury in 1861-1864  
SALMON P. CHASE of Ohio



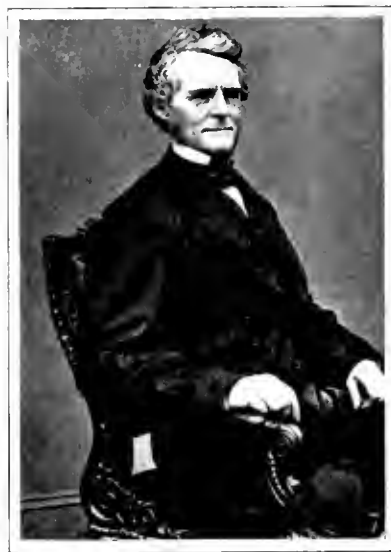
Lincoln's Secretary of War in 1861-1862  
SIMON CAMERON of Pennsylvania



Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury in 1865  
HUGH McCULLOCH of Indiana



Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury in 1864-1865  
WILLIAM B. EWING of Maine



Lincoln's Postmaster-General in 1864-1865  
WILLIAM DENNISON of Ohio



Lincoln's Secretary of Interior in 1861-1865  
CALEB B. SMITH of Indiana

### Brady-Gardner Collection of Historic Photographs

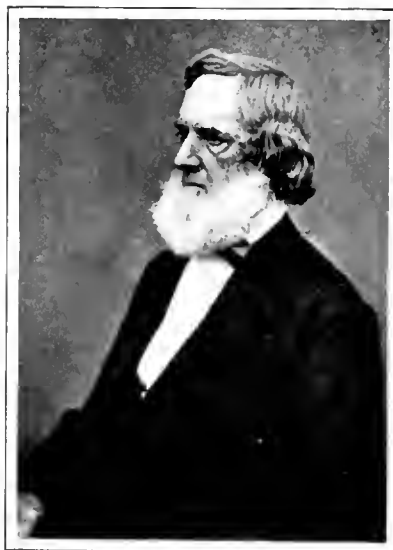
The Brady-Gardner Collection is the largest and most valuable private collection of original negatives taken during the American Crisis. It consists of seven thousand photographic plates, upon which are imprinted the personages and scenes of the tragic days when the American nation was passing through the throes of civil war. President Garfield valued these negatives at \$150,000, and stated that the time would come when they would be invaluable historical evidence. The collection recently has been restored by Edward Bailey Eaton, of Hartford, Connecticut, and is now deposited in Springfield, Massachusetts. The first national record ever made with these historic negatives is in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, Volume III, when reproductions of the interior of fortifications and actual scenes on the battle-ground during the War between the States were revealed. They then created wide interest among antiquarians, historical scholars and eminent military authorities.



Lincoln's Attorney-General in 1864-1865  
JAMES SPEED of Kentucky



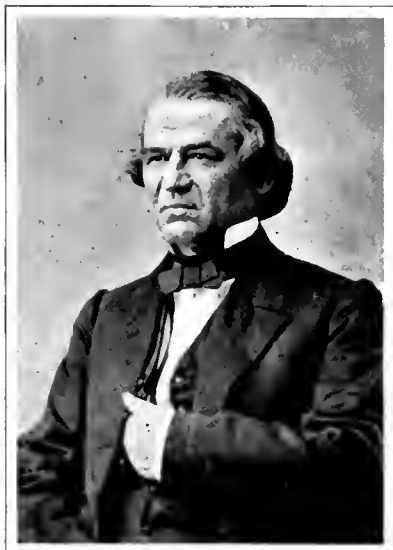
Lincoln's Secretary of State in 1861-1865  
WILLIAM H. SEWARD of New York



Lincoln's Secretary of Navy in 1861-1865  
GIDEON WELLES of Connecticut

**Original Negatives Deposited in Springfield,  
Massachusetts**

On this fiftieth anniversary of the National Crisis, reproductions from the Brady-Gardner Collection are taken for permanent record in the ten volume serial library known as the "Photographic History of the Civil War," now being prepared by a board of eminent American historians under supervision of Albert Shaw, editor-in-chief of the *American Review of Reviews*, and Francis Trevelyan Miller, editor-in-chief of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. Sets of original photographic proofs will be placed in the hands of private collectors, after which the negatives will be deposited in one of the American historical museums and will take their place among the priceless treasures of antiquity. These reproductions are with the cooperation of Mr. Edward Bailey Eaton, the collector, through whose service the preservation of the oldest and probably the greatest private collection of photographic witnesses to any epoch in the world's history has been accomplished on this semi-centennial.



Lincoln's Second Vice-President in 1865  
ANDREW JOHNSON of North Carolina



Lincoln's Secretary of Interior in 1863-1865  
JOHN P. USHER of Indiana





LINCOLN WITH HIS SON THOMAS (TAD) IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Photograph taken with Lincoln in his characteristic attitude at home with his eleven years-old son by his side—His son William Wallace had died at the White House two years before

Original negative by Mathew Brady in collection of Mr. L. C. Handy at Washington

Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury in 1864-1865  
William B. Ewing of Maine

Lincoln's Postmaster-General in 1864-1865  
William Dawson of Ohio

Lincoln's Secretary of Interior in 1861-1865  
Caleb B. Smith of Indiana



LINCOLN ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS SECOND NOMINATION FOR THE  
PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES

Photograph taken in 1864 when the political leaders were declaring that Lincoln could not be re-elected and the American people were demanding his leadership—Original negative by Walker in Washington

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WILLIAM D. BRIDGES of Maine

WILLIAM DEXTER of Ohio

CAROL B. SMITH of Indiana




# Historic Attempts to Annex Canada to the United States



Political Plan of Franklin  
to Secure Canada in the Treaty of  
Versailles & Politicians Declared that War of  
1812 was Intended to Wrest Canada from British Power &  
Famous Uprising in the Van Buren Administration when a Presidential  
Election was Waged on this Policy & Investigations in Patriot War of 1838

BY  
ELIZABETH WAGER-SMITH  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA




**R**EPARATIONS are being made for the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, in which peace was established between the United States and the British interests in the great Dominion of Canada settling the boundary disputes. It is expected that the celebration will take place at Niagara, in 1914, and it is proposed to erect an international bridge as a span of friendship between the two countries. The relations between Canada and the United States are most cordial, and it is interesting at this time to note the various attempts that have been made to bring the great dominion into a brotherhood of the American people. This is exemplified politically by the desire of the Taft administration to secure reciprocity in trade between the vast domains of the North American continent.

Benjamin Franklin, as far back as the Treaty of Versailles, in 1783, desired the cession of Canada. There are historical claims that the War of 1812 was intended primarily to secure the annexation of Canada, although this has been denied. During the Van Buren administration there was a strong movement for the annexation of Canada which stirred the American people to such an extent that it had a pronounced effect upon the subsequent elections. At this same time there was a revolutionary uprising on the Canadian borders similar to that which recently has been witnessed on the Mexican borders. The revolt, known as the "Patriot War," was presumptively against tyrannical administration, but many of its projectors were Americans.

An exhaustive investigation of this "Patriot War" has been made for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY by Mrs. Elizabeth Wager-Smith, an authority on matters pertaining to the development of popular government. This war gained for Canada results similar to those which the Mexican insurrectionists desired—government of, by and for the people. Since this revolt, Canada has been experiencing remarkable growth, until today it is one of the richest dominions for development and trade. Whether or not it will ultimately become a powerful and independent nation, or join its states with the United States of North America, or remain a part of the historic British Empire, can be decided only by the future evolutionary processes of society.—EDITOR



# A nnexation of Canada to the United States



**T**HE episode of American history has not been adequately interpreted nor understood by the present generation. Even the most generous criticism has included slighting allusion to the "Battle of the Windmill," ingeniously suggestive of Don Quixote's futile energy, while the customary attitude has been one which stigmatized its participants as bandits, outlaws and ruffians.


If patriotism is not only love of one's country, its institutions and principles, but also a desire to extend those benefits to others less happily circumstanced, no more illustrious example may be cited in our national records than the attempt, in 1838, of the youth of the new Republic to help their less fortunate neighbors across the St. Lawrence to the freedom which they had themselves but recently gained. Their avowed intention was to free Canada from tyrannic misrule, and annex it to their beloved country, and, though the immediate results were imprisonment, exile, sullied reputations, insanity and ignominious death, their heroic self-sacrifice was undeniably beneficial to the residents of Canada, as was proven by the changed policy of the home government in the immediately succeeding years.

A material generation may question the motives and the intelligence of men who freely staked reputation, liberty and life for a cause so hazardous—to the uninspired, so chimerical. Some have judged the attempt to have been the act of a few reckless boys, without the support of substantial and reputable citizens, and of a mob of lawless adventurers. A review of the actual conditions in

Canada and in the United States at that period will give wider comprehension of the motives and deeds of the patriots on both sides of the boundary, and establish beyond question—even at this late day—their right to the honorable recognition of their claims and deeds, which unfortunate circumstance and partisan opinion have heretofore denied them.

The story commences with a consideration of the civic and political conditions in the Canadian provinces which paved the way to the fiasco of those aspiring souls who dreamed gloriously that they were destined to "free" Canada.


About 1791, Pitt's bill, separating upper and lower Canada into two provinces, was passed in England. The governor-general, appointed by the Crown, was sent from England to govern a people of whom he knew nothing and to whose welfare he was indifferent. Each province had its governor, legislative council and legislative assembly. The council was composed of not less than seven members in upper Canada (the English province), nor less than fifteen in lower Canada (the French province). These members were chosen by the king, for life. The assemblies were elected by the people, sixteen in upper Canada and fifty in the lower province. The governor-general, however, appointed the speaker of the assembly in each province, and had power to give or to withhold the royal assent to bills, or to reserve them for consideration by the Crown; and could summon, prorogue or dissolve the legislature at will. Thus the power of the people, through their representatives, was nullified.







## Historic Attempt of the American People



About 1820, a cabal was formed, known as the "Family Compact." It was an aristocratic English alliance, including judges, clergymen and later, a bishop,<sup>1</sup> which awarded public offices of trust and profit to its own members, thereby securing all the power of government to itself, regardless of the rights of the governed. It also acquired, by grant or purchase, all the waste lands of both provinces. One-seventh of the public lands had previously been awarded to the Protestant clergy, meaning only the Anglican Church; for, as late as 1828, a bill to permit Methodist ministers to perform the marriage ceremony was rejected by the council. An appeal for a share of the tithes for the benefit of the Scottish Kirk was disregarded.

The people were heavily taxed; educational advantages were limited; roads were poor; manufacturing was discouraged; imports were taxed; and facilities for domestic commerce were few. Civic misrule was the common order. In addition to these grievances, the bounty-lands promised to the volunteers and militia of both provinces, in the War of 1812, had been withheld; the press was restricted; public meetings discounted, sometimes forbidden, and dishonest officials went unpunished. "All because," as Roberts says, "the government had before its eyes the dread of '76."

In lower Canada, the French *habitans* had yielded but a half-hearted allegiance during the many years of English rule, and national antagonism was accentuated by the attempt of the government to obliterate both

their language and their religion. Four-fifths of their legislative assembly was French; but four-fifths of the office-holders, appointed by the Crown, were English, who favored the suppression of the French laws in the courts, and the French tenure of land; and urged the union of the Canadian provinces.

As in the case of the American colonies, the first intention was not to withdraw from the mother country, but to reform abuses by legislation; and, to this end, the Reform party was organized. The principal leaders were, William Lyons Mackenzie,<sup>2</sup> in the upper, and Louis Joseph Papineau, in the lower province. Robert Gourlay, Colonel Von Egmond (who had been aid-de-camp to Napoleon), the Nelson brothers, of royalist stock, David Gibson, Lount, Baldwin, Storrow Brown (an American settler, a connection of Sir John Wentworth, the last royalist governor of New Hampshire), Bidwell, Rolph, Christie, were all men of note, with many others equally respected, and active members. These political agitators hoped to secure better conditions by legislation. Later, when the patriots resorted to arms, their numbers were increased by men of excellent military record.


Robert Gourlay, of upper Canada, a Scotch emigrant of 1817, and a land-owner, was one of the first to protest against the flagrant misrule and the deplorable conditions and prospects of the people. He issued a list of thirty-one questions to his fellow-provincials as a preliminary to a reform movement. The closing question was: "What, in your

<sup>1</sup>Bishop Strachan.

<sup>2</sup>Elected first mayor of Toronto.




# A nnexation of Canada to the United States



opinion, retards the improvement of your township in particular, or the province in general; and what would most contribute to the same?" The answers disclosed such serious abuses as to provoke Gourlay to severe criticism, on which he was arrested, confined in prison for several months, and then banished from Canada, "to leave within twenty-four hours." As he did not immediately depart, he was again imprisoned and, after a second, long-deferred release, he sailed for Scotland, utterly broken in mind and body. Returning in 1833, to New York, he addressed Sir John Colborne, the governor-general; and later, Sir Francis Bond Head, his successor; the Duke of Wellington, at the head of the home government; and finally, the young Queen Victoria, in October, 1838, urging her to come in person to the Canadian colonies and see the deplorable conditions. All his appeals were unanswered and disregarded.

Roberts says, "Gourlay's fate opened men's eyes, and from that date the power of the Compact was doomed. . . . The injustice which was meted out to a man who had thrown some light on public corruption stimulated the opponents of the Family Compact to united action against methods so dangerous to individual liberty and so antagonistic to the redress of public grievances."

Papineau, impulsive and enthusiastic, had been a loyal supporter of English rule, for which service he had been duly appointed speaker of the assembly, and in this position he had urged his compatriots to render genuine allegiance to the governing power. When at last he realized that abuses were not corrected, and loyalty availed nothing, he, with his




considerable following, joined forces with the Reform party, and inspired the "Ninety-four Resolutions" of 1834, drawn up by Louis Morin. This document formulated the wrongs which had been suffered through many years by the French, Scotch, Irish, English and United States residents of Canada, and announced "the time has gone by when Europe can give monarchs to America; the epoch is fast approaching when America will give republics to Europe." The *Vindicator*, edited by O'Callaghan, was the organ of the lower province, and *Le Canadien*, which had been suppressed, was revived. Papineau favored an appeal to arms, since all other methods had failed of success.

In 1820, when Mackenzie came from Scotland, a youth of twenty-five years, affairs were even then in a most critical and unsettled condition. King George III was just dead; the provincial assemblies consequently dissolved, and the Family Compact newly arranged. In February, George IV mounted the throne, and the Earl of Dalhousie was named as the new governor-general. The treasurer-general, Sir John Caldwell, soon afterwards speculated with the public funds and lost £96,000. Since he had the good fortune to belong to the Family Compact, his liberty was not curtailed. His Canada lands were sold, permitting a return of about one-third the sum to the depleted vaults, and the remaining defalcation was forgiven. He remained in office, and was not otherwise punished.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The tragico-comic end of this personage may be noted in passing. With his valet, an Irishman, named John Cheever, he dined, October 21, 1842, on pork and beans, and died the following day at the Tremont House, Boston, of apoplexy. Cheever, having neither home nor relatives, joined the community as a farmer.—AUTHOR.



## Historic Attempt of the American People



In 1823, Mackenzie established the *Colonial Advocate*, at Queenstown, as the organ of the Reform party, and soon rose to leader in his province. In June, 1826, fifteen young men, sons of officials of the Compact, incited to wrath by his pungent criticisms of the government, effected an entrance into the office of the newspaper and wrecked the contents. Mackenzie continued, however, to hold meetings in various sections of the province, circulated petitions, made abuses known, and having been indemnified for his wrecked property, re-commenced the publication of the *Advocate*. In 1828, he was elected to the legislative assembly of upper Canada, and re-elected in 1830; but in consequence of an especially caustic article attacking the so-called "Everlasting Salaries Bill" (a permanent civil list to still further nullify the power of the assembly), he was expelled by the governor-general. A thousand patriots proceeded to Government House and demanded the dissolution of the assembly. To gain time, the governor-general yielded, but immediately summoned the troops. Mackenzie was re-elected by a "triumphant majority," and presented with a gold medal valued at £60. The governor expelled him again, and the people re-elected him. The governor then disfranchised the county of York (now Toronto), which Mackenzie represented, thus securing his permanent expulsion from the assembly. Joseph Hume, the eminent English political reformer, wrote to Mackenzie in regard to the expulsion: "Such action must hasten the crisis that is fast approaching in the affairs of Canada, which will terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country." This letter having been published in the *Advocate*,

rendered the council<sup>4</sup> and governor-general still more rancorous. The attorney-general called Mackenzie a "reptile," and the solicitor-general named him a "spaniel dog."

It was a period of reform and unrest in all countries, and Canada's local causes made revolt peculiarly urgent. The revolution in France; the independence of the Belgians; the Polish uprising; civil strife in Italy; negro slavery abolished in all British colonies, and the nullification resolutions of South Carolina were all signs of the times.


The Reform party in Canada was not to be deterred by vituperation from pursuing its plans for the amelioration of the improper conditions existing in the country. It decided, in 1832, to send Mackenzie to England to present a petition to the Crown. It was signed by eighty-seven thousand citizens, and invoked the home government to redress their grievances. The petition called attention to "absence of security for life or property; of taxation without representation; of the destruction of the liberty of the press; of the suspension of the habeas corpus; of packed juries; of the profligate use of the public revenue among

<sup>4</sup>Colonel Tom Taylor, a life member of the legislature council, delivered himself in a speech, in 1832, as follows: "Some black sheep have got into my flock, and what is worse, they have got the rot, a distemper not known in this settlement till some I shall call for short, rebels, began their work of darkness under cover of organizing blanketed cold water drinking societies, where they meet at night to communicate their poisonous schemes and circulate the infection and delude the unwary! Then they assumed a more daring aspect under mask of a grievance petition, which when it was placed before me, I would not take the trouble to read, being aware it was trash founded on falsehood, fabricated to create discontent."



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swarms of foreign officials; of education for the rich and none for the poor; of the abolition of any representative form of government; and of the erection on the ruins thereof of an arbitrary and vindictive military despotism." They asked "control of the public revenues; reform in the land system; municipal rights for towns and cities; exclusion of judges from the legislature; and responsibility of the council to the people, rather than to the Crown."

During eighteen months, Mackensie, detained with promises, was impatient at his enforced absence from Canada and at the delayed answer to his petition. At last, with the promise that all obnoxious officials should be retired, he returned to the provinces. The removed officials were superseded by others of like quality, and the Reform party lost all hope of redress, either by legislation or by appeal. Mackensie was re-elected mayor of Toronto, in May, 1834, and discontinued his newspaper. In October, he was again elected member of the assembly for York and permitted to take his seat; but the governor-general, Earl of Dalhousie, knowing how inimical to the interests of the Compact was the influence of Mackensie, used all his powers to prevent his re-election, in 1836. Mackensie then resolved to yield to Papineau's plans and appeal to arms. He revived his newspaper, July, 1836, under the name of the *Constitution*.

During the temporary absence of Governor Dalhousie in England, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Burton served in his place. He adopted a conciliatory policy which temporarily stemmed the tide of popular discontent. But his reign was brief. When Dalhousie returned he overthrew all that had been accomplished by again demanding a permanent civil list. This the assembly

refused to grant, and affairs ran riot until Dalhousie was recalled. One English writer says, "Mackensie and his friends might have been conciliated and satisfied had the government been served by an able and discreet governor-general."

Sir John Colborne was the next governor. His tact and firmness seemed to augur a peaceful solution of the problem. But, it was too late for pacification by moderate means. The people had suffered too long to be satisfied with anything less than their full rights. The Reform party steadily increased in numbers. Sir John Colborne, in failing health, requested his resignation to be accepted, and the Earl of Durham was appointed in his place.


This constant change of governors added to the unsettled conditions. Some were recalled for supposed incompetence, or for failure to satisfy the home government by not quelling the discontent at once; some resigned from disinclination for so strenuous a life.

In 1837, a "Vigilance Committee" was organized, with Mackensie as its agent and corresponding secretary, to establish centres of activity.<sup>5</sup> They called a national convention to meet in October, with Dr. Wolfred Nelson as chairman. Their speeches were so inflammatory that Governor Durham gave orders to arrest the leaders, offering £2000 for Papineau. The latter fled to the United States, as did Robert Nelson, but Wolfred was captured. Durham issued an ordinance that Papineau, the Nelsons and six others should be banished without trial to Bermuda, and threatened with death if they returned to Canada.

<sup>5</sup>In August, 1837, Mackensie published in the *Constitution* what was virtually a declaration of independence for Canadians, in many respects similar to that of 1776.



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This decree aroused a storm in the English parliament. Lord Brougham made a violent attack on Durham, who was valiantly defended by John Stuart Mill in the *Westminster Review*. Sir Robert Peel's strictures on the reformers fanned the flame of discontent against the Canadians, but Grote reminded them that "Ministers should recollect that to put down by force is not to eradicate discontent." Although Durham's illegal sentence was open to censure, he had shown a fairness in administering affairs, and an interest in the welfare of the Canadian people, unparalleled by any governor-general who had preceded him.

Lord Durham's recall was the signal for a new uprising—the *habitans* of the lower province having thirteen thousand men ready for actual warfare. Secret drills were conducted in both provinces, while messages and letters of promised aid were sent from the maritime provinces. The sympathizers on the southern side of the St. Lawrence were numerous, well-financed and supported. The Reform party had lost patience, and was ready for extreme measures.

To add to the legion of mistakes on record, the government now sent Sir Francis Bond Head. He was an autocratic and self-complaisant gentleman, with no knowledge of public affairs nor of politics, never having cast a vote. When he was heralded as a "tried reformer," he was "overcome with glee." He assumed the pose, however, with the the patriots, in order to learn their plans and aims. He was a superb equestrian, and dashed from one place to another, ordering out the troops. He sent word to England, if he were not interfered with, he would soon have the "rebels" under control.

Mackensie, at the head of several hundred men, marched to Govern-

ment House for the second time in his career, and demanded a settlement of the grievances, by a national convention, of the new governor-general. Head summoned the troops—the patriots retired. On December 3, 1837, they assembled again at Montgomery's Tavern, near Toronto, to march on the city. Head gave orders to attack; the tavern and David Gibson's house were burned to the ground. Colonel Van Egmond was captured, placed in a damp, cold cell, and treated so harshly that he died in a few months.<sup>6</sup> Mackensie escaped across the lake; then, wading icy streams and traveling through the forest, reached Navy Island in the Niagara River, where an American contingent awaited him. He was afterwards arrested by the American authorities for breaking the neutrality laws and imprisoned for a year. There had been several affairs near the border in which a few Americans had participated, but their assistance and coöperation were not publicly announced until the meeting on Navy Island.

And now the American conditions from 1837 to 1839 must be considered in relation to the Canadian question.

In the United States, the bitter feelings engendered by the Revolution and the War of 1812 lay dormant, but waiting sufficient motive to break forth with renewed vigor. Knowledge of English oppression and injustice in a neighboring colony aroused keen sympathy in many hearts and stirred the embers of smouldering hostility. Failure to capture Canada during the Revolutionary War, before the arrival of reinforcements from England, had always rankled. This would doubtless


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<sup>6</sup>Colonel Van Egmond was a descendant of that heroic figure in the Netherland's struggle for liberty, Lamoral, Count of Egmont and Prince of Gávre, who was executed in 1568.



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have been accomplished had not the French *habitans* (inspired thereto by the promise of liberal grants of land), fought for Great Britain. The Americans were not resentful, for the French provincials acknowledged their folly, and now sought to repay the ingratitude of the governing power. In the treaty of peace signed at Versailles, September 23, 1783, Benjamin Franklin asked for the cession of Canada. His fellow commissioners, John Jay and John Adams were satisfied, however, with the grant of the territory south of the Great Lakes, and Canada was lost to the new Republic. The English had always resented the grant; thus both countries had a grievance.

Allison says, "The real purpose of the War of 1812 was a new attempt to wrest Canada from British power, and, in conjunction with Napoleon, to extinguish its maritime and colonial empire."


A letter under date of July 2, 1812, from General Jacob Brown (in command of the northern frontier during the War of 1812, and commander-in-chief from 1821-1828), to Governor Tompkins, of New York, says: "I can have no idea of our government declaring war against Great Britain without the conquest of Canada. Our honor and interest and everything demand it." Thus, trained in this belief for more than half a century, the people of the northern border, where the Canadians were more fully understood than in more remote sections, were aroused to a sense of their responsibilities when the picture of their more fortunate political state was contrasted with that of their oppressed neighbors across the St. Lawrence.

Lord Bathurst proposed in the English parliament, after the War of 1812, that "a belt twenty miles wide, of waste land and forest, should be


forever left uncultivated and unoccupied between the United States and Canada," that democratic principles should be kept at a safe distance from British subjects!

There was another reason which contributed to the championship of the Canadian cause by the American patriots. After the War of 1812, free passage and grants of land were given to emigrants from Great Britain, but settlers from the United States were refused these favors, or permission to become naturalized citizens. The spirit of liberty with which the Americans were so thoroughly imbued was antagonistic to the plans of the members of the Compact, and they feared its influence on the Canadian people.

The Maine boundary line was another matter of offense. The treaty, after the War of 1812, named the demarcation between Maine and New Brunswick to be a line drawn from "the source of the St. Croix River to the highlands," and the question arose "which St. Croix," and "which highlands" were intended. (The subject was not definitely settled until 1841.) In July, 1836, the United States submitted a proposition regarding the boundary to Great Britain, but the latter delayed decision. In the interim, she made surveys for a railway across the disputed territory, and even commenced operations. Lumber thieves, taking advantage of this uncertain ownership, reaped their harvests to the spoliation of valuable territory. Later, the governor of Maine ordered a sheriff's posse to prevent further encroachments. The Canadian authorities, interpreting this action as an attempt at ownership, sent their officers to drive out the Americans. In June, 1837, while Ebenezer Greeley was taking a census in Penobscot County,



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he was seized by the British authorities and placed in jail in Fredericton. They made no further protest against the enumeration, however, either then or afterwards. In the "Report of the United States Commissioners," in 1837, on "Fortifying the Boundaries of Maine," (Stephen Foster, chairman,) occur these sentiments: "About one-third of the most valuable portion of our territory is claimed by Great Britain. . . . It has awakened the painful apprehension that our just rights may not be secured by honorable negotiation nor by patient submission to unprovoked injuries. . . . The inflexible determination which she manifests to pursue the course which interest dictates should not be forgotten." It will be noted that these Maine disturbances, which were jocosely alluded to as the "Aroostook War," were contemporaneous with the Canadian uprising.

Another disturbing element was the unsettled financial condition resulting from the closing of the United States banks. This act had forced the transfer of the national funds to State banks. The latter had loaned on poor securities and when the time of payment came, general bankruptcy ensued. Manufacturers were compelled to discharge workmen, and there were no available funds to move Western crops to the seaboard. The country was flooded with paper money, but specie was difficult to obtain. While this condition of finances was only temporary and not resembling Canada's perpetual distress, it had a disturbing influence on the people at large and particularly on the young men of the border, rendering them an easy prey to the Moloch of self-sacrifice.

The success of the Texans, especially the defense of the Alamo, in 1836, also had its part in inspiring the youth

of the country to emulate their deeds of valor. To extend the boundaries on the north was the ardent desire of the young patriots of the border.

Martin Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837. The Whigs strongly, but secretly, favored the annexation of Canada. They sought to place Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter,<sup>7</sup> a Virginian, as speaker of the House of Representatives, and twelve hundred "Hunter's Lodges," so-called, were formed in various States, with a membership of eighty thousand. Van Buren had neither sympathy nor toleration with such sentiments toward Canada. He was opposed to universal suffrage although he had made loud professions of democracy before his election. His detractors found various epithets to describe his political views. He temporized over the Maine boundary matter and permitted the local contestants to decide by right of might to whom the land belonged; adopting neither a defensive nor an aggressive policy, but one conciliatory toward Great Britain, and making no reply to the citizens of Maine who appealed to the government for protection.


The Hunter's Lodges grew in numbers and the annexation idea waxed strong. Signs and passwords and oaths of the most inviolable secrecy were administered to new members,

<sup>7</sup>Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter (1809-1887), born in Virginia, was a member of United States Congress 1837-43, and 1845-47; speaker 1839-41. He was a senator, 1847-61; Confederate Secretary of State in 1861. President Lincoln, in February, 1865, met him as one of the peace commissioners from the South, the others being Alexander H. Stevens and ex-Judge John A. Campbell, to consult on board a warship in Hampton Roads as to an honorable peace; Lincoln and Seward were representatives from the North. Hunter was appointed by President Cleveland as collector of customs at Tappahannock, Virginia.



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and all proceedings were carefully guarded, as well as the identity of interested persons. The "Relief of Canada" was a popular cry with all classes. Men of substance and official position were connected with the movement, and gave financial aid and encouragement. Later, when all was over, the lists of members' names were burned, as had been agreed in case of failure, that their owners might not be incriminated.

After several unsuccessful skirmishes in Canada, it was decided to make a stand on American soil near the border, from whence a sortie could be made at a favorable opportunity. Seven hundred men from Hunter's Lodges of New York, Vermont and Ohio, congregated at Navy Island in the Niagara River, in December, 1837, with Rensselaer Van Rensselaer as commander. They had thirteen field pieces; muskets, ammunition, and provisions were in abundance. Here it was that Mackensie, after his escape from the Montgomery Tavern defeat, issued a proclamation announcing a "Provisional Government of Upper Canada." It commenced thus: "Rise, Canadians! Rise as one man and the glorious object of our wishes is accomplished!" Three hundred acres of fertile land and £20 in silver were promised to every volunteer; the salaries of officials were to be reduced and the surplus to be used for making highways and other improvements; and a reward of £500 was offered for the capture of Sir Francis Bond Head. Paper money was issued; a flag was floated. Intrenchments were made of felled trees, which the British soldiers from the post at Chippewa on the Canadian shore thrice vainly attacked.

President Van Buren issued a proclamation declaring neutrality and

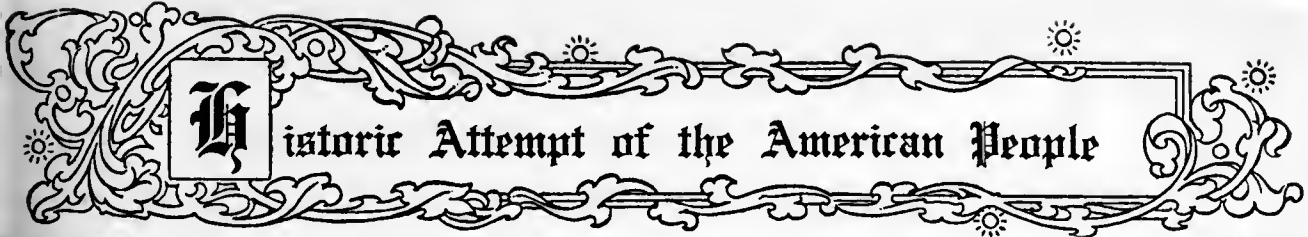
stating that no aid nor countenance from the United States would be given the "offenders"; and ordered General Winfield B. Scott to the frontier. Mackensie's arrest and imprisonment at this time deprived the cause of one of its ablest leaders.




The steamer *Caroline*, Captain Gilman Appleby, owned and chartered by a citizen of Buffalo as a passenger and freight boat, plied between Buffalo, Schlossers, Tonawanda and Navy Island. It was suspected by the Canadian officials of carrying supplies to the patriots; and Lieutenant Drew was ordered by Colonel Allen McNab to destroy it wherever found. While lying at Schlossers on the American shore for the night of January 4, 1838, Drew, with six boat-loads of soldiers from Chippewa, rushed on board, whooping like Indians and shouting, "No quarter! No quarter! Fire! Fire!" A few passengers escaped to the shore, five were shot dead and several wounded. No arms nor ammunition were found on board, but Drew ordered the boat to be set on fire and with twelve passengers, it drifted over the falls.

Governor Marcy, of New York, appealed to Van Buren to demand redress for the citizens of his State, but he remained passive and was declared by the American patriots to be a "British tool." Indignation was rife in all America at this outrage on an American boat lying peaceably in American waters. Great, however, was the rejoicing in the Family Compact on receiving the news of Drew's achievement. Colonel McNab gave a dinner in honor of the occasion, at which was displayed a transparency of the *Caroline* in flames, going over the falls. Drew was rewarded for this deed by promotion to a captaincy in the royal navy, and





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McNab was knighted. Captain Marryatt, the noted writer, was one of the guests at the dinner.

Threatened on both sides, the company at Navy Island disbanded on January 13th, to rendezvous a month later at Hickory Island, a point in the St. Lawrence River seven miles from shore. Five hundred muskets were silently removed one night from the arsenal at Watertown, not far distant, and conveyed to French Creek (now Clayton). It was planned to attack Fort William Henry at Kingston, advancing over the ice from the island. A thousand men from various sections were expected in answer to the call which had been sent out through the Hunter's Lodges. As the hours wore by and company after company arrived, there came, too, rumors of ominous and disheartening import. One courier brought the news that the Gananoque militia (who had promised assistance) had become timorous; another reported that the plans had been revealed to the royalists, and still another, that the regulars were marching on them from Kingston. Disaffection spread and many returned to the shore, until, out of the full number who had reported, but a small proportion remained for service. Van Rensselaer spiritedly urged for attack; but caution prevailed and the patriots again disbanded.

"Bill" Johnston, a headstrong French-Canadian, impatient of restraint after this episode, gathered some twenty men from both sides of the river. Disguising themselves as Indians, on a May evening they rowed to Peel's Dock on an island now called Wellesley, between Clayton and Alexandria Bay, where the *Sir Robert Peel* was taking on wood. The party rushed on board and shouting, "Remember the *Caroline*," discharged their pistols in the air and

drove passengers and crew on shore. Firing the vessel, they sent it adrift, and then rapidly dispersed. As no evidence remained of the perpetrators they escaped arrest. "Bill" vaunted his part in the affair in a manifesto posted in inns, but he kept in hiding in the mazes of wooded islands and tortuous channels for several months, while his daughter brought provisions and eluded pursuit by her skillful manipulation of the oar.


Van Buren issued another proclamation insisting that the neutrality laws must be preserved, and Governors Marcy, of New York, and Jennison, of Vermont, followed suit. Uprisings had become so frequent in the parishes of St. Denis, St. Charles, St. Benoit, St. Eustache and others, and the American patriots were so aggressively active that the home government recalled Sir Francis Bond Head, and Sir George Arthur, the "Scourge of Van Dieman's Land," was sent to subdue the rebellious Canadians. He arrived March 23, 1838, soon after the failure of the Hickory Island manoeuvre. One thousand pounds reward was offered for the capture of Johnston, and except for the burning of the *Peel*, a terrified quiet ensued throughout the summer.

The Canadians, despite Arthur's presence in the land, were more eager than ever to break the bonds which chafed them. Everywhere feeling and purpose strengthened for a final supreme effort. Colonel Nils Von Schoultz, a Polish refugee who had served under Napoleon in Egypt, and was living near Syracuse, New York; J. Ward Birge, a prominent citizen of Cazenovia; Martin Woodruff, colonel of militia and sheriff of Onondaga County; Colonel Huestis, of Watertown; Dorephus Abbey, an editor from Connecticut; Colonel Putnam, nephew of General Putnam,




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of Revolutionary fame, and "Bill" Johnston united to plan the event which should change the map of America and win plaudits from their fellow countrymen and the gratitude of the oppressed Canadians. Secret emissaries brought assurances of the uprising of the Canadian people *en masse* so soon as the American patriots had shown their good faith by making a stand on Canadian soil. There were promises also, through Pendigrasse, a Canadian secret agent, that four-fifths of the militia would join the insurgents. Victory seemed a foregone conclusion.

Spies from the Compact were busy, however, and reported every move of the patriots to the Canadian officials. In September, 1838, Joseph Bonaparte returned to America. The Czar of Russia, in an interview with George M. Dallas, the American minister, expressed himself in strong terms as to the burning of the *Caroline*. It was rumored that Von Schoultz, the exiled Pole, would receive his pardon if the Canadian insurrection proved successful. Official Canada believed that both French and Russian assistance was at the disposal of the patriots, and royalist feeling intensified. The fateful day approached. On Sunday evening, November 11th, the steamer *United States* left Oswego Harbor and quietly moved northwards. No one was visible on deck, but the water-line showed the weight she carried. The river was free from craft. Few observers were on the shores. Silent figures stole aboard at Sackett's Harbor and at Cape Vincent, and in Millen's Bay she took in tow two schooners awaiting her arrival, the *Isabelle*, from Toronto, laden with Canadian patriots, and the *Charlotte*, from Oswego, with men and munitions. Early on Monday morning, they were abreast of Prescott, a small



town on the Canadian side, garrisoned by a single regiment. A mile and a half further down the river stood a deserted stone windmill, on the steep bank, flanked by four small stone buildings. It was an excellent strategic point: only one side was open to attack, and Ogdensburg, just across the river, afforded a base of supplies. The vessels carried a thousand men, with ample equipment of guns, field-pieces, ammunition and provisions. An undercurrent of anxiety, however, was already stirring, for Birge, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, and "Bill" Johnston, whose daring leadership was expected to furnish important stimulus, had failed to appear. In attempting a landing both schooners ran aground. The *Isabelle* cleared and sailed away. The *Charlotte*, after floating free, landed a portion of the ammunition and provisions and some of the men; then she crossed to Ogdensburg. The *United States* landed its men and guns, and also hastily departed for the American shore. Less than two hundred of the army disembarked on Canadian soil.

As the expected leaders had not arrived, Von Schoultz was chosen first in command; Woodruff, second; and Abbey, third; and their blue flag, an eagle in the center, a white star on either side, was flown from the top of the mill. Expecting immediate reinforcements, Von Schoultz placed his three field-pieces, and otherwise prepared for the attack.

But one regiment of British regulars, the 83d, was stationed at Prescott. Early on Tuesday morning a sudden shrilling of fifes was heard, and the patriots scrambled to arms as they saw the red-coats, flanked by two regiments of militia, coming over the hill. Now was the time for the promise of the militia to join forces



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with the invaders to be fulfilled. But when they saw the pitiful handful opposed to them, their thirst for liberty and justice was forgotten, and the militia fought fiercely against the very men whose assistance they had so long and so frequently besought.

Three gun-boats, the *Traveller*, the *Cobourg*, and the *Experiment*, in command of Captain Sandow, came down the river and trained their guns on the steep hill-side. The range was such that the shells flew over the fort and dropped into the ranks of the British. The skirmish lasted for three hours. Colonel Dundas, surprised by the spirited defense by the patriots, withdrew his men. Von Schoultz hotly pursued, but, perceiving that they were being surrounded, he in turn withdrew to his windmill stronghold. Night fell and the firing ceased. Thirteen of the little army lay dead on the dimming slopes and twenty-eight others nursed their untended wounds in the grassy enclosure. The royalist losses were commonly reported to be two hundred.

It was now discovered that, except for powder, ammunition was practically exhausted. Provisions, too, were limited. The *Charlotte*, in her frantic haste to escape, had unloaded only a small part of her cargo. The old mill was ransacked. Nails, bolts, screws, nuts and hinges were seized upon for the field-pieces; but Von Schoultz solemnly assured his men that without reinforcements they were irretrievably lost. For three days hope and despair alternated. "Bill" Johnston rowed across from Ogdensburg at night, and promised to return at daylight with five hun-

dred men. Preston King<sup>8</sup> also steamed across in the darkness, on the *Paul Pry*, and swore he would return at once to carry away the wounded, that Von Schoultz and his brave remnant might retreat, to cross farther down the river to the American shore. Jonah Woodruff<sup>9</sup> slipped in and out again, promising reinforcements. Hour after hour passed. Dawn came, and twilight, and flurries of snow; but to the shivering band, huddling on the hill-top, under the lee of their windmill, came neither men nor food nor munitions for their succor. Von Schoultz refused to leave his wounded. A vote was taken. Not a man was willing to desert his helpless comrades, however black the prospect. With them, escape was impossible. British sentries patrolled neighboring hill-tops and at intervals discharged warning guns. So the minutes passed to the doomed and deserted men, who awaited the final acts of the tragedy in suspense.

On Thursday afternoon a flag of truce from the British called for an hour to collect their dead. The frozen bodies had lain on the ground for two days, partially covered with snow. The bodies of the patriots had been stripped by the militia and were nearly nude.


On Friday morning reinforcements arrived for which Colonel Dundas had been waiting. In addition to the

<sup>8</sup>Preston King was so overcome with horror when he learned the result of his failure to return that he became violently insane after the hanging of Von Schoultz and his companions. He was confined in the Utica Asylum for several months. He recovered and was elected United States Senator in 1857, and appointed Collector of the Port of New York, in 1865. He soon after leaped from a ferry-boat into the Hudson River and was drowned.

<sup>9</sup>Jonah Woodruff was later the inventor of the first sleeping-car.



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three boats already lying in the stream, two fully-manned gun boats came from Kingston with a howitzer and two eighteen pounders. Fifteen hundred soldiers advanced from the hill. The patriots numbered about one hundred men and youths, who were exhausted from lack of food and sleep, half-frozen and overwhelmingly outnumbered. Many of them were boys of heroic ancestry, and were anxious to fight to the last man, as at the Alamo. But Von Schoultz, Woodruff and Abbey, on consultation, believed that if they surrendered the officers only would be punished, and the boys allowed to return to their homes in the "States." Thus, they prevailed upon the patriots to agree to a surrender. As they came forth from the mill, the militia, furious with rage at the failure of the attempt, for their own welfare, and fearful of Arthur's vengeance toward any sympathetic act, treated the prisoners with indignity. On the march to Prescott, Von Schoultz was nearly stripped of his garments, reviled as a Russian, spit upon, struck, called opprobrious epithets, and dispossessed of his personal adornments by rough fingers. All the prisoners were used in a similar manner, and reached the jail in Prescott in a deplorable state of mind and body. From here, they were removed to Kingston.

The trial of the prisoners was short<sup>10</sup> and their sentence foreordained. William H. Seward, Philo Gridley, Bernard Bagley, George C. Sherman, Philo Wright, Hiram Denio, Joshua Spencer and many other leading Americans interceded for them. Arthur was determined on their fate,

<sup>10</sup>Stephen Wright states that the trial of the prisoners was conducted with the utmost rapidity; the officers being tried by fours, the others in groups of twelve; the latter sessions lasting but half an hour.

and returned negative answers to all appeals. Nils Von Schoultz, Martin Woodruff, Dorephus Abbey, Christopher Buckley, Sylvester Lawton, Russell Phelps, Duncan Anderson, Joel Peeler, Sylvanus Suete, Daniel George and three others were hanged, martyrs in the sacred cause of liberty. A few prisoners were released, some from extreme age and infirmity, one was insane, and one, "very young"; [although Hiram Hall, fifteen years old, was sentenced to Kingston penitentiary for seven years.]<sup>11</sup>

The death sentence of those not mentioned above, was commuted to a life-imprisonment at England's penal colony, Van Dieman's Land. Several prisoners were already dead from the hardships and brutalities they had suffered. The rest sailed from Quebec the following September, together with prisoners from a skirmish at Windsor, Canada (where Colonel Putnam lost his life), and from Sandwich, among whom was the aged Chauncey Sheldon, who had fought very bravely at Lundy's Lane, in 1812. There were about one hundred and fifty in all.<sup>12</sup> The life which English convicts were forced to undergo in Van Dieman's Land has become too well known to be recited here. Some of the patriots became insane and died raving; two, in attempting to escape, were cap-

<sup>11</sup>One list of the prisoners taken at the windmill, and their disposition, is as follows: "98 condemned; 12 excused; 12 acquitted for lack of evidence; 30 liberated; 58 exiled."

<sup>12</sup>The nationality of the patriot prisoners was as follows: British and Irish, five; Poles, three; Germans, five; French, three; four came from upper Canada; eight from lower Canada; and one hundred and thirty-one from the United States.



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tured and sent to Port Arthur,<sup>13</sup> from whence no pardon was ever granted; others died from beatings, from cold and hunger, and excessive hard labor.

The people of the border States expressed their disapproval of the American officials, who had not shown sympathy with the patriots, at the next election. General Scott, who sought the governorship of New York, was defeated through the activity of Solomon Van Rensselaer, a cousin of Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, whom Scott's militia had relentlessly hunted after the Hickory Island affair. William H. Seward, who had so earnestly advocated the cause of the patriots, was elected governor. But one northern border State (Illinois), cast the vote for Van Buren, who sought a second term and met defeat.

In 1842, President Tyler called for a dissolution of the Hunter's Lodges, as no mercy could be obtained for the prisoners while the Lodges continued in existence.

The next year, Stephen Wright and Aaron Dresser, both of northern New York, obtained a pardon from the governor-general of Van Dieman's Land, Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer, as reward for assisting in capturing two famous bushwhackers (escaped convicts). They reached America in a critical condition of mind and body—even after nearly seven months of sea-air and nourishing food. Wright published a narrative, addressed to his countrymen, relating the horrors of his sojourn on that terrible island. The United States government, still sensitive over a possible new imbroglio with England, suppressed the pamphlet, but it had re-awakened the minds of many to the memory of their unfor-

tunate compatriots and a new attempt was made to obtain their pardon. It was represented that the affair had been the foolish idea of a few reckless boys in which the United States had no share whatever and, after much intercession, a small number were liberated. Later, a few more were pardoned, and at last, in 1846, the meagre remainder of those who were sent out in 1839 were also set free.<sup>14</sup>

And what benefits did Canada derive from this pitiful sacrifice of American life and liberty? Withrow says: "Mackensie lived to see most of the reforms for which he contended carried into effect." He speaks, however, of Van Rensselaer as a "notorious scoundrel" and of the "Patriot Army," as "composed of sailors, dock laborers and boatmen . . . a wretched rabble ready to cut any man's throat for a dollar." A perusal of the list of prisoners taken at the windmill, and a careful impersonal examination of all records, plainly shows to any one acquainted with the border families and their histories, and the political and social conditions of the period, the absolute error of

<sup>13</sup>In 1849, a general amnesty was extended to all exiled Canadian patriots and they returned home. As Papineau was speaker of assembly in lower Canada when exiled, he applied to the government for his arrears in salary, and, under the changed conditions, it was granted. Mackensie, who had been living in New York City, writing for the *Tribune*, was returned to the assembly, and commenced the publication of a newspaper without interference. Baldwin was appointed attorney-general for Canada West; La Fontaine for Canada East; Morin, commissioner for Crown Lands; and others of the Reform party to various positions in the government of the Dominion.


<sup>14</sup>"Bill" Johnston was appointed by the United States government as keeper of Rock Island Light, in the St. Lawrence River, near the scene of the Hickory Island episode, and of his hiding place after the burning of the *Peel*.

<sup>13</sup>These two were Linus Miller, a brilliant young lawyer from New York State, and Joseph Stewart, of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania.



# A

## nnexation of Canada to the United States



this statement. Bourinot says, "The Battle of the Windmill was an unfortunate episode in the history of Canada, but it caused the Family Compact to break up, and brought about a better system of government." These are Canadian historians, and their recognition of the facts, even in part, is of great interest.

In July, 1840, Queen Victoria signed the act which endowed Canada with a new constitution, and provided for a parliament in which both provinces were to have equal representation; though the French province still had much the larger population. The power of the governor-general, as well as that of the councils, was limited; and malfeasance in office subjected them to retirement. This assurance to the people was conveyed in a public despatch from Lord John Russell, the prime minister.

Disaffection still existed, founded on the usual protracted difficulties attendant upon the political amalgamation of a conquered people of different temperament, tongue and creed, and the arrogant aggrandizement of the conquerors. Many concessions were granted by the home government, and the differences between upper and lower Canada were gradually adjusted. Lord Elgin, the new governor-general, upheld the claims of the lower province to a £10,000 grant, for property damaged in the rebellion. The upper province had received £40,000, but bitterly opposed the smaller grant to the sister-province. The governor-general was attacked on the streets of Montreal, and Parliament House was burned to the ground by the faction who still desperately struggled to retain some of the old despotic power which had been theirs before the windmill

tragedy and its consequences had opened the eyes of the English sovereign and her ministers.

The idea of annexation to the United States was not yet obliterated. An "Annexation Association" was organized with nearly eight hundred members, including men who have since become senators, judges, cabinet ministers of the Canadian Confederation, and some who were afterwards knighted by Victoria. On July 9, 1849, an article in an independent Montreal newspaper stated that "the whole of the Press were for annexation of Canada to the United States, because the sentiment was nearly universal among its subscribers and supporters." The agitation gradually subsided, as England realized her mistakes and sought to retrieve them.

In 1867, lower Canada was called the Province of Quebec, and upper Canada, Ontario; and the maritime provinces were added, to form the Canadian Confederation. From that time, the colony became practically self-governing, with a ministry and two houses of parliament, and a governor-general as chief executive officer; an independent State, except in the matter of foreign relations.

A Canadian historian speaks thus: "It has become customary for English writers to slur over the disorders of 1837, as the results of an ignorant rabble, following the bad advice of the hot-heads, Mackenzie and Papi-neau, but it is worth remembering that everything the rabble fought for has since been incorporated in Canada's constitution as the very warp and woof of responsible government." The part which Americans played in this development of civic and individual liberty is even more worthy of remembrance.



### HISTORIC BATTLE GROUND OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

Photograph taken at historic windmill about which was waged the "Patriot War of 1838" when Americans assisted Canada in gaining its constitutional government—It stands on bank of St. Lawrence River on ground of Battle of the Windmill



AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Old engraving of Sir Henry Spelman, the famous English scholar and antiquarian, author of the celebrated "History of Sacrilege," who died in 1643, and was buried in Westminster Abbey by command of Charles I—One of his sons came to America with Captain John Smith, while a grandson who came to Virginia in 1729, is ancestor of the Spelman Progeny in the South






# British Researches into the Origins of Historic American Lineages

Investigations into a  
Strain of Blood through Sixteen  
Generations or Nearly Six Centuries until it  
Became a Strong Factor in the Building of the American  
Nation & Sociological Deductions from Spelman Lineage passing through  
Knights and Lords to be transfused into the Great Democracy of the Western World

BY

ADA FLORETTA DELANEY

NEW YORK



**T**HIS is the beginning of the series of British researches into the origins of historic American lineages that are being made for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY in connection with the new public service department that is inaugurated with this number. Many of the leading American and European genealogists will contribute to these pages. This article records the story of sixteen generations, covering a period of five and a half centuries, of one strain of blood that has entered into the building of the American nation, passing through knights and lords until it is transfused into the great democracy of the Western World.


The researches were conducted in Great Britain by several eminent British genealogists under the direction of Mr. Charles A. Hoppin, the American historical and genealogical investigator, whose contributions to national annals are becoming valuable records from which to trace the sociologic and economic development of the American republic.

These investigations were compiled by the late Mrs. Fanny Cooley Williams Barbour of Brooklyn, New York. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, senior, who is much interested in this work, upon the death of Mrs. Barbour, preserved these valuable records in permanent book form through the editorial and publication department conducted by Mr. Frank Allaben, who, beginning with this issue, becomes permanently connected with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

The relation of genealogy to history is now becoming more fully recognized. It is now understood scientifically that society, which is composed of individuals of various characters and temperaments, is molded according to its component parts; that it is dependent largely upon the hereditary processes, which through generations have molded and formed civilization. The analysis of these individual strains is of much greater importance than that of many events or incidents of a political cast that are scrutinized so closely by historians.—EDITOR



## British Researches into American Origins



**T**HE history of the Spelman lineage in England, prior to its settlement in Connecticut and Virginia, is an example of the vicissitudes through which a noble race may pass

Richard Spelman, father of the American immigrant, was a blacksmith. His earliest known ancestor was Sir William Espileman, Knight, Lord of Brokenhurst, in Hampshire, and of Cowsfield, Wiltshire, who lived in the twelfth century.

Everybody knows, in theory, that great families have their falls from rank as well as their ascents to social distinction. Shakespeare bore arms, yet his father was a butcher. Under the laws of primogeniture and the customs arising therefrom, it is easily understandable that by a descent through several generations from younger sons, none of whom has married an heiress, a family may pass in a short period from the aristocratic class to that of commoners.

The lack of land, which is usually the lot of younger sons, means, as a rule, the lack of means to keep up the manner of living which has become a tradition of their class, and soon these landless scions of great houses are forced to follow trades. So the process continues, and it was probably a more rapid descent in olden times than now. For "the old order changes" and younger sons, nowadays, have more opportunities to carve out fortune and place for themselves.

In the colonial period many persons of gentle lineage came to this country. A considerable proportion were university graduates and used coat-armor. Although there were numerous exceptions, Cambridge was ordinarily the *Alma Mater* of New England scholars, as it was of the Puritan party in England, while Oxford, strong on the Royalist and

Cavalier side in the seventeenth century, sent forth more of her sons to the Southern colonies.

It should be considered that they came to a savage wilderness. The physical need, the material danger, must be met first of all. That in the midst of the primitive conditions, and constant warfare, the spiritual and mental and social side of things should have held so important a place as they did in our ancestors' lives, indicates the presence of men and women to whom this was a tradition and an accustomed atmosphere. True, all of the colonists were not scholars, clergymen, physicians, or—in the North especially—proprietors of large estates. Necessaries must be supplied and trades practised.

The men of those days did what their hands found to do, and they did it with all their strength. Had they been unable to meet hardships with courage and efficiency they would not in most cases have come at all. But many a man left a home of English culture, the heir of centuries of gentle breeding, to plunge boldly into the conditions to be met, to dig from the wild forests a new home, to become the founder of a new house, to play his strong part against odds so terrible that only men born to be leaders could conquer.

Yet all the pioneers did not venture so great a stake in leaving England. There, many had been small tradesmen, practising humble avocations—farmers on land which belonged to others. Yet even among these many had descended from gentle and even knightly families, although the vicissitudes of fortune had brought them into a condition lower socially than that to which their blood entitled them.

It is interesting to trace this stream, through the obscure history of a



SHRINE IN THE HISTORIC OLD NARBURG CHURCH IN ENGLAND

Memorial to Sir John Spelman, an Eminent British Jurist, erected in 1662, at the Ancestral Estate to which thousands of Americans now turn—Spelman Coat-of-Arms, which is emblazoned on the cover of this issue of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, forms a crest to the monument

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family, back of the American ancestor to his English home and antecedents, sometimes following it through sluggish, hidden channels, sometimes coming out into the Old World gardens of an English manor house, or the stately park of a noble's castle, even, it may be, to the palace of a king, again to find it disappearing into the brook which plashes by a humble farmstead—it is a quest of fascinating possibilities.

Sir William Espileman and his son, William, probably were buried in the ancient little church of Brokenhurst, but no memorial of them remains there. The church was built probably in Saxon times—at least, no antiquarian's fancy has been daring enough to make it of the first Christian period in Britain, of the days when Glastonbury's "little, wattled church" was built. Domesday Book shows that a church was at Brokenhurst in the time of Edward the Confessor, and names one Alaric as owner of the land.

"The same Alaric," writes the Domesday chronicler, "holds one hide in Broceste [Brokenhurst] which was held in parcenary by his father and uncle, and was then assessed at one hide and now at one-half a hide. There is one ploughland in demesne, six borderers, and four servants, with a half ploughland. There is a church there and wood for XX hogs. It was worth in Edward's time XXXX shillings; afterwards iiii pounds"

Beside the church is an ancient yew tree, which tradition says has stood there since the Norman conquest. The road from the village has been thus described:

"For a piece of quiet English scenery nothing can exceed this. A deep lane, its banks a garden of ferns, its hedge matted with honeysuckle and woven together with

bryony, runs winding along a side space of green to the lich-gate, guarded by an enormous oak, its limbs now fast decaying, its rough bark gray with the perpetual snow of lichens, and here and there burnished with soft streaks of russet-colored moss, whilst behind it, in the churchyard, spreads the gloom of a yew, which, from the Conqueror's day to this hour, has darkened the graves of generations."

Sir William Espileman was living during the Second Crusade, 1147-1149. The plates upon the Spelman coat-of-arms may indicate that he was a crusader. When the crusaders left Constantinople, which they had entered on their way to the Holy Land, only to find that the apparent hospitality of the Eastern empire covered treachery and antagonism, it is said that many fastened to their shields Byzantine coins, and from this, it is believed, arose the use in heraldry of plates and bezants.

The Spelman arms are blazoned: Sable, ten plates between two flanches argent. Crest: A woodman. Motto: *Homo bulla*.

The name has had, and still has, many variants: Spelman, Spellman, Espileman, Spileman, Spilman, Spylman. Spelman is the most common use in this country, and has been so since the coming to America of Richard Spelman, in 1700.

William Spileman, son of Sir William Espileman, married Matilda, daughter of Sir William de Sarum, Knight. The ancestor of the long-after emigrant to America was not their eldest son, and did not, therefore, succeed to his father's lands, which passed, first, to Peter, the eldest son, who died without issue, and thence to Sir William Spileman, the second son. This Sir William died about 1291. Since his son, Peter, died without issue, the manors



Engraving of the Ancient Town of Thaxted, in County Essex, England, which, about the time of the Discovery of America, was one of the metropolises in England—To this shrine many Americans trace their ancestral lines—Here, in Thaxted, resided Thomas Spilman, who, in 1483, left a bequest for the restoration of the nave, and whose kinsman came to the new America some centuries later



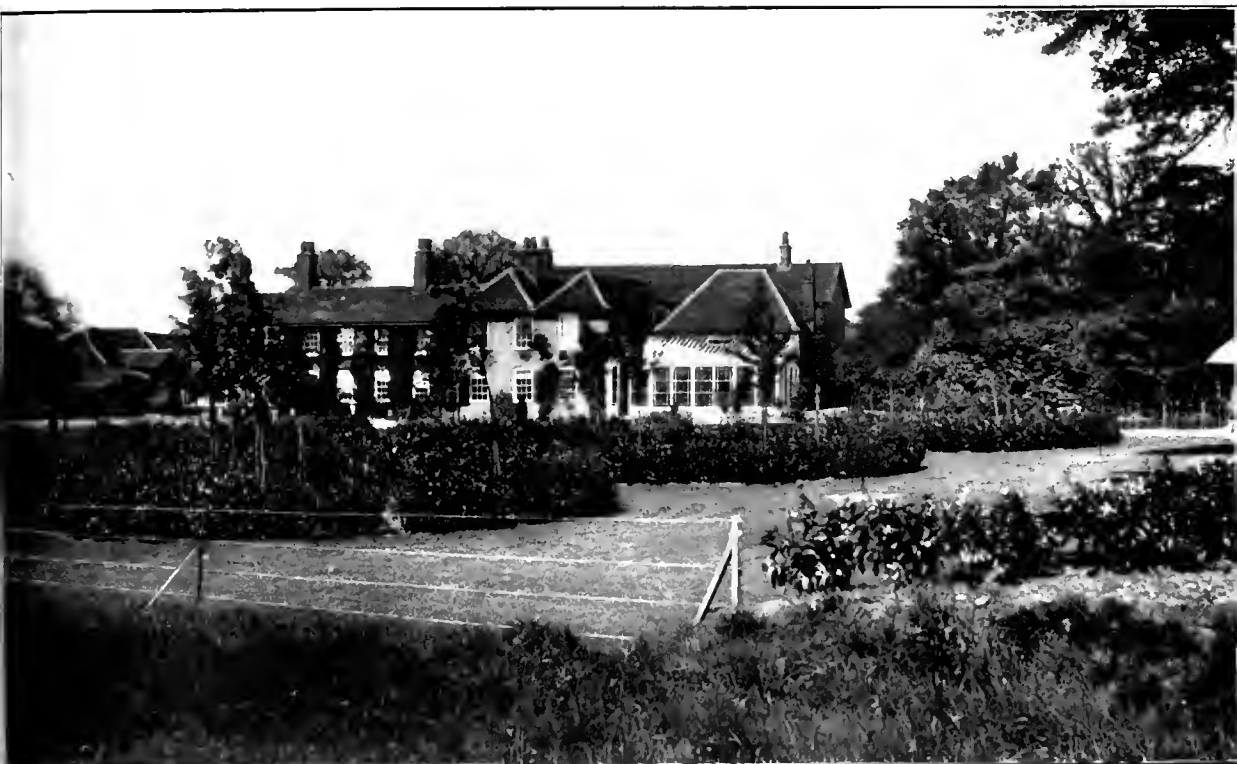
Beautiful manor-place of the Spilmans in the Fourteenth Century—Inherited by John Spilman from his father's estate at Bekerton Manor and known for generations as Spilman's-place, then Bekerton Hall and Water House, and finally Stow Hall—It is one of the most historic types of the ancient family estates which date back to about 1320 and was gathering place of knights and barons



BEAUTIFUL OLD ESTATE OF EVE'S CORNER IN DANBURY, ENGLAND—It is here that Richard Spilman, the first of his family to settle permanently in America, was born in 1665, to later bring his bride, Aicey French, to New England about 1696



ORIGINAL CHURCH BELONGING TO PRIORY BUILT IN TWELFTH CENTURY—Engraving of Christ Church in Hampshire, England, which was built around the nave of the original structure partly destroyed by Henry VIII—Engraving by Edward Finden




OLD FEUDAL CASTLE OF GAY BOWERS, IN DANBURY, ENGLAND—Sir Walter Scott told of the joyous life here in the reign of Henry IV—Richard Spilman, father of the American pioneer, was a tenant here at Gay Bowers, in 1685



SHRINE OF SIXTEEN GENERATIONS OF ANGLO-SAXONS—Manor-house at Cowsfield, Wiltshire, England, where Sir William Espilman, Knight, lived in the Twelfth Century—Progeny of this old estate settled in New England and Virginia



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of Brokenhurst and Cowsfield went to Sir William's daughters, Matilda and Katherine. Matilda married John de Grumstead, and their son, John, inherited Brokenhurst; while Cowsfield passed to John de Testewode, son of Katherine Spileman, who married Richard de Testewode.

Henry Spilman, the third son of William of the second generation, lived at Christ Church parish, Twineham, not far from Brokenhurst Manor. Christ Church—the building—as it now stands, is only the nave of the original church, which belonged to a priory and was partly destroyed by Henry VIII. The priory was built in the twelfth century, and its ruins still remain.

David, the younger of Henry Spilman's two sons, went to seek his fortune in a new county, Norfolk. It is possible that the other son, Robert, settled there also. Robert's son, Stephen, is recorded in 1320 as of Bekerton Manor, Stow, County Norfolk. Bekerton was not owned by the family at this time, but they were in all probability tenant-holders of the manor.

Stephen Spilman of Bekerton had two sons, John and Robert. From John descended the famous antiquarian, Sir Henry Spelman, while Robert was the ancestor of Richard Spelman, who came to Connecticut. in 1700. The Spilmans of Virginia claim descent from Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquarian, and there appear excellent reasons for the claim. Before continuing the history of the ancestry of Richard Spelman, it will be of interest to trace the line down to Sir Henry Spelman, and to give an account of the Virginia tradition.

John Spilman, son of the aforesaid Stephen of Bekerton Manor, as elder son inherited his father's possessions or holdings at Stow, and bought other land there. He named his residence Spilmans-place. This pass-

ed to his son, Henry, who built thereon additions, now known as the old part of the mansion. Spilmans-place was later called Bekerton Hall, then the Water House, and finally, Stow Hall. In the eighteenth century a historian of Norfolk wrote of it:

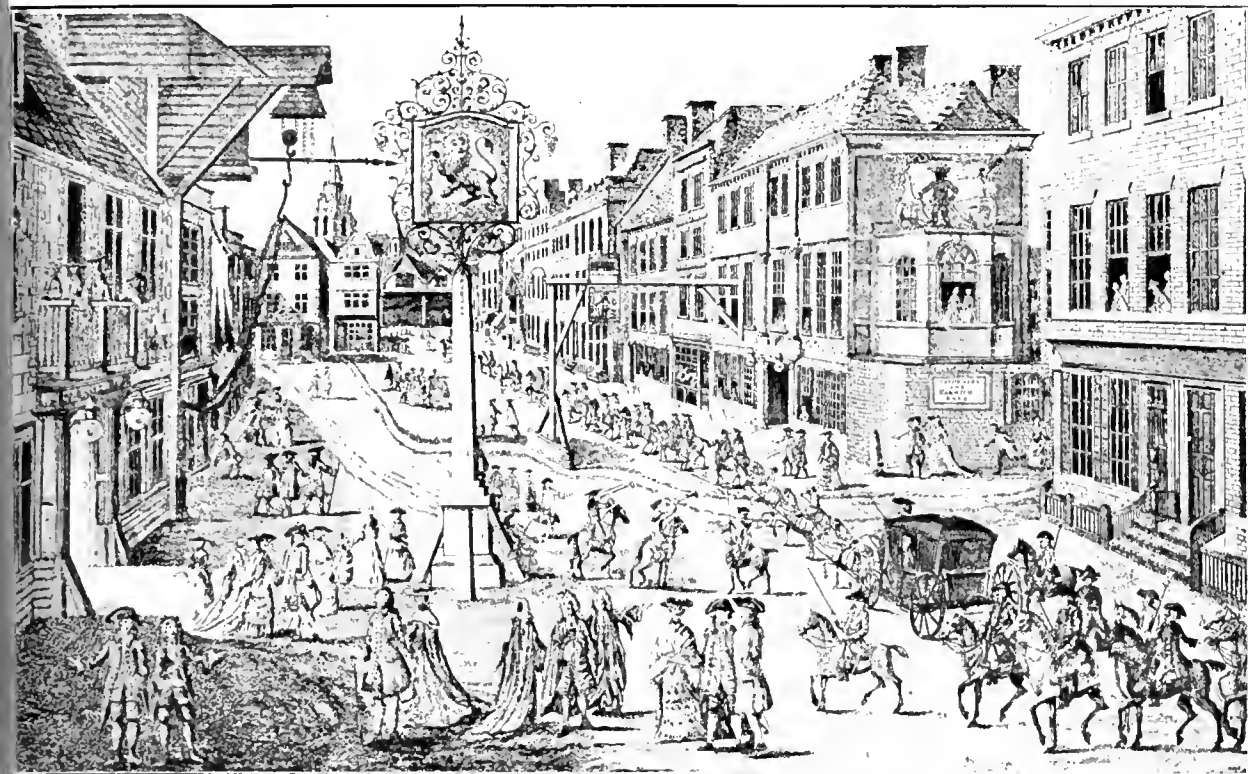
"In the parlour window I saw these shields, viz., Spelman, quartering gules, a chief ermine, impaling quarterly a chevron between three crescents, and a chevron between three leopards' faces: also Spelman impaling Manning and Brotherton."

Henry Spilman died in 1432. His son, Robert, was appointed, in 1464, prefect of the Collegiate Church of Saint Gregory in Sudbury, County Suffolk, where the ancestors of the Connecticut Spelmans later lived. Saint Gregory's College was founded, in 1375, by two brothers, Simon and John Theobald. Simon Theobald was the bishop of London and became archbishop of Canterbury. The college foundation was dissolved by Henry VIII, and the property given to Sir Thomas Paston.

John Spelman, brother of Robert, the prefect of Saint Gregory, became the lord of Bekerton Manor where, as stated, his family had resided for several generations, without actually owning the manor. There were at Stow three manors, Bekerton, Crow, and Bedon. John Spelman owned both Bekerton and Crow, and a later John Spelman acquired Bedon.

John Spelman's first wife, the mother of his heir, was Catherine, daughter of Thomas Styward of Swaffham, Norfolk. Their eldest son, Henry, advanced the family fortunes in many ways. He acquired much land other than what came to him by inheritance, and by his first marriage, to Ela, daughter and co-heiress of William de Narburgh, there came to the Spelmans the Narburgh estate. Narburgh was about twenty-five miles from Stow, and became





ANCIENT ENGLISH VILLAGE OF CHELMSFORD—It was here that the Spilmans lived in 1615—Thomas Hooker, founder of Hartford Connecticut, preached in Chelmsford in 1626—After drawing by David Ogbourne—Engraved by J. Ryland



ANCIENT VILLAGE OF DANBURY IN ENGLAND—Historic old village which is foundation of many American lineages—Danes were here defeated in terrific battle by Alfred the Great, according to its traditions—Here the Spilmans lived

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Henry Spelman's seat after his marriage. He was a lawyer, and became recorder of Norwich, the county-seat of Norfolk. His effigy in Narburgh Church is clad in the robes of office of recorder. On his tomb are the Spelman arms, quartered with Narburgh, and there is an inscription: "Pray for the soul of Henry Spelman, Recorder of the City of Norwich, and Ela, his wife, which said Henry died 18 Day of Sept., A. D., 1496."

The youngest son of Henry Spelman and Ela de Narburgh was Sir John Spelman, who followed in his father's footsteps and became eminent as a jurist. Both he and his brother, William, were knights. Narburgh Hall, as it stands today, was rebuilt by him. The mansion formerly bore many emblazonings of the Spelman coat-armor. It was over the entrance, quartered with Narburgh in a window in the hall, and in the drawing-room. Cut in stone on one of the walls, it still may be seen, while the mottoes, *Homo bulla* and *Quand Dieu voldra*, are carved on a ceiling.

Sir John Spelman died in 1545. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Henry Frowick of Gunnersbury, Middlesex. They were both buried in Narburgh Church and their altar-tomb is still there, with a figure of our Lord at the resurrection and effigies of a kneeling man and woman. Above that of the man is inscribed, *Jesu Fili Dei, miserere me*, and above the woman's effigy, *Salvator mundi, memento me*. Underneath, an inscription begins, "Syre John Spelman, Knight." The Spelman arms are shown, and on the robes of the effigy of Lady Elizabeth are the arms of Frowick and Sturgeon.

The fifth son of Sir John and Lady Elizabeth was Henry, who by his second marriage, with Frances Sanders, became the father of Sir Henry

Spelman, the famous antiquarian and scholar, author of the celebrated "History of Sacrilege." He died in 1643, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, by command of King Charles I.

One of Sir Henry's sons, Henry, came to Virginia as a lad of fourteen with Captain John Smith. He was captured by the Indians, escaped, but was taken prisoner again in 1623 and murdered. The boy on the stairway, in the painting in the capitol at Washington, of Pocahontas' marriage to John Rolfe, represents Henry Spelman.

Another son of Sir Henry was Clement Spelman, puny baron of the exchequer under Charles II. His grandson, Thomas, is said to have come to Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1729, and to have been the ancestor of the noted Virginia family of Spilmans.


Going back to Stephen Spilman of Bekerton Manor, Stow, it will be recalled that, besides his son, John, the ancestor of the Spelmans of Narburgh, he had a younger son, Robert, who was the ancestor of the Connecticut colonist. Robert left Stow and went, first, to nearby Attleborough, later settling in another county, Suffolk, at Sudbury. Sudbury was the home of the Spilman family for four generations.

Robert Spilman's elder son was Sir Anthony Spilman, Knight. The latter's second son, William, had a son, Thomas. He took up the thread of the family's wanderings and settled in Thaxted, County Essex, before 1469.

Thaxted was given by Edward IV to his daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Henry VII. Henry VIII presented the town to the queen, Catherine of Arragon. Later Elizabeth, as a princess, resided there at Horham Hall. Today it is a little, forgotten town of the Middle Ages. The railroad has left it undisturbed,



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and modern traffic and industries are to its tranquility unknown quantities. A witness to its early days of activity is the ancient Guild Hall of the Cutlers, and the "Cutlers' Green," for Thaxted was the home, long ago, of this industry.

The introduction of coal brought it to an end, and that was the last of "business" in Thaxted. The little windows of the old, mediæval houses peer sleepily from underneath the overhanging gables. The quiet streets go winding irregularly up hill and down dale, and all of Thaxted is but a charming Old World background for the church of Saint John the Baptist. It was built long ago—in or before the fourteenth century, for about 1337 the south porch was added. In Thomas Spilman's will, September 1, 1483, he left a bequest for the restoration of the nave.

Thomas Spilman was a butcher, evidently prosperous, and of good standing, for in 1478 he was made bailiff, and in 1483 inspector of the excise. Here then is a man whose grandfather, Sir Anthony Spilman, was a knight, and who himself was engaged in a trade as far removed from any connection with aristocracy as one can fancy.

The wife of Thomas Spilman was Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Herward, or Harward. Their eldest son was John Spilman. He was for some time engaged in business—probably that of his father—in Thaxted, but later removed to Great Baddow, or "Much Baddow," as it is sometimes quaintly called, in Essex, near Chelmsford. This place, like Thaxted, was a gift of Henry VIII to Queen Catherine. Morant, the old-time historian of Essex, wrote: "Much Badow . . . being a very pleasant village, it hath been inhabited long by Families of Fashion."

John Spilman's son, also John, married Margery. Her will was dated August 20, 1558. Her husband died in November, 1555, as recorded in the parish registers of Saint Mary's Church at Great Baddow.

John Spilman, son of the foregoing John and Margery, was, as appears in his will, a "pannyer-maker," that is, a maker of saddlebags and baskets. His marriage to Agnes Bereman, February 14, 1548, is recorded in the registers of Saint Mary's Church. Their son, Richard, was also a "pannyer-maker." His first marriage, September 15, 1577, was to Barbara Stabell. Before 1615, he had removed to Widford, a part of Chelmsford, two miles from Great Baddow. At Saint Mary's Church at Chelmsford was recorded his burial, May 17, 1618.


Richard Spilman, son of Richard and Barbara (Stabell), was baptized at Great Baddow, January 6, 1590. He married Lucy Spyte in Saint Mary's Church at Chelmsford, October 13, 1634, and his burial was recorded there, January 25, 1640-41.

About this time, in 1626, Thomas Hooker, the famous Puritan preacher, and later a founder of Hartford, in Connecticut, came to preach in Chelmsford. But Archbishop Laud did not permit him to stay there long, and he took up his preaching in a house in Little Baddow.

Richard Spilman and Lucy Spyte had a son, Richard. The latter lived a few miles from Chelmsford, at Danbury. In 1679, he became the tenant of Eve's Corner, at Runsell, in Danbury. Here he practised his trade of blacksmith and here still stand his house and smithy. Although still holding Eve's Corner, by 1685 he had become a tenant of Gay Bowers, in Danbury. Gay Bowers,



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delicious name of Old World fragrance—what fancies it evokes of green, blithe “pleasaunces” and “flowerful closes,” of meadows in the spring, “with daisies pied and violets blue,” and all the fresh and joyous life we dream was “Merry England’s.”

Long before Richard Spilman’s day, Gay Bowers, then a feudal castle, had belonged to the family of St. Clere. Sir Walter Scott wrote the last chapter of “Queenhoo Hall,” a novel left uncompleted by Joseph Strutt, in which the St. Cleres figure. The period is of Henry IV and part of the scene is laid at Gay Bowers, then almost in ruins.

Saint John’s Church at Danbury was built in the fourteenth century. There is an old legend that once the devil attacked Danbury Church and hurled down the steeple. This is said to have been in 1402. There are effigies in the church of St. Cleres of the olden time—three knights in armor, each with a lion at his feet.

Perhaps Danbury won its name from the Danish camp which once was there. The Danes were here defeated by Alfred the Great, and fell in such hordes that the flowers of the dwarf elder in all the fields about turned scarlet with the fierce, pagan blood—and now is “Danewort.” It is another of Danbury’s legends.


To Richard Spilman and his wife, Alice, in the house at Eve’s Corner, was born a son, Richard. His baptism in Saint John’s Church took place March 7, 1674, but, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Middletown, Connecticut, he was born in 1665. He married, first, Mary Baker of Tillingham. Their marriage license was dated in 1696. A son was born to them the following year, but probably died, as did his mother, sometime between 1696 and 1700, when Richard Spilman, or

Spelman, set sail for New England.

His second wife was Alcey French. If they were married in England, she was a girl bride of sixteen, for she was born in 1674. The family tradition is that Richard Spelman suddenly announced to her his immediate departure and implored her to accompany him. She was seated at her spinning-wheel, but, without waiting to take from her hand the wool she had wound there, she placed it in her lover’s, and together they left the old home, the old land, for the unknown life beyond the seas.

Their new home was at Middletown, Connecticut, where Richard Spelman was granted land April 8, 1704. The house which he built on this land stood until 1895. He died April 21, 1750, and was buried at Middletown. Alcey, his wife, died December 15, 1767, aged ninety-three. She was buried at East Granville, Massachusetts, where she died at the home of her son, Thomas Spelman. An extensive genealogy of the American descendants, by Mrs. F. C. W. Barbour, has recently been published.

Here then is the story in outline of sixteen generations of an English family, covering a period of five and a half centuries. Founded by a knight and ranking as “gentle,” in the line were knights and titled lords of manor, alternating with or succeeded by small farmers, tradesmen and artisans. But the changeful farings of the family, their wanderings from English shire to shire, all “the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,” did not suffice to change the blood—save to enrich it with the vigor of hardy life and the health of labor—which flowed alike in the veins of Sir William Espileman, Lord of Brokenhurst and Cowsfield, and of Richard Spelman, the blacksmith’s son, the American ancestor.

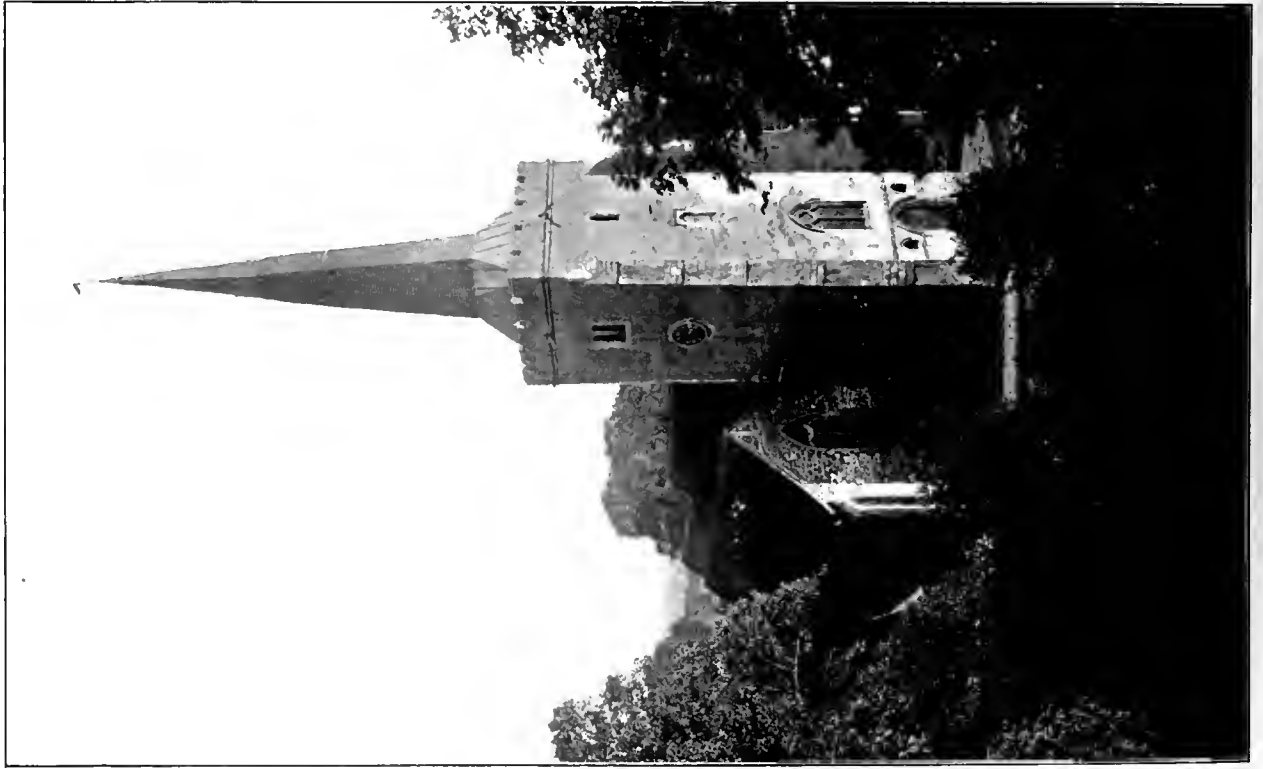




#### CHURCH BUILT BY THE SAXON FOREFATHERS

Historic old structure known as the Brokenhurst Church, in England, where lies the body of Sir William Espileman, Knight, the Lord of Brokenhurst in the Twelfth Century, whose progeny were to come to America and become builders of the democratic institutions of the New World—Domesday Book speaks of Church in time of Edward the Confessor—Beside the Church stands an ancient yew tree which, tradition says, has stood there since the Norman Conquest


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CHURCH BUILT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—Ancient edifice of St. John's  
 legend that the devil once resided there.



FIRST OF THE ESTABLISHED SPELMANS IN AMERICA—Tombstone in the old  
 cemetery at Millington, Tenn.



# Log of a Voyage to America in First Days of the Republic

Experiences of an Immigrant who came to the New World to find "Civil and Religious Liberty" & Remarkable Statement of Social and Economic Conditions in First Days of American Republic During Washington's Administration


WRITTEN IN 1794 BY  
**RALPH EDDOWES**  
CHESTER, ENGLAND

Original Manuscript in possession of A. B. Eddowes, Germantown, Pennsylvania


This remarkable manuscript was found recently by the descendants of a voyager to America in 1794. It relates the occurrences during the passage from Liverpool to Philadelphia, which required three months, and gives an interesting picture of the conditions of trade and commerce at that time. The document is one of those silent witnesses from the years long gone, which, in the picturesqueness of narration, takes the reader back to the days when the foundation of the American Nation was being laid. It is the testimony of a man who came to the New World to find "civil and religious liberty." He speaks frankly of the economic and social conditions and states that "accounts of America have been given with too high a degree of colouring." His testimony proves that human nature has changed very little since the beginning of the Republic and that general complaints regarding political conditions and the status of society existed in the Washington administration with considerable similarity to those which are now subject to discussion in the Taft administration. This life-document is an illuminating revelation, which, when compared with America today, throws a strong light upon the processes of society. It is transcribed in these pages accurately from the original written by Ralph Eddowes, of Chester, England, in 1794, and now in possession of A. B. Eddowes, Germantown, Pennsylvania. This interesting note in the handwriting of the voyager, appears at the beginning of the manuscript: "Since the time of Columbus it has seldom happened that a voyage from Europe to America has afforded any matter of General interest or entertainment. But as my removal from my native country must prove an event of some importance to my family and an account of the circumstances which attended it may not only be agreeable to them but perhaps of some use to those of my friends who may have a similar step in contemplation, I thought it not improper to commit the following narrative to paper. If it should accidentally fall into other hands I request it may be perused with the candour and indulgence do to these considerations."—EDITOR

**T**HE Embargo laid by the American Government on their shipping of the year 1794 had prevented the regular Liverpool Traders from arriving there at the usual time; and the only vessels which came thither previous to the month of June were such as had left America before the

Embargo took place and after delivering their Cargoes at other European ports came to Liverpool for a home lading. Of this number was the Barque *Hope* of Philadelphia, which, tho' not of the elegant mould nor provided with such convenient accommodations as most of the ships from that port, appeared to be a sufficiently safe bottom to entrust



# Log of a Voyage to America in 1794



with the valuable freight I intended to embark her. Her departure being fixed for an earlier day than that of any other vessel for America she was in a short time filled with Passengers and Goods.

We were in all above 60 persons, of whom more than 20 were children of almost every age under 13, so that the Cabin, steerage and forecandle were in a state rather too crowded to be altogether comfortable.

Captain Johnston, conscious probably that the *Hope* was a dull sailor, and apprehensive that our passage might be long, very prudently represented to the owner, Mr. Maury (American Consul at Liverpool) the necessity of laying in an extraordinary store of provisions and water, even at the expense of rejecting goods which were pressed upon him for freight with which Mr. Maury very humanely and generously complied; and happy it was in the event that he did so.

After much hurry and fatigue in preparing for our departure which but for the kind assistance of several of our Friends it would have been impossible to get thro' in so short a time, went on board the *Hope* as she was weighing Anchor in the Slyne on Friday, the 1st August, some of our friends accompanying us with the intention of returning in a Pilot Boat. The tide was so far spent that in going over the bar we touched ground, but immediately floated off again. We stood along the edge of Slyne bank with a gentle breeze at S. W. and ordered tea to be made by way of keeping up our spirits. When it was growing dusk we met with a Pilot boat which took our friends on board.

The Captain was humanely employed, when he could leave the deck, in administering tea and other kinds of relief to the patients but the


question "are you sick?" too frequently repeated, was of itself sufficient to render all his remedies of no avail. Nor was it until the word was given that we were safe at anchor in Slyle lake that we began to discover symptoms of returning life and reason. Even when I was pretty well recovered, the idea of "roasted ducks" which the Captain ordered for dinner, had nearly overset me again. It may be proper here to mention, that in addition to the salt provisions & bread belonging to the ship, the cabin passengers had agreed to lay in fresh stores of their own. So that besides the more minute articles of accommodation we had on board 6 hogs, 4 sheep, some dozens of fowl, ducks and geese, and we had procured 2 milch goats in hopes that they would at least supply us with milk for our tea. Of that necessary vegetable, potatoes, we had unfortunately purchased but a small quantity, under the idea that they were too new to keep good; what old ones we had were intended to feed the hogs, and indeed they were fit for no other use. The hay for our sheep and goats had not been properly secured so that it was either carried away or spoiled by the sea water in the gale above mentioned, and its place was but ill supplied by some grass which we procured while we lay in Slyle Lake. I shall subjoin to this narrative some remarks on the subject of the stores necessary to be laid in for a voyage of this nature—

On the third August it still continued to blow hard from N. W. so as to make it impossible for us to get to sea. August fourth, it continued blowing very fresh from the Northward, in the evening Mr. Wm. Nicholls, Mr. Hugh Smith and Mr. Johnson came on board us and expressed their satisfaction at finding us at a place of safety. Aug. fifth,





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The weather was moderate but as the wind was still unfavorable for getting out, our friends above mentioned were so obliging as to invite us to dine and drink tea on shore which we accordingly did.

Early on the morning of Wednesday Aug 6th we weighed anchor and got under way with a gentle breeze at S. E. which carried us past the banks; but it then came round to W. which obliged us to stand off the shore, and prevented us from proceeding further that day than the offing of the Ormshead. The sight of this formidable promitory gave me no small uneasiness, from the apprehension of another westerly gale before we should get clear of it; neither was this uneasiness lessened by our being becalmed in this situation on the morning of August 7th. This part of the channel abounds with small fowls of the Diver species and numerous shoals of Gurnets which in the calm diverted themselves on the surface of the water. Our endeavours to catch them by the hook and line were rather unsuccessful, as not more than two or three were taken.

About 10 o'clock, a breeze sprang up from the Eastward and carrying us within sight of the Isle of Man, gave us hopes of being able to make the passage round the North of Ireland, which we much wished to do that we might have the better chance of avoiding interruption from the Cruizers which might probably be met with in going by the way of Cape Clear. This hazard however it seemed we were to run for while we were at dinner, the wind came to N. we therefore put about and stood to the Southward. We made so much way that afternoon and the night following that by the morning of the 8th we were out of sight of the Isle of Angelsea, and about noon had a view of the small lighthouse and St.


Davids head, the last British Land our eyes beheld. In the afternoon a Brig standing across us at a considerable distance fired a gun and hoisted English colours, which we not taking any notice of, she fired another, upon which we shewed our 13 stripes and stood on our course without interruption.

In the morning of the 9th of August we had a fine prospect of the hills on S. E. coast of Ireland; but our fair wind was dying away almost to a calm, and in the afternoon a fresh westerly breeze obliged us to stand off the land to the Southward; and next morning (Sunday 10th) we had quite lost sight of it. This little spurt of contrary wind renewed the symptoms of the seasickness and brought on drowsiness, qualmishness and loss of appetite. In the afternoon being now upon the other tack, we again approached the coast & found ourselves nearly opposite the harbour of Kinsale. We stood on within a little more than a mile of the shore, which is remarkably high and bold, and had a view of several vessels of different sizes coming out of Cork harbour with the tide of ebb. Towards Sunset we put about & took a final leave of the European shores. We now experienced one of the most uncomfortable circumstances attending a sea voyage. A thick mist came on which penetrated everything we wore, made our hands and faces damp and clammy & could not be kept out of the cabin without our incommoding ourselves still more by heat; and we found by experience that this dampness will gradually get thro' large chests of clothes which will be in danger of spoiling unless care be taken to give them a thorough airing as soon as they are brought on shore. The next day (Aug. 11th) the wind became more favorable & of course the invalids became more





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alert & spent most of the day upon deck, on the 12th the weather was still finer, the wind blew gently from the S. E. All our passengers appeared upon deck—no complaints of sickness or want of appetite & the occupations of seeing knitting, card playing &c. gave an air of domesticity to the scene which rendered it highly pleasing. We were also amused by a new appearance—Several large Grampuses swam about the ship & frequently approached very near to it.

I was called upon to bring my musket which I accordingly loaded and snapped at a Grampus which came close along side. It luckily missed fire—I say *luckily* for a moments reflection convinced me that it could not be right to destroy an innocent animal which if killed could not have been taken and consequently would be of no use to us. I was much diverted at this time by the strange and unaccountable superstition of Sailors. We had a young cat on board which being almost constantly in the cabin became very dirty and disagreeable so that threats were thrown out of drowning her. This being told the Captain, "I would not have it done for 1000£" said he. "I was once coming from the West Indies to America and somebody hove the cat overboard and d—n me if we had not a 13 weeks passage with nothing but foul winds, a leak in the ship and short allowance." The apprehension of such dire calamities made us give up all designs upon the life of Miss puss—She was however banished from the Cabin until she learned better manners—In the evening a sail was seen apparently standing the same course as us.

Aug. 13th. The weather still very fine; we were now quite out of soundings & fairly entered upon the vast Atlantic Ocean. The water had lost that greenish colour which it has

nearer the coast and was become of a deep transparent blackish blue. The swell appeared in waves of immense extent, even when there was little or no wind, and we generally found it come from the Northward—whether from the sea being open that way as far as the coast of Greenland & being probably agitated by high winds in those wintry regions or from what other course I cannot satisfactorily determine. Its appearance however strikes the imagination as something grand and awful. The sail we had seen the evening before, proved to be a brig which seemed to edge towards us, as if to meet us in our course. We did not much like this manouvre; she however took no notice of us but kept edging off to the Northward till we lost sight of her.


About 11 o'clock this day the Captain was aware of the back fin of a Shark appearing above the water; and there were also plainly seen the fins of about a dozen small ones close together. These were probably the female and a brood of young ones. A large hook fastened to a few links of chain, tied to a strong line, and baited with a piece of pork, was thrown overboard over the stern, and in a short time we perceived that the old one had taken it. Being hauled on board, the end of a piece of wood was crammed into its mouth and its tail cut off with the stroke of an axe, to prevent it doing mischief to the hands or legs of the people. It was of the blue kind & about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, consequently but small. It was said to be an uncommon circumstance for a shark to be taken as high as Lat. 50 as they are seldom found much above the tropics. The nose of this animal projects so far over its mouth that it is obliged to turn on one side in order to seize its prey. It has a most formidable apparatus





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of teeth, they are so fixed as to point inwards towards the throat, and each tooth is jagged at the edges like a saw; so that it never looses its hold of what it has once fixed them on; but if the object be too large to be swallowed at once, it must be tore piecemeal. The flesh was boiled; & I had the curiosity to taste it. It was rather insipid but in some circumstances might furnish no unwelcome repast. There are two other species of shark—The Tyger, still more than the blue; and the Shoal-headed (one of which we saw in the course of the voyage) said to be harmless and so called from the shape of its head. In the evening we were entertained with the freaks of a shoal of Porposies. This we had frequent opportunities of seeing repeated. They swim to the head of the vessel jump a considerable height out of the water as if on purpose to look at it, and dart to and fro in every direction with inconceivable activity.


When the sea is smooth as it now was they will seem to race with each other, throwing themselves forward out of the water many yards at a leap. The sailors who are fond of prognosticating, say they always swim toward that point which the wind will blow from. This indeed happens sometimes but is far from always holding good. They also pretend to foretell a gale of wind from the appearance of a small bird which they call mother Carey's chickens, it is much like a swallow & hovers about in the ships wake picking up whatever crumbs or small matters may happen to drop overboard. This bird and the sheerwater are seen from one side of the Atlantic to the other. A circumstance not a little surprising when it is considered how necessary it must be for them at some seasons to quit the watery element & to what a prodigious dis-

tance from land their flight extends. Our spirits were now so elevated with the fine weather & fair wind that we seemed to have the desired land almost in view, and like young sailors, were begining to calculate *how short* our passage might be, if these favourable circumstances should continue—as for sea sickness we thought no more of it.


On the morning of Thursday 14th of Aug. the wind still continued to favor us in a fresh breeze from N. N. E. but in the afternoon came to N. W. While it blew from this quarter, it would not have been prudent to stand to the Southward, as that course was likely to carry us into the way of Cruizers and might have thrown us into a danger which we most of all dreaded, that of meeting with Algerine corsairs—we therefore turned the N. N. E. tho' this was too much like losing ground, it was at least gaining none, & was sufficient to throw a damp upon the gaiety we had just before indulged. In addition to this we perceived that we had yet more sickness to undergo, & that so far from being thoroughly seasoned it was probable every contrary gale would occasion its return.

In these unfavorable circumstances we spent Friday Aug. 15th. The following day at noon (the westerly wind & our northerly course continuing) we saw a sail right ahead. As she came directly towards us we could not make out what she was but imagined she might be the Brig we had seen going to the Northward a few days before. On her nearer approach however we discovered her to be a ship, & our minds were set at rest as to her pacific intentions by observing that she carried no guns. When we came within hail we were informed that she was the *Fame* of Boston laden with Tobacco and staves for Liverpool, but had that





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morning been made prize of by a French Frigate (The *Concorde*, as we understood) & was then steering under the command of a prize-master for Rochelle; and this distressful situation of her affairs she confirmed by hoisting her colours *reversed*. We have been told however that she was retaken by her crew, and got safe into Liverpool.

This was Melancholy intelligence for us, as it proved that the American flag was by no means a certain protection from being carried into France by which tho' our property was insured. & tho' as a friend to the cause of liberty we might hope for kind usage, yet the derangement of all our plans & the certainty of an enormous expense while we should be detained there would have been little less than ruin to us. We had been willing to persuade ourselves that Emigrants to America in American vessels would meet with no other than polite treatment from French Cruizers & be suffered to proceed on their voyage without interruption. But uneasy as the present circumstance made us, how must that uneasiness have been increased had we known the resolution of the Convention to seize the persons of English passengers of every description & destroy their property, which was carried into execution in the case of Mr. Russell. Such as circumstances were however they were sufficient to render me very miserable. Every moment we expected to fall in with the French Frigate which we assumed must be just in our neighborhood. It was even asserted one evening that her lights were seen; the unfavorable position of the wind prevented us from getting out of her way & as it then blew fresh, the return of the sickness sunk me to the lowest ebb of dejection.

For 11 days little or no alteration took place. This *hard hearted* wind, as the sailors termed it kept incessantly blowing & sometimes very


fresh from W. N. W. to W. S. W. or if it came, for a short time, more to the Northward, it was then so light as to prevent us making any way. The sickness now took full hold of me. Whole days as well as nights I spent in bed without ever putting off my clothes, in a kind of listless stupor, or if I slept, my imagination was disturbed by most frightful dreams, my waking thoughts were no less afflictive, I was ready to accuse myself of having without sufficient cause taken away my innocent family from a comfortable home & competent substance & having exposed them to certain destruction by one kind of death or other upon the wide waste of Waters. For it seemed to me that if the wind continued to blow, our provisions must be daily expending and if after a long time we should arrive on the coast of America a North West hurricane might drive us off, & even tho' we should not be totally exhausted, carry us away to the West Indies into a burning and perhaps infectious climate.

The idea too of my children crying for food & perishing of hunger sometimes wrung my heart with inexpressible anguish. If I attempted to leave my bed or to crawl upon deck, the motion of everything around me soon unsettled my brain & unable to hold up, bed was again my only refuge. I was sensible of a want of food & therefore sometimes forced it upon my stomach but it was almost immediately thrown up again. Sago and Tapioca were almost the only nourishment I could take with now & then a dried apple, I thought I had too long neglected physic & therefore took a pretty large dose of Castor oil, This operated so violently as to reduce me almost to Extremity; but it restored my appetite for solid food; and one of our sheep being killed I ate the heart broiled, with voracious eagerness. I suppose no





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other person on board exhibited so miserable a figure as I did at this time & I recollect but two others who were anything like so ill. To the uneasiness of body & mind I underwent, the confusion always occasioned by beating against a hard and contrary wind was no small addition.

This confusion was made up of the clapping of doors, the creaking of timbers, the crashing of crockery & glass, the screaming of hogs & poultry, the trampling of feet just over my head, the swearing of sailors, the squalling of children, the dashing of waters, the roaring of winds &c. &c. The sudden heaves which that vessel sometimes made would scarce have failed to excite immoderate laughter. One of the last days I sat at table a smoking hot breast of boiled mutton tumbled into my lap, I caught it in both hands & replaced it as well as I could upon the dish—as to the Caper sauce it was irrecoverable. At another time one of our passengers standing near the table was thrown clear over it & by the way made a complete somerset pitching upon his head in the middle of the table without any injury

On the 28th Aug. at sunrise we had a fresh breeze from N. N. W. with a clear sky. It increased to a smart Gale with frequent squalls of rain. Towards evening all sails were taken in except the foresail, which about nine at Night was rent from top to bottom. It was a troublesome business to get another bent to the yard at that time of the Night; it was however effected & we *lay to* till morning. *Lying to* is placing one or more of the sails in such a position & lashing the rudder in such a direction that the action of each shall exactly counterbalance the other, & then the ship makes no way, but presenting her broadside to the wind drives before it at a slow rate, and in an open sea this situation is reconed so secure (when the wind is not very violent


indeed) that the sailors leave the helm and go to sleep with the greatest composure. This was the hardest gale we had hitherto encountered & alarmed us not a little; but as the Captain after giving all the necessary orders above came down into the cabin & with a cheerful, tranquil tone of voice assured us there was no danger, we soon dismissed our fears.

Our observations of the Latitude now convinced us that while the contrary winds had prevented us making any considerable progress westward, we were by currents or some other causes driving very fast to the Southward, and as we were now approaching the Longitude of the Western Islands where the Algerines are supposed to rendezvous, we were not without uneasiness on this head. Early on the morning of the 1st September a sail was observed right ahead making towards us. Various were the conjectures among us what she would prove, but we would have gladly exchanged the uncertainty of her being an Algerine for the certainty of her being a Frenchman. A gun which she fired to Windward when within a mile of us did not alleviate our apprehension, this being generally considered a mark of hostility, as the firing to leeward is of friendship. Upon this we hoisted our colours, looking anxiously what she would show in return. As she stood directly toward us we could not make out what they were, nor were we quite satisfied on discovering the end of a ragged English Jack peeping from behind her sails. However we were hailed by her Captain in very good English, who told us she was the *Amy* of London homeward bound from Hispanola, that he had been 10 weeks out, for three of which he had been becalmed, and begged to know if we could spare him a little bread. After some hesitation Captain Johnson agreed to let him





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have some, at the same time inviting him to breakfast with us. He hoisted out a small crazy boat which was with difficulty kept afloat, from one ship to the other, took our bread and gave us some Rum in return but declined staying to breakfast. We seized this opportunity of writing letters to our friends, which we have the satisfaction to find reached them in good time & we parted, mutually pleased with our morning adventure.

On the 3d September we spoke a Danish Brig from Santa Cruz to Copenhagen. At this time we lost one of our Goats. We strongly suspected the poor animal had received a blow in the mouth from one of the salors, its teeth appearing to be driven in. It made such piteous moans that it was thought best to put it out of its pain. The want of food had made both these creatures extremely troublesome so that they could scarcely be kept off the quarter deck where they picked up a few scanty grains out of the fowl troughs and as they had of course ceased to give any milk the other was not suffered long to survive.

The morning of Sunday 7th Sept. being remarkably fine we were called upon deck to behold a sight rather new to us, which was, all the studding sails set, to make the most of a fine easterly breeze, the first we had had for many days. Every eye glistened with pleasure & we felt our former cheerfulness revive. I was now beginning to recover from the sickness, I was indeed scarcely able to sit at table to my meals but frequently had my dinner sent me upon deck where I began to eat it with a pleasant relish. By very slow degrees I became able to walk the deck with a firm step, but I think I could scarcely pronounce myself perfectly cured until within three weeks of the time of our arrival. We were now ready to entertain hopes of being yet able

to reach America by the first week in October—a calculation in which it proved we were egregiously mistaken—We also began to fall in with the Gulph weed, the apperance of which is thus accounted for. It is well known that the trade wind constantly blowing from the Eastward between the Tropics throw a large body of Water into the Gulph of Mexico. This rushes out with great force thro the narrow passage between the Bahama Islands & the coast of Florida carrying along with it the weed which is loosened by the stream from the rocks on which it grows. This current is called the Gulph stream and runs to the N.W. paralell with the American coast & at the distance of a few degrees from it till it nearly reaches the extremity of the Banks of Newfoundland where meeting with the current from the River St. Lawrence it spreads itself to the Southward over the surface of the Atlantic and returns to supply the place of the water driven to the westward by the Trade winds, thus keeping up a constant circulation.

The fine breeze & fine weather continued the whole of this day & I scarcely remember a more beautiful scene than the evening presented. The moon was nearly at full, its beams played delightfully on the surface of the tranquil deep which was just curled by the gentle breeze, now & then "peerless light" was veiled but not obscured by then transparent clouds, while several Dolphins frisked round the ship & amused us by their gambols tho their form could be but indistinctly perceived. The light of the celestial bodies at sea is full deep & intense. The stars do not twinkle and are clearly seen even at the horizon & the planets appear unusually bright & large; so that there are either fewer vapors in the atmosphere at sea or they are more






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intimately mixed & dissolved in it than over the land.


On the 8th Sept. our Lat. was 43, & we began to feel the effects of a warm climate. We were not only happy to have recourse to our awning (an article no ship should be without) but were glad to lay aside our upper garments & walk the deck in our shirts or waistcoats. On the following day we were becalmed; a situation scarcely less disagreeable than a storm. In a calm it seldom happens that the sea is quite still, indeed it is frequently much agitated. The sails then flap to and fro against the masts so that it is often necessary to furl them. The helm loses all power over the ship & she wheels around in every direction and in short is a mere log on the surface of the water. The effect of this situation is a correspondent depression of spirits. On the morning of the 10th we saw at a considerable distance a large ship in a situation exactly similar to our own. About noon a light breeze sprang up which enabled us both to stand on our courses hers was easterly so that we were likely to meet, and our Captain prepared to speak to her. But when she came within two miles of us she hauled her wind on purpose to avoid us, & tho' we hoisted our colours, would not shew hers in return. When we were got past her, she stood on again leaving us not a little hurt at her churlish behaviour. From the 11th to the 15th, we had a succession of calms & gentle breezes which tho' mostly in our favour did not carry us forward with a speed equal to our wishes; and we began to doubt the certainty of our calculation as to the time of our arrival. The Equinox likewise was approaching when heavy gales might be expected & upon the whole our spirits did not rise higher than *moderate* in the scale of hope. On the 16th however, after a few

flashes of lightning (the first we had seen since the day of our departure) a fresh easterly breeze sprang up which continued on the 17th & made us look out for signs of our approach to the banks of Newfoundland. On the 18th September, the breeze still increasing we passed about noon a fine turtle sleeping on the surface of the waters; but as we were not aware of it till close along side & we were going at the rate of 5 or 6 knots, all we could was to lick our lips at the idea of the Callipash & callipea. As the evening came on the gale increased to a perfect hurricane; and after it had continued some hours, the wind suddenly shifting a tremendous sea broke over us. In a few minutes the Captain came down with the melancholy tidings that all our pigs were gone overboard; and instantly the thought of short allowance added to the horrors of the storm. A Greyhound belonging to one of the passengers was washed off at the same time with the pigs, but had the good fortune to be thrown on board again. One of the crew was hurt tho' not materially by the dashing of a cask against his back, and a hogshead of fresh water which stood on the main deck was stoved and broke to pieces.

And now when the gale was over, some serious questions were started as to the state of our provisions. We had hitherto lived entirely on our own stock (the sheep being all killed) or if we had a little now & then of the ships provisions it was only by way of relish or variety. We recollected that there was yet a kitt of Pickled Salmon untouched, but upon opening it, the contents emitted such a intolerable stench, that we hove it overboard in all haste. It was true we had some poultry, pretty well of materials for puddings & a full allowance of bread, but the bare idea of retrenchment was sufficient to alarm.



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(20th Sept.) The heat was almost suffocating & the sky overhung with threatening clouds which discharged sheets of lightning and peals of thunder. The lightning in these latitudes is much more awful than in the more northern ones. *There* it is only a single flash but *here* it is an instantaneous succession of 3, 4 or 5 flashes or rather *blazes* of vivid and red coloured flame. This continued with many heavy squalls all the forenoon of the 21st. About 10 o'clock a great sea broke over us. My bed being in the starboard state room, a sliding door by the side of it opened upon the companion ladder. The imprudence of some of our young people led them to stand on the top of the ladder, with all the companion doors open, that they might see how the storm went on, when the sea above mentioned came pouring over the quarter deck & down the companion hatchway like a torrent. They had the reward of their ill timed curiosity in a hearty soaking; & it had been little matter if they had been the only sufferers. But my door being open, the spray flew over me as I lay in bed, & besides wetting me very much, came in a large stream into the state room, on the floor of which stood many of our trunks & boxes with clothes which if the water had penetrated, it must have damaged very materially.

These heavy gales were from a quarter which directly prevented our progress if they did not actually put us back & this thought added very much to the depression of our spirits. In the morning of 22nd Sept'r, we saw two sail astern of us. One of these was a schooner and as these vessels are noted for quick sailing we were not much surprised to perceive her gaining on us pretty far to the windward. We hoped to preserve our distance from the other, but found

ourselves much mistaken, & now began to perceive that the *Hope*, tho' a good sea boat in a gale of wind was a mere hay stack in point of Sailing. This ship came up with us early in the afternoon & proved to be the *Sally* of New York. Among several passengers who appeared on her deck were two Ladies and a Gentleman who Enquired whether Mr. Cooper were on board of us. The Captain of the *Sally* mentioned having fallen in with several vessels which had suffered severely in the late gales, and he, himself had lost his fore top gallant mast & jib boom. While the *Sally* was speaking us we observed the sea break very frequently over her fore castle and main deck, but as this was not the case with us, we endeavoured to console ourselves by this reflection for the slow motion of our Barque.


On the 23d Sept'r the wind & weather were remarkably variable. To a fine morning succeeded, in a few hours, a thick lowering sky with torrents of rain & a thunder storm, the course of which was contrary to the direction of the wind. On the 24th we were again *overtaken* by an American ship, called the *Draper*, from Dublin to New York, full of passengers. The same night we had a heavy gale from S. W. but got through it without damage of any kind. On the 25th, the *Draper* being about 3 miles ahead we observed a sail bearing down upon us under American colours. The *Draper* hoisted hers and lay to; and we came up just as the stranger spoke her. She was a brig from Alexandria & from her we obtained a correction of our longitude which she informed us was 51° 30' & as our Lat. was 42 we found we were nearly on the Edge of the Banks. From this vessel we had the satisfaction to learn that Philadelphia had not been visited







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with a return of the fever & at parting her Captain put the friendly question "are you in want of any thing?" We passengers could have told him of several things that we either did or might want but Captain Johnston did not choose to acknowledge any necessity. It generally happens that on the edge of the banks, there is what is called a *ground swell*; and it was now remarkably heavy, inasmuch that tho' the *Draper* was abreast of us at no greater distance than 500 yards or so, frequently little than her top gallant masts were to be seen. We wished her a little further off & in the night were so near each other as to be in some danger of running foul. The sea here lost its blue colour and the Dolphin & the Gulph weed entirely dissapeared. We were taught to expect in crossing the Banks wet & uncomfortable weather & the 26th Sept'r proved so in a remarkable degree. The next day we had an extreme of another kind, the sky being quite clear and the air piercingly cold. In the afternoon we were amused by a couple of whales which threw up the water in the form of smoke or steam of ten or a dozen yards. They did not appear very near us & we could only now & then perceive the backs of these enourmous animals. Toward evening we observed a Hawk hovering about the ship & after several attempts to find a convenient resting place he fixed himself upon the main cross trees. As soon as it was dark one of the sailors went up and caught him. This bird must have been a great length of time upon the wing as we judged that the nearest land must be more than 240 miles from us. We kept him alive for a considerable time but some accident put an end to his existence before we reached our port. The next morning (28th Sept'r) we hove to & cast the lead


but found no bottom with 90 fathoms & being just upon the southern extremity of the Banks & not in a proper situation for fishing our hope of a supply of provisions from that quarter were disappointed to our no small mortification, with a calm that succeeded by no means tended to alleviate.

A fine fresh breeze from the N. & N. N. E. on the 29th Sept'r healthful & invigorating, made us all alive; and on the 30th a strong gale at S. W. brought with it all the relaxing warmth of Summer & again cast us down. On the first October, the northerly breeze again restored the agreeable temprature of the atmosphere, and now approaching the banks which skirt the American shore we fell in with immense Shoals of Porpoises which seemed to cover the sea as far as the eye could reach. On the 2nd we were favored with an easterly breeze, but, as happened very frequently, it veered around to the south, where it increased to a gale. We were not much inclined to complain of it, as we were willing to believe it put us forward at a greater rate than it actually did, while with the chart almost constantly in our hands we were making our progress with anxious calculations and now hoping that we might reckon at least upon Long. 65, we concluded the remaining 10 degrees would soon be rubbed off. Westerly winds & light airs on the 3d & 4th Oct'r did not however add much to our reckoning, a northerly breeze on the 5th & 6th made some amends. A sign of approaching land also cheered our hearts a little and this was the appearance of small fishes about the ship, two of which of the lituous species were taken.

We now again fell in with the flying fish and Gulph weed from which we concluded ourselves to have arrived at the edge of the Gulph Stream



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which is nearly in Long. 67, and we thought ourselves warranted in entertaining this opinion from the irregular swell & frequent squalls we experienced on the 7th.

Awaking about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 8th & perceiving the moon shine very bright I arose and went upon the deck & found the sailors busy in setting the studding sails to catch a fine easterly breeze that was just springing up. I met there a French *ci-devant* Compté who had been aide de camp to Fayette & had taken steerage passage aboard the *Hope*. It must have been mortifying to a great degree to this poor man who had known formerly what luxury and high living were, to find himself obliged, as all steerage passengers are, to perform almost every day the meanest office for himself. He was always terrified to death when a sail came in sight lest it should prove a Frenchman, expecting in case of Capture to find no mercy, but we now congratulated each other on the prospect of a speedy period of our anxieties, & it was a considerable time before we returned to our beds.

Our joy was premature, the breeze freshened and began to carry us on at a great rate, but soon after sun rise, the sky was overcast, toward noon it became thick with small rain & blew hard. At this time we fell in with a Brig from New York, who told us they had left the east end of Long Island 3 days before & that our Long. was certainly no more than 63. It was a mortifying stroke to be thrown back at once no less than 5 degrees; but how gladly soever we would have proved our informant mistaken, the shortness of the time he had been at sea was a circumstance evidently in favor of the truth of his calculation. This man repeated the neighbourly question "are you in want of any thing?" but tho' we had


been ever so desirous of profiting by his friendship, it was next to impossible, for it now blew so hard as to have made it extremely hazardous to hoist out a boat.

As night approached the storm grew more violent; but coming from the eastward we were the less alarmed at it. When a ship goes right before a gale of wind she rolls very much from side to side; & in such circumstances an attempt to make a regular meal is attended with much inconvenience & confusion. This was the case with those who chose to go to supper, as to me, I had committed myself to the safe custody of my bed. For some time this produced a good deal of merriment but matters at length grew serious; chairs, cups & saucers, bottles, basons, trunks, boxes &c. tumbled in heaps over one another; it was all "confusion worse confounded." And now the rain & sea together pouring in the cabin windows it became necessary to put in the dead lights, & the entrance of air being thus impeded, the heat became intolerable. Dreadful thunder & lightning added to the horrors of the scene, & the wind blew with such force, that to use the captain's expression "you could not hold the edge of a razor up to it." The ship made many sudden & violent rolls, by one of which my youngest little girl was pitched out of bed & thrown almost across the cabin. The poor child was so fast asleep, that, sudden as the shock was it seemed scarcely to awake her—she received not the slightest injury & the next morning did not appear to recollect any thing that had happened.

About midnight the storm was at the height. I have mentioned the sliding door at the side of my bed, that opened immediately upon the companion way ladder & I could well enough distinguish any one who went



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up or down. The Captain had a tomahawk axe with which, he used to say, he could in five minutes cut away the mast of any vessel. I perceived him going up the ladder with this axe in his hand, & immediately afterwards heard several quick strokes above. I prepared myself to hear the crash of the main mast going over the side every moment, but was soon informed that the fore sail (the only canvas we had out) was rent into rags, & that the noise I heard was the remnants of it flapping in the wind. The mate at the imminent hazard of his life went upon the yard with the axe to clear away the wreck, and in addition to this misfortune the step of the main top gallant mast broke, & carrying away the crosstrees the mast hung down, held only by its rigging. The fore top gallant sail, tho' furled, but in the hurry, perhaps not properly secured, was blown quite away; and now there was nothing left for us but to try to scud under bare poles, for there was no attempting to lie to. Many a vessel will not answer the helm in such circumstances, in which case she is in imminent danger of being overwhelmed in the trough or hollow of the sea between two waves. All hands were now called to the tiller, while the mate lay down close to the binnacle (where it was with the utmost difficulty a light was kept in) to give directions how to steer, and she was happily kept before the wind & sea.

The poor fellows were drenched with both fresh & salt water, the rain pouring down like a cataract & the waves beating over the decks. In this situation a dram of spirits is highly necessary, but ours being all expended we supplied their place as well as we could with wine.


The damage above mentioned with the loss of some of our quarter boards, was, through the interposition of a

kind Providence all we sustained, but the Captain said he expected every moment to have been obliged to cut away the main mast & that nothing else would have saved us from destruction if she could not have been kept before the wind. When a ships mast is to be cut away the rigging on the lee side is first separated, & when the weather ropes are divided, the mast, having nothing to support it, is broken off, & if properly cleared goes over the side in an instant.

As the morning advanced the storm abated, & when we met at breakfast we congratulated each other with thankful hearts on our preservation. Disagreeable as our situation had been, that of the steerage passengers was much more so; and crowded & shut up as they were while the heat was so great, it is wonderful how they escaped absolute suffocation; indeed some of them chose rather to be out in the worst weather than stay below. All this day (9th Oct'r) the wind kept gradually subsiding but left a very heavy disagreeable swell & rolling sea.


On the 10th in the morning we saw, pretty far astern of us a vessel apparently in distress. Perceiving that she stood the same course with us; we hauled up courses & took in some other sail to wait for her coming up. As she approached, we saw she had no foresail, main top mast or fore top gallant mast. We therefore put about and bore down to her, displaying our colours.

We perceived she carried no guns & were of course somewhat surprised to see her hoist an English ensign. She was the *Queen Charlotte* from Bristol bound to Baltimore & had met with this damage in the late gale. She did not however shew any signs of actual distress, & was then getting another foresail bent. We therefore resumed our course & soon got considerably ahead of her, but what was our mortification to find





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that in her crippled condition, when she had got matters a little to rights, she far away outsailed us & stretching off to windward soon lost sight of us. Such a bum boat as ours surely never went to sea?

On the 11th, the wind being N. W. we found by our observation at noon, our Lat. to be  $37^{\circ} 20'$  which being too far to the south, we tacked in the evening & stood Northward, but this was making no progress. The 12th brought us fine weather indeed, but no change of wind. To keep up our spirits a little a fine Dolphin was hooked & in the evening a sail was espied over our bow. As she approached we found her course was southerly & it was soon ascertained that she was a schooner. "Now for Brother Jonathan going to the West Indies" was the word, and so in fact it proved. Our colours were hoisted and he was not long in showing his, on our enquiring whether he could spare us any live stock, after some hesitation he answered in the affirmative & backed his topsails. We mustered our cash, got out our yawl & the mate with two seamen & one of the steerage passengers went on board.

We wore round more than once while waiting for the boats return, which we thought was delayed very long indeed, & it growing dark & the wind freshening we began to be rather uneasy for her; however she got safe alongside & we hoisted her on board with her cargo, which consisted of three dozen & a half of poultry, some very bad potatoes, a quantity of New England rum, Beet roots, salted cod, caught since they came out, & what we esteemed more than gold, a barrel of excellent apples. A few minutes were sufficient to have them down into the cabin & unhead the cask & in an instant every tongue was silent, but every mouth agoing. What a

delicious treat to those who had now been some time without tasting fresh vegetables of any kind! We thought we should never have satisfied ourselves & for the next day the barrel stood open in the Cabin. But after having indulged ourselves with an apple pie and dumplin or two we thought proper to put ourselves upon the allowance of an apple a day each by way of dessert after dinner. Our friend informed us that our Long. was no more than 66 & that we were just upon the edge of the Gulph stream so that we were two degrees less to the Westward than we had supposed ourselves to be 5. days ago. It is well known how difficult a matter it is to keep a tolerably accurate reckoning & what a desideratum the finding of the Long. still continues to be. The common method in use is *throwing the log* which is a small triangular piece of wood to which a line is fastened, and according to the length run out in a given time, usually measured by a half minute glass, the ships rate per hour in knots, (that is, miles) is calculated. But in a long voyage, the inaccuracies to which this method is liable accumulate so much that it is well to meet a vessel that has but a short time left the land in order to obtain a more exact account.

On the 13th Oct! the westerly breeze still continued & no progress was made; and we were yet so far from our port that it was thought absolutely necessary, notwithstanding our late supply, to take an accurate survey of our provisions & water. Of the latter a good deal was found to have been put into faulty casks & to have leaked out; whether they had not been pigged by the sailors, yet happily so much remained that it did not appear immediately necessary to shorten the allowance of two quarts per day for every grown person & half that quantity for the





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children; in addition to which we had still a few dozens of porter of which we allowed ourselves 3 bottles at dinner, mixing it with one fourth water. We could yet also afford ourselves a bottle of wine per day—there was tolerably good store of ships provisions & bread; & at a couple per day our poultry would last us three weeks; so that notwithstanding the length of time we had been out, our situation was by no means bad unless after getting upon the coast we should be driven away by a North wester, And in addition to this comfortable state of our affairs early on the morning of the 14th being up at the cabin window I observed the surface of the sea, which had thro' the night been calm, beginning to curl with a gentle breeze from the eastward, & thought my fellow voyagers would not be displeased to be awakened by the joyful tidings. It lasted all day, putting us well forward; neither did it forsake us on the 15th. On these two days also two Dolphins were taken & several land birds of different species appeared about the ship. How different were our meals in a fair & in a contrary wind, when the latter prevailed all was gloominess & a little less than despair & we grudged ourselves every bit that went into our mouths, when the former, all was cheerfulness & hilarity & some extraordinary treat was generally allowed. On this day which completed our 10th week from Syle Lake (which was a reckoning we had long been in the habit of keeping) our course consisted of Soup, fresh fish, salted ditto, fowl, beef, pork, potatoes, apples & wine—we were almost aground for puddings, but all things considered this was no bad living.


We were now actually in the Gulph stream, which coming immediately from a tropical latitude brings a

remarkably warm water & numerous shoals of the Dolphin & flying fish. The wake of the ship this night exhibited a very curious appearance, the sea water always sparkles, when agitated, more or less in the dark, but in the Gulph stream it seems to be quite in a flame, with such refulgent coruscations as to cast a strong light on the ceiling of the cabin. The 16th & 17th the Westerly wind returned; but as we were now exactly in the latitude of Cape May & could not be distant from it more than 3 degrees & a half of Longitude, we kept up the hope that another favorable breeze would push us in. Instead of which however on the 18th in the morning it fell flat calm; & when the wind sprang up it came from the N. S. W & drove us away to the Northward & indeed something to the eastward for our ship would not lie within many points of the wind. The allowance of bread to the crew had been curtailed some days before this, & it occasioned so much discontent that it was thought proper to make every one have alike. Hitherto we had a basket always depending from the roof of the cabin, with bread in it, to go to when we pleased, but this was no longer the case, & it was settled that each person or family should take their allowance to themselves, which was 3 biscuits per day for grown persons & only half that quantity for children.

Of this allowance single persons were able to lay by something, but ours, with all the economy we could use was scarcely sufficient. The small remainder of our stock of butter was relinquished by the men for the use of the women & children, & now our breakfast was cold salt meat dry biscuit & coffee without milk. Our dinner, soup made of fowl Salt beef and pork with the flesh & no vegetable but our allowance of biscuit. Our



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porter & apples counteracted the putrid tendency of the salt victuals and no signs of illness had appeared among us. Of our wine we were now very sparing—our supper was cold meat, dry biscuit & tea.

Our Northerly course by which we were approaching Rhode Island continued on the 19th when about noon we saw a vessel some miles ahead of us. She appeared to wish to speak us, but finding we did not come up with her, threw her top sails aback & hoisted American colours. Her doing this led us to suppose that she had either seen the land or had got soundings; but when we came up with her we found that neither was the case. She was the Brig *Independence* bound for New York, which we remembered to have seen in the King's dock a few days before we left Liverpool. She was crowded with passengers, had left Ireland 10 weeks & the Captain wished to know if we could spare him some water. He certainly came to the wrong shop, but we agreed to jog on together. He was much our speed, his foresail being only a jury one—indeed we got rather ahead of him & toward evening we hove to and cast the lead, & to our great joy found ground at 48 fathoms, of which we gave notice to the *Independence* by hoisting our ensign, when she also hove to and sounded. Now was the time for Cod fishing—A hook was baited & let down & a fish immediately hauled up, but unfortunately he got off the hook when just at the surface of the water. A second trial was more successful & we got on deck a fine Cod of 6 or 7 pounds, which was dressed next day for dinner & was either in itself or from circumstances more delicious than anything I ever tasted—but here our success ended & all our endeavours to procure a further supply proved fruitless. We fully expected

to have seen the land next morning (20th Oct!) & our Captain amused us with the expectation of putting into one of the Connecticut ports to recruit our stock of provisions but before daylight the wind coming easterly we bore away direct for the Capes of Delaware from which we supposed our distance was about 210 miles.

Our hopes of reaching them vanished however, with the fair breeze (in which we fondly thought we had seen all the signs of continuance) & we were again driven to the Northward by a fresh gale from South West. This continued on the 21<sup>st</sup> with heavy rain. It caused a most melancholy day & as we were driving toward the east end of Long Island, our only consolation was that we might be obliged to put into some port in the neighborhood if we should not be able to fetch New York, from whence we were deliberating on the best means of reaching Philadelphia by land; being sick to death of being thus driven back & fearful of encountering one of those strong North-Westerly gales which not unfrequently carry ships out to sea for many weeks even after they have got within the Capes this in our present state would have been absolute destruction, & the very idea made us shudder. However in the evening of this day, the wind coming Northerly, we so far recovered our ground that on the 22nd at noon our Lat. was 39 & the fine weather this wind brought with it cheered a little our drooping spirits. This agreeable state of things did not long continue, but again in the afternoon a W-S-W. breeze sent us to the Northward, and all day on the 23d Oct! this discouraging state of affairs continued. Almost every quarter of an hour one or other of us was at the binnacle to watch whether there was the least change of the Ships course in our Favour, & when





### MEMORIAL TO THE AMERICAN ABORIGINE

Sculptural conception of the "Passing of the Red Man," by Cyrus E. Dallin, Arlington Heights, Massachusetts—  
Symbolism of the Last Days of a Great Race which once dominated the American Continent and  
has been driven across the frontier by the iron hand of Civilization, until today  
it remains but an American tradition with its quaint legends

263.

Historical Record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY by permission of the sculptor

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none could be perceived we sunk to the lowest degree of despondence. putting into port was indeed again spoken of, but I well knew nothing was farther from Captain Johnston's intention & that it was a step which nothing but the last necessity would induce him to take. On the 24th, however, matters mended again, and a good easterly breeze put us so well on, that on sounding in the evening we had only 15 fathoms.

On the 25th Oct<sup>r</sup> the long wished for shore plainly appeared in view; but for my own part the frequent mortifications I had met with scarcely permitted me to indulge any joyful sensations, & I was ready to say to myself, as the prophet did to the unbelieving Lord when the famine at the siege of Samaria was about to be turned into plenty "Behold thou shall see it with thine eyes but shall not eat there of." A sloop for New York informed us that we were no more than 50 miles N. E. of Cape May, & that we had nothing to do but to run along the shore till we made the Cape. Tho' the wind continued as favourable as we could wish, we perceived we should not reach the Cape before dark; but if we did not meet with a pilot to take us up the bay we hoped to be able to lie to or to stand off & on till daylight. Having got sight of the light on Cape Henlopen we brought to—but all the time the wind continued to freshen, & made our situation rather precarious.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 26th we were unexpectedly hailed by a pilot boat who had seen our lights moving to & fro on deck. Rejoiced as we were at this apparently fortunate *recontre*, we were too soon convinced that no immediate advantage could be reaped from it, for it now began to blow hard with thick misty rain. The pilot therefore desired us to keep lying to, prom-

ising to do the same till daylight appeared when he would come on board us, but alas! when daylight came, no pilot was to be seen & it became absolutely necessary to make sail & stand off the Coast as no object could be discerned at any considerable distance. In a short time after we got under way, very heavy breakers were observed under our lee, & we had little or nothing to spare in weathering them.


We afterwards learned by a sloop which was endeavouring to push in at the same time with us, that they were occasioned by the beating of the water over a sand bank. She had got among these breakers & with much difficulty extricated herself & it is not improbable but on our draft of water would have prevented us from floating over it.

The gale & the haziness continued & it in vain that we repeatedly fired a swivel in hopes of recovering the pilot. About noon there was a change of wind to the S. W. by means of which we endeavoured to recover our station, but it died away to a calm tho' the sea continued to be greatly agitated; & when the wind sprang up again it was N. & N. N. W. & by the time night approached blew quite a storm. Of all the miserable nights I had spent during the voyage, this was the most miserable. All the distressful images that had formerly presented themselves now revived with additional force; & I thought of nothing but being driven away by the dreaded North-Wester & after beating the seas for 12 long weeks perishing with my poor family by the worst of all deaths. The ship's head had been kept N. E. & we supposed ourselves making way in that direction, so that on the 27th about noon, when the weather moderated, it was thought that by altering our course to S. W. we should regain the





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Capes. It is true that this was no more than probable conjecture—for the thickness of the sky had prevented us for these two days from ascertaining our Latitude by observation. In this direction we continued to steer till noon on the 28th when we once more got sight of the sun but were mortified & distressed beyond measure to find that instead of keeping to the Northward or Eastward we had all the while been driving so fast to the South that we were now abreast of the Capes of Virginia! The captain seemed to think that the trim of vessel had been so altered by her being lightened of so extraordinary a quantity of provisions & water that she was become less capable than ever of lying up to windward & now seemed in earnest determined, if the wind had been easterly to have put into Norfolk. Happily however it was not only moderate but in such a direction as to enable us to keep a Northerly course. And here it pleased Divine Providence that all our dissapointments were to end—for about one o'clock in the morning of the 29th Oct<sup>r</sup> there sprang up a fine breeze from the S.-W. Immediately all sails werè set, & we slanted our course toward the land till we got sight of the Maryland shore & then ran exactly paralell with it. A most delightful day this was! The wind unlike to what we had usually experienced, blew steadily & with an even strength from one point—we had the coast continually in view & on every side of us were vessels of various descriptions pushing on, as we were, for the place of their destination.


Dissappointed & buffeted about as we had been, we dared not however to give way to any extraordinary sensation of joy lest our hopes should again be blasted & particularly as we found we should again be off the Capes in the dark. As the evening

approached we looked out with longing eyes for a pilot boat, and at length one made its appearance, but to our great mortification, after putting a pilot on board a brig about 3 miles ahead of us bore away without taking the least notice of us. We now got a lanthorn hung up at our foretop mast head & stationed a man there to look out for the light on Cape Henlopen, & at length he cried out that he saw it. It was not long before it was discerned from the deck, from whence every eye was kept eagerly fixed upon it. By the time we came abreast of the cape it was quite dark & no pilot boat was yet at hand—this was a state of irrepresible anxiety & suspense, & as the sky appeared to thicken toward the horizon & it began to lighten very much; it was greatly to be feared the weather might change before we could get in & we might be again driven out to sea. Having, brought to, we made repeated discharges of our swivel & some thought they perceived a glimmering light making towards us. But no words can describe our feelings when we heard the joyful sounds, "Whence come you? Where are you bound? Do you want a Pilot?" In a few minutes he was got on board—the sails were set & away we steered for Delaware Bay, in which after proceeding 20 miles we cast anchor. We weighed in the morning of the 30th as soon as the tide of flood set in, but the calmness of the day prevented us making much progress & at high water we anchored again. All was now joy thankfulness & mutual congratulations— We laid aside our dirty sea clothes, washed, shaved, powdered & looked something like beings who hoped once more to be restored to a state of civilized society.

No longer afraid of satisfying our hunger, we threw into one common



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stock our allowance of bread, restored the basket to its former situation, & the fineness of the day admitting of it we dined upon deck, and a most plentiful board we exhibited, in short we "ate our bread with joy & drank our wine with a merry heart" Getting under way again in the evening with a pleasant breeze we reached early in the morning of the 31st Bombay Hook which is reconed the head of the bay, & till which time from our entrance into it the sounding line was constantly employed. As we proceeded up the Delaware the rural scenes that presented themselves on either side—the towns—the multitude of vessels of all description which were either lying at anchor or passing up & down afforded us a continual feast, & in the evening we came to anchor at Mud Island Fort. Here after we had been visited by the Health Officer, I went on shore & first trod American ground the morning of the 1st November. I can not say it was a very captivating spot—its name is perfectly descriptive of its situation, & the sallow, meagre looks of the Garrison were a melancholy proof of the unhealthiness of the place.

From hence I walked to Philadelphia and in the evening had the happiness to land my family in perfect health & Safety. And here we found Mr. Smith with whom we had dined & drunk tea at Slyle Lake on the 5th August, & who coming out in the *Atlantic* 14 days after we had, arrived three weeks before us.

N. B. On consulting the encyclopedia since the above was written I find that the fish that I have described as the Dolphin & which is so called by mariners, is not the real animal of that name, but the *Parrot fish*—a term to which its beautiful & variegated colours well entitle it.

The experience of those who have made a voyage from England to


America cannot but be of considerable importance to others, who may have inducements to take a similar step. And if on exchange Countries should become so much of an object with any of my friends as it has been with me, the following observations are very much at their service.

Where a sufficient number of persons can concur in the buisness of emigration, the cheapest method will be to engage the whole cabin of a ship, to lay in their own stores. It is understood that persons proceeding upon this plan, are entitled upon paying their passage money, to ships provisions, that is to say, Salt meat, biscuit, water & fuel. Thirty Guineas is now the usual rate for a grown person on many of the first rate ships, & half that sum for a servant or child; tho' I believe some difference is made according to the ages of children. At this rate the passage of my family would have cost me upwards of 200£, whereas by engaging the Cabin of the *Hope* for 150£, letting off 5 berths for 13½ Guineas a piece, contributing at the rate of 10 Guineas each grown person for provisions & rating the children & servant at half I saved about 40£, & the persons I took in 6 Guineas and a half each.

Ten guineas each for provisions was so amply sufficient in our case that tho' we took the mate & ships steward into our mess, (gratis), If we had not lost our pigs & had been out only the usual time we should not have had occassion to use any salt provisions except our hams & tongues. When an agreement of this kind is made, the Captain becomes a party & contributes his share equally with the rest & his advice is to be taken as to the kind and quantity of the stores to be laid in. He will also expect to have the power of ordering everything relating to their consumption at sea.



## **I**mpressions in First Days of the Republic





Should anything worth dividing remain at the end of the voyage the passengers have a right to claim each his share. The live stock will of course consist of hogs, sheep & poultry. Of these, hogs bear the sea by much the best. As to the proper place of keeping them, it would be best if they could be put between the decks; but if they are penned under the boats I would recommend a rope netting instead of a few slender & shattered boards as was the case in our vessel, which a heavy sea washing over the deck has great power upon & is sure to loosen & carry away, & probably the animals at the same time.

Sheep being shy & timorous will not readily take their food at first especially hay, which they are little used to. If grass is to be had it would be proper to take some for them to eat at first & to use them to hay by degrees. It is very difficult to keep poultry well at sea. The sickness appears to affect them very much. They grow dull & sleepy & many will probably die notwithstanding all the care that can be taken. The fact however is that too little care is taken of them. A notion prevails that to give them plenty of water will kill them & so the poor creatures are often suffered to die of thirst. This appetite is so craving, that they will drink the sea water which the spray frequently throws into their troughs or which gets there by the carelessness of those who wash the decks. The corn got for them is often bad, being what is called *light corn* which has no nourishment in it, & they probably suffer for want of gravel. From some or all of these causes those of our fowls which death spared us, were for the most part such when they came to table as would even have disgusted a stomach not affected with the sea


sickness. Ducks & Geese bear the sea much better than fowls, the mortality among ours was by no means so great & they were tho' not very fleshy, yet generally well tasted. They had indeed a larger allowance of water than the fowls. If some of the passengers be able to attend to the poultry they are likely to fare better than when left to the care or rather the carelessness of the seamen. I do not recommend Goats for furnishing milk for tea. Preserved milk is better but then it must be very good undiluted new milk; any other will not keep. It is unnecessary to mention other articles which every Captain of a ship knows how to order. I rather wish to point out a few which we found very convenient tho' not frequently used or which we most felt the want of.

We had ordered some Rusk or double baked bread, but the baker either thro' ignorance or because he wished to give himself little trouble, only divided the loaves in two, & after putting them into the oven a short time threw them hot into a cask & sent them on board, consequently they soon grew mouldy. Sago, Tapico, or Saloop are articles which by no means should be neglected, but acids are a most material affair, Lemons & Oranges do not keep well at sea. Limes are better than Lemons & perhaps the juice would be still better than the fruit. As to pickles we found walnuts better than cucumber. Plenty of bottled gooseberries or green currants should be laid in, no kind of pudding is more acceptable, tho' by way of change those of common currants or raisons will be very agreeable. Ripe fruit, if the season permits, may be taken out; but as it cannot be depended upon for keeping, preserves of all kinds should be laid in plentifully. They should be boiled thick





## Log of a Voyage to America in 1794



but not be made too sweet as the stomach seldom accomodates itself to things which have much sugar in them. Mild acids I found most agreeable when the sickness was at the worst; & I would have given anything for a good stock of dried apples or pears & tamarinds. Cream of tartar is an almost indispensable article, & should be laid in with an unsparing hand, as a most pleasant beverage may be made of it, commonly called *Imperial*. It is very proper to be provided with a medicine chest. I found it not only very useful for myself & family but for other passengers who had taken no precaution of the kind. Purgatives & diuretics will be of principal use; & it has been recommended to take the former when the sickness has lasted no longer than twelve hours tho' on other accounts they might not be absolutely (needed). Of these minuter things or any others which may be intended for accomodation & comfort when the stomach is in a delicate state I would advise every passenger, or at least every family to provide a competent store of *their own* as many inconveniences will arise from having such things as these in a common stock. If I were to take a single passage I would endeavour to agree for a few guineas less on condition of finding my own wine & liquor, & instead of laying them out in much of those articles, would provide the lessor ones I have just mentioned & which to me would be infinitely preferable. To a person taking steerage passage a great deal of foresight & preparations is necessary in order to get thro' the voyage with any degree of comfort. His passage money entitles him only to the ship's provisions above mentioned & he will have to provide for himself every other sort of necessary. On this head he will do well to consult


the Captain. And above all things he ought to be careful to provide a strong box, capable of being well secured, & having compartments to hold tea things, coffee pot & other needful articles for cooking or eating; as few of which as possible ought to be of *earthenware*. It will be well if he has some knoweledge of the culinary art as most things of that kind, (except the boiling of beef & pork) he will probably be obliged whether sick or well to do for himself. Wine & Liquor Casks are frequently purchased for the purpose of holding water which they infallibly spoil, & give it such an intolerably bad taste that nothing but absolute necessity would oblige one to drink it.

Notwithstanding the hazard of the Equinoctial gales, I cannot but believe the fall of the year to be the best season for an arrival in America, the heats are then over or at least moderating, & the winter will be much more tolerable to an English constitution than the summer, for which last he will probably be prepared by degrees in the spring season.

Thro' this winter I have enjoyed better health & spirits than I ever remember to have had in that season in my Native Country. It is an easy & generally a profitable matter to transfer property from England to America. Most commonly a considerable premium is given for bills on England sometimes 10 per cent. To dispose of bills easily it is however necessary that you should have respectable recommendations or procure a well known & creditable indorser. It is by far the best way of buying into the American funds, to get a friend here to do it & let him draw on you for the amount unless you can so arrange matters before you leave England as to have the bills you may draw, after your arrival duly honoured—by either of these



## **I**mpressions in First Days of the Republic



modes you secure the exchange. If you bring heavy Guineas you may dispose of them to a profit of 6<sup>d</sup> a piece, or if dollars about 2<sup>d</sup>. as they are bought in England the price of bullion & here pass for 4/6 sterling. An Emigrant may bring his furniture, clothes books, & tools duty free—and provided he makes an oath that his packages contain no merchandize they will be landed without any examination. You will probably be requested to say that the articles you bring with you have mostly been in use, but I look upon it to be no violation of the oath, if some new goods be among them provided they are bona fide for your own use, for in that case they can not come under the denomination of merchandize; and as every article of British manufacture will be found enourmously dear it is an object to save something this way, but the more ready made clothes the better for labour of every kind is most extravagantly high. Provision ought also to be made for a considerable extra expense immediately upon arrival, 6 dollars per week being the common rate for board & lodging when we landed in Philadelphia, where it seems to me that with all the economy that can be used the charge for maintaining a family must be greater than in England, taxed & burdened as that country is. A mechanic has a tolerably good chance as he will get amazingly high wages. But if it be absolutely necessary for a man to live cheap, he must settle upon a farm pretty far back in the country when the comforts & advantages of society must be in a great measure relinquished. I have reason to think that Englishmen no easy matter to meet with farmers to their liking.

The fact is (& it ought not to be concealed) that accounts of America have been given with too high a

degree of colouring & many who have come over expecting less than to find the country a paradise & the Inhabitants angels have been sadly disgusted & disappointed.

The principal thing America has to offer is the full enjoyment of civil & religious Liberty & if a man can not resolve to purchase these at the expense of many of the lessor accomodations & conveniences of life, he had better not stir from England. He is likely indeed to find new discouragements thrown in his way, for as some are fearful of an inundation of French Aristocrats & others of English Democrats, both parties have agreed in the support of a bill now passing thro' Congress for placing the terms of naturalization much higher than formerly. For my own part my mind has been so fully made up on these Subjects that I see no reason to regret the changes I have made.

The great & fundamental principles which must insure (if any thing can) the happiness & improvement of the human race are fully recognized in the constitution of this Country, to which all parties, whatever their other differences may be, manifest a sincere attachment & which I verily believe is virtuously & religiously adhered to in practice; so that while the European governments are either going from bad to worse or regenerating themselves by dreadful convulsions this must, morally speaking, continue to improve.

In short here, Peace, Liberty and Independance, which have thro' life been the darling object of my pursuit, seem to be quite within my reach & if it please God to continue my health and domestic comforts, the *mode* of obtaining them, whether in the more active scenes of commercial or the more retired ones of rural life is to me a matter of very little concern.



### ANCIENT LANDMARKS IN AMERICA

Photograph taken at the old Major John Bradford House at Kingston, Massachusetts—Built in 1675—This ancient structure witnessed many of the early strifes in Indian Wars and stood through American Revolution to still bear evidence to the growth of the American nation from its earliest colonial beginnings



### HISTORIC HOUSES IN AMERICA

Photograph taken at the Manning House in Billerica, Massachusetts—Built in 1640—General Burgoyne's troops were quartered here after their surrender in 1777, when the American Revolutionists were fighting their way to Liberty on soil of the Western Continent

271.

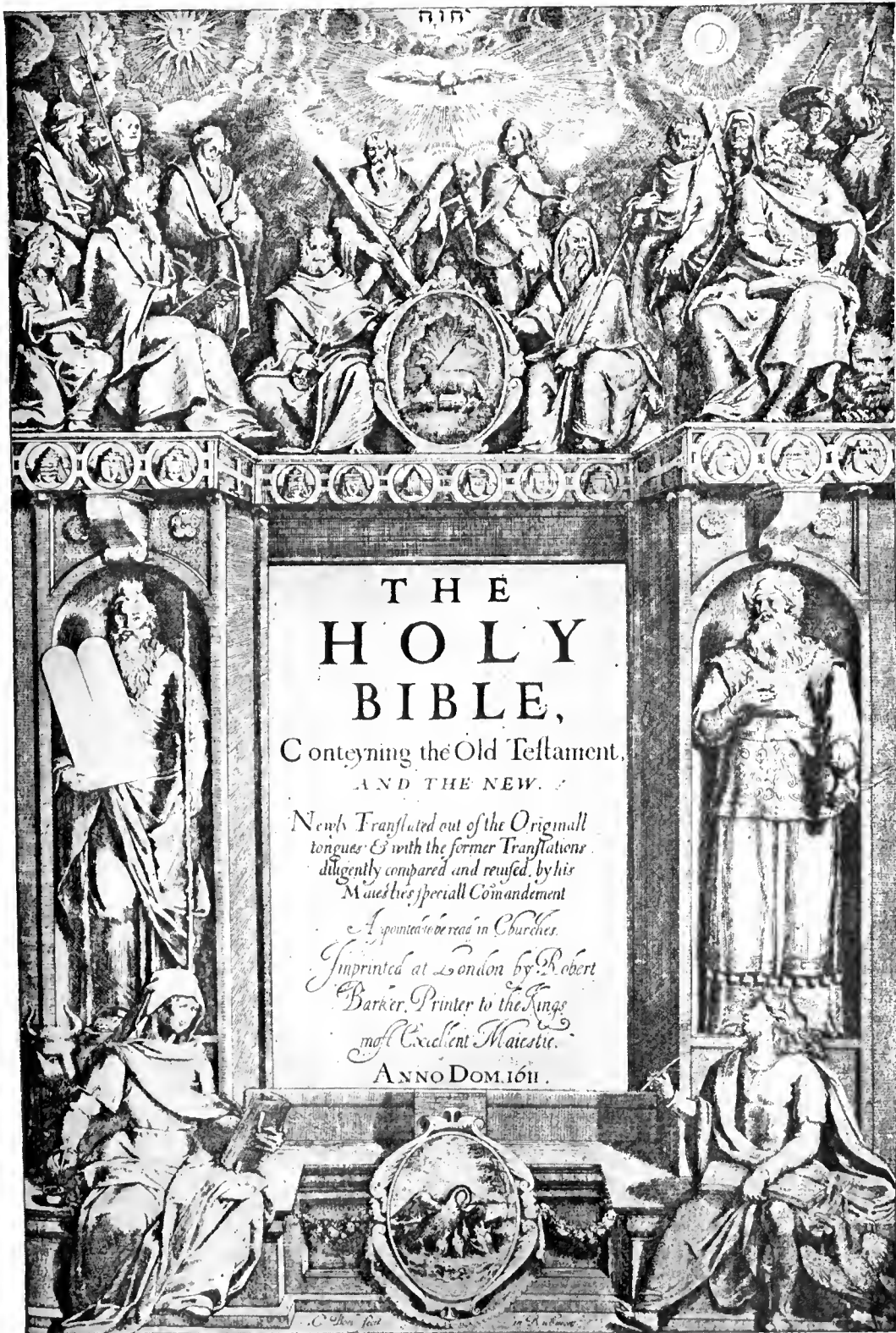


END OF THE WORLD'S WARS—UNIVERSAL PEACE

"And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—PROPHET ISAIAH II-4-550 B. C.

Sculptural conception by Jules Butensky, of St. Petersburg, Russia—Bronze presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, of New York—Historical Record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY under copyright of Jules Butensky





Title page, reduced fac-simile, from First Edition of the King James Version, 1611, in the Library of the General Theological Seminary, New York—Reproduced for Historical Record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY on this Ter-Centenary, by courtesy of Rev. Dr. William I. Haven, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, New York City



### HISTORIC PAINTING OF NAPOLEON—NOW IN MINNEAPOLIS

Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France, who sold the territory west of the Mississippi River, known as Louisiana, to the United States for fifteen million dollars, in 1803—The Mississippi was the boundary to hostile nations and then became the line of demarcation between the several states on its banks

Original painting known as "Louisiana Purchase Napoleon," by David, from life, was given by the Emperor to Marshal Davoust, and from him purchased by Mr. T. B. Walker—Now in Minneapolis (Minnesota) Public Library



# Historic Border Disputes Between States of the Middle West

Investigations into the Controversies  
Between Nebraska and Iowa, Missouri and  
Nebraska, Kentucky and Missouri, Indiana and Kentucky,  
Iowa and Illinois, Kansas and Colorado & How the Courses of  
Historic Rivers in the Mississippi Valley Changed Boundaries of States of  
the Middle West & Researches into Hitherto Unknown Phase of American History

BY

GEORGE COWLES LAY, M. A., LL. B.

NEW YORK

Member of the New York Bar—Author of Investigations into the *Political War Between Pennsylvania and Connecticut*, in Volume IV, Number 3, and *Early Land Wars Between New York and New Hampshire*, in Volume IV, Number 4, of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

This investigation into the historical controversies that have arisen from the boundaries between the states in the Middle West is a new and interesting phase of American history which shows how the changing courses of rivers alter the state lines and have become the cause for long litigation. The article is the third in the series of investigations by one of the leading members of the American bar. The researches into the *Boundary War Between Pennsylvania and Connecticut* and *Early Land Wars Between New Hampshire and New York*, are now invaluable historical records. The author now presents the remarkable controversies between Nebraska and Iowa, Kentucky and Missouri, and several of the other states of the Mississippi Valley. While this great dominion of the interior is frequently spoken of as the "New West," it is in fact a region of great historical import. It is associated not only with the early explorers, but finds its political origin in the régime of the powerful Napoleon. Its antecedents glow with the romance of old Spain and chivalrous France, and it is "new" only in its English domination. Mr. Lay now tells in these pages the great story of the inland water-ways which have been so large and important a factor in the physical organization of the United States of America.—EDITOR

**T**HE great rivers of our country form natural boundaries between many of the states. The Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers have been made, by the laws of Congress, the dividing line between nineteen states of the Union. The changes in the course of these, and other rivers, have resulted in boundary disputes, which have been settled upon the principles of law relating to riparian proprietors. These

changes arise chiefly from the shifting of the channel by imperceptible movements of earth or sand along the river banks, or by a sudden irresistible force, which carries the current of the river over new stretches of land, leaving the old river-bed bare and attached to a new territory.

The rule is, that where, upon a river or the sea, new land is made by the slow process of accretion, it belongs to the adjoining owner. A notable instance of the operation of this rule is found in the case of



HISTORIC TOWER ROCK—Famous landmark on the banks of the Mississippi River, near Saint Louis, Missouri, which witnessed struggles of the states to adjust a satisfactory boundary between commonwealths



OLD ARKANSAS RIVER BRIDGE—Structure spanning the mighty river at Garden City, Kansas—Twenty-five million dollars was saved to the state of Kansas by irrigation of the arid land bounding this great river

## Famous Boundary Disputes Between States

*Gifford versus Lord Yarborough*<sup>1</sup> in the House of Lords in England, where the owner of lands adjoining the sea, built sea walls on two sides to prevent encroachment. The sand and soil from the sea were gradually deposited outside of and against these walls until by accretion some four hundred and fifty acres of land were made, which were claimed by the crown. The court held the owner entitled to the new land, declaring that in cases of alternate accretion and decretion, the riparian proprietors have movable freeholds, that is, moving into the river with the soil, as it was imperceptibly formed, and then again receding when by attrition it was worn away.

In an American case,<sup>2</sup> the same rule was adopted, its existence vindicated on the principle of natural justice, that he who sustains the burden of losses and repairs, imposed by the contiguity of waters, ought to receive whatever benefits they may bring by accretion; or derived from the principle of public policy, that it is to the interest of the community that all land should have an owner, and most convenient that insensible additions to the shore should follow the title to the shore itself.

Bracton expresses the same rule in an interesting way as follows:

Alluvion is a latent increase and that is said to be added by alluvion, whatever is so added by degrees that it cannot be perceived at what moment of time it is added, for although you fix your eyesight upon it for a whole day, the infirmity of sight cannot appreciate such subtle increments, as may be seen in the case of a gourd and such like.<sup>3</sup>

This rule of accretion applies to rivers considered as boundaries. The

<sup>1</sup>5 Bing. 163.

<sup>2</sup>*Banks versus Ogden*, 2 Wall. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Book II, ch. 2.



MAP OF THE MISSOURI—Delineation of the changes of the river at Omaha, Nebraska—Drawn by John R. Webster for the state of Nebraska

middle of the channel is generally held to be the boundary line. If, by the accretion of earth and sand on one side or the other, the channel gradually and imperceptibly shifts, the thread of the stream continues to be the boundary line even though after the lapse of years the old river-bed becomes dry land or the channel passes from one side of an island to another; on the other hand, if there be a sudden and violent change in the course of the river, whereby, in cutting across a narrow strip of land, the old river-bed is forsaken and a new channel formed, the boundary between states is not affected, but remains in the original bed of the stream, through which the river flowed before the sudden avulsion.



ENGRAVING OF HISTORIC "SNAGS" IN MISSOURI RIVER—Obstacles in the Missouri known as "snags" and "sawyers"—Originally depicted in Maximilian Neuweid's *Journey Through North America*



PHOTOGRAPH OF THE HISTORIC ARKANSAS RIVER—Scene of the broad reaches of famous river above Wichita, Kansas, flowing over two thousand miles from the heights of the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi

## Famous Boundary Disputes Between States

These rules have been applied in an interesting series of cases, one on the Ohio River, one on the Mississippi, and two on the Missouri River. Of all the rivers in the world, the Missouri is of fascinating interest.

The explorations of the Missouri have been made the subject of many journals and letters, in which the course of this erratic river is graphically described.

Marquette, as early as 1673, tells us in his journal of his passage down the Mississippi, when he saw the rushing, tumultuous Missouri pouring its flood of waters into the Mississippi.

I have seen nothing more frightful, says Marquette. A mass of large trees enter with branches, real floating islands. They come rushing from the mouth of Pek-i-tan-oni (the Indian name for Missouri, meaning muddy water) so impetuously, that we could not, without danger, expose ourselves to pass over.

Charlevoix, one of the early French explorers, in a letter written at Kaskaskia, October 21, 1721, speaks of the union of the Missouri and Mississippi waters in these words:

I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much the same breadth, each about half a league—the Missouri, by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its dark waters to the opposite shore without mixing them. Afterwards it gives color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries it quite down to the sea.

Captain Hiram Martin Chittenden<sup>4</sup> gives an admirable description of the Missouri:

The usual characteristics of an alluvial river are here found in their highest development—a muddy current, freshly formed islands, sand-bars innumerable, an unstable channel and a shifting bed, which is never in the same place for two years in succession. . . . The river, in its unrestrained rambles from bluff to

bluff, performs some curious freaks. It develops the most remarkable bends, varying in length from one to thirty miles, with distances across the necks but a small fraction of those around. In time these narrow necks are cut in two and the river abandons its old course, which soon fills up near the extremities of the bends and leaves crescent shaped lakes in the middle.

There is one bend in the upper river known from the earliest times as the Great Bend. The course of the river here is comparatively permanent and is evidently the same as that of the original stream bed. The distance around is nearly thirty miles while that across is only a mile and a half. It was a regular custom with travelers, when the Indians were not too dangerous, to leave the boats at the beginning of this bend and walk across, going on board on the other side. The river is like a great spiral stairway leading from the ocean to the mountains. . . . Every year, great numbers of trees that line the river bank are undermined and fall into the stream. They are borne along by the current until they become anchored on the bottom, where they remain with one end sticking up and pointing down stream, sometimes above and sometimes below the surface. They are called "snags" or "sawyers," though sometimes from the ripple or break in the surface of the water, "breaks." These snags were the terror of the pilot, as well they might be.

Referring to the suggestion that the lower portion of the Mississippi should bear the name of its greatest tributary, the author says:

The Mississippi is the trunk stream, receiving the drainage from the Alleghanies on the east and the Rockies on the west. It divides the continent into approximately symmetrical portions. This division has entered into the very life of our national development and is so natural and convenient that the stream from north to south is appropriately known by a single name. The Missouri is the great tributary from the mountains on the west, as the Ohio is from the mountains on the east. The characteristics of the Missouri are so peculiarly its own, that a separate name is more befitting than one divided between itself and another and very different stream.

<sup>4</sup>History of Early Steamboat Navigation on Missouri River.



# Historic Waterways in Mississippi Valley

In the journal of Henry Marie Brackenridge (1881) an account is given of the place on the river known as "la coupe a L'Oiselle."

This name originated, says the writer, in the circumstance of a trader having made a narrow escape, being in the river at the very moment that this cut-off was forming. It had been a bend of fifteen miles round and perhaps not more than a few hundred yards across the gorge, which, suddenly cut through by the river, became the main channel. While remaining a short time at a sand-bar in the river, a curious phenomenon occurred; the sand began to dissolve and every instant to diminish like the melting of snow.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Justice Brewer, in *Kansas versus Colorado*<sup>6</sup> refers to the changes in the Missouri River in this graphic language:

When the June flood comes down, the Missouri River is a mighty torrent. One can stand on the bluffs at Kansas City and see an enormous volume of water, extending in width from two to five miles to the bluffs on the other side of the river, flowing onward with tremendous velocity and force, and yet at other times the entire flow of the Missouri River passes between two piers of the railroad bridge. No such difference between high and low water appears in the Hudson. In the days when navigation west of the Mississippi was largely by steamboats on the Missouri River, it was a familiar experience for the flat-bottomed steamboats, drawing but little water, to be aground on sand-bars and detained for hours in efforts to cross them. General Doniphan commanded an expedition which marched from Fort Leavenworth, in 1846, up the Arkansas Valley and into the territory of New Mexico. He did not enter the valley again until shortly before his death, in 1887, and when asked what he recognized replied that there were one or two natural objects, like Pawnee rock, that appeared as they did when they marched up the valley; the river was the same, but all else was changed; and the valley, instead of being destitute of human occupation, was filled

with farmhouses and farms, villages and cities—something that he had never expected would be seen in his day.

## Nebraska and Iowa Controversy

An extraordinary change in the course of the Missouri River occurred, in 1877, at the point between Omaha and Council Bluffs. Here the river formerly flowed in the form of an ox-bow, which constituted the boundary between the two states, but suddenly, in one night, the river cut through the neck of the bow and made a new channel for itself.

This sudden change resulted in the claim of Nebraska that the boundary between the states was the new channel of the river, and a suit was brought by Nebraska against Iowa to establish the new boundary, the effect of which would increase the territory of Nebraska.<sup>7</sup>

The court held that the rule of the old common law was still applicable, that where there were gradual changes in the channel of a river, caused by accretion or decretion, the ever varying channel continued to be the boundary, but upon a sudden break and a complete transformation, rendering the old river-bed dry land, the boundary was not thereby changed.

It was insisted by Nebraska that the rule of accretion ought not to apply to the Missouri River, on account of the peculiar soil through which it flows, and the rapid, sudden and erratic changes in its course, but the court declared that the rule of accretion had been applied in the case of the Mississippi River, and although the banks of the Missouri were more subject to rapid disintegration than those of the Mississippi, the rule must be the same.

<sup>3</sup>Early Western Travels; edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D., Cleveland, 1904.

<sup>6</sup>206 United States 46, 116.

<sup>7</sup>143 United States, 359.







# Famous Boundary Disputes Between States

The only thing, says the court, which distinguishes this river (the Missouri) from other streams, in the matter of accretion, is in the rapidity of the change caused by the velocity of the current, and this, in itself, in the very nature of things, works no change in the principle.

The court quoted many authorities on international law as to these rules, among others being Attorney-General Cushing, who wrote an opinion in relation to a dispute between the United States and Mexico, arising from changes in the Rio Bravo.

Cushing well stated the ancient rule of evulsion as follows:

But, on the other hand, if, deserting its original bed, the river forces for itself a new channel in another direction, then the nation through whose territory the river thus breaks its way, suffers injury by the loss of territory greater than the benefit of retaining the natural river boundary, and that boundary remains in the deserted river-bed. For in truth, just as a stone pillar constitutes a boundary not because it is a stone, but because of the place in which it stands, so a river is made the limit of nations not because it is running water bearing a certain geographical name, but because it is water flowing in a given channel and within given banks, which are the real international boundary.

The accompanying map, prepared for the State of Nebraska in this litigation, by John R. Webster, a distinguished chief engineer, of Omaha, Nebraska, shows on one sheet the various changes of the river until the final avulsion which occurred in October, 1877.

The explanation recently given by Mr. Webster of the map, in a private letter to Stuyvesant Fish, dated April 14, 1910, gives some interesting information which requires a little concentration to appreciate:

The blue lines in the yellow portion of the map are supposed to represent the location of the river at the time the Government surveyed the Iowa bank of the river, in 1851. As there was no survey of the Nebraska bank at that time, I simply

located the Nebraska shore of 1851 at about an average distance from the Iowa shore.

In 1856, the Government surveyed the Nebraska bank and that is shown in red as "Neb. Meander Line, 1856." You will notice that north of section twenty-two Iowa, the Nebraska Meander Line of 1856 intersected the Iowa Meander Line of 1851. This shows that the river changed its course to a sufficient extent so that the Nebraska shore was further south in 1856 than the Iowa shore was in 1851. The other lines show the various changes of the river bank as we were able to obtain the information from various surveys made by the county engineers of Douglas County, Nebraska, and Pottawattamie County, Iowa, and also by the engineers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. From the evidence given you will see by the decree that the court decided that wherever the river changed gradually the boundary of the state changed with it and followed the channel of the river, but as the cut-off or avulsion made a very radical change at one time (indeed it was done in a single night) this did not change the boundary of the state. The result was that a tract containing about two thousand acres of land was left on the west side of the river, and which is a part of the State of Iowa.

Allen's Suburban Map of Council Bluffs, Iowa, published in 1898, gives, in a dotted, red line, the boundary of Council Bluffs,<sup>s</sup> and you will note that this line follows the channel of the river until it comes to the point where the cut-off of 1877 occurred; it then turns north and takes in a portion of the Nebraska side, which is marked on the map "Council Bluffs." Similar cut-offs have occurred in various places on the Missouri River. You will note on Allan's map of Council Bluffs, Lake Manawa, south of the city. Within the memory of men now living, Lake Manawa was a part of the Missouri River, but through a similar cut-off was thrown about two miles east of the river, so that in this case there is a portion of Nebraska on the east side of the Missouri.

## Missouri and Nebraska Controversy

In 1867, the Missouri River in its course between Missouri and Nebraska, made another break in one of

<sup>s</sup>Also the present boundary between Iowa and Nebraska.

# Historic Waterways in Mississippi Valley

its numerous bends, which led to a suit brought by Missouri in the United States Supreme Court, in 1904,<sup>9</sup> to establish the boundary as the middle of the channel of the Missouri River, however changed by accretion or avulsion.

By the act of Congress, approved February 9, 1867, admitting Nebraska as a state, her eastern boundary extended "down the middle of the channel of the Missouri River and following the meanderings thereof" to the point formed by the intersection of the western boundary of the State of Missouri, with the fortieth degree of north latitude. On the fifth of July, 1867, within five months after the admission of Nebraska into the Union, the Missouri River, which had for years, perhaps centuries before, passed around McKissick's Island, by reason of an extraordinary rise of the waters, and aided by the digging of a ditch, changed its course, within twenty-four hours, cut through

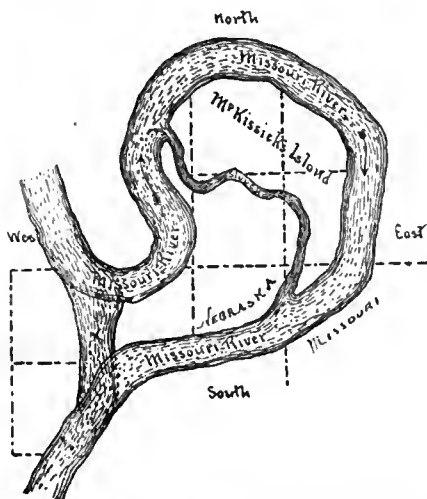
a narrow neck of land, at the west end of Island Precinct (of which McKissick's Island formed a part) and made a new and permanent channel.

A glance at the map will show how the river abandoned fifteen miles of its channel, and cut off a section of the island which had admittedly belonged to Nebraska, and annexed it to the Missouri side of the river.

The old river-bed dried up and became arable land, and the whole territory north and east of the new channel, comprising about fifteen thousand acres, was for years, thereafter, occupied and held by citizens of Nebraska. Not only McKissick's Island, but the "relict of the old channel" was a part of Nemaha County, Nebraska, and its inhabitants conveyed titles to land, and recorded deeds, and served as jurors in said county, exercised the right to vote in Nebraska and fully recognized the jurisdiction of Nebraska.

In 1899, Missouri claimed the land north and east of the new channel as a part of her territory upon the ground that from the language of the act of Congress admitting Missouri as a state, and of a special act of Congress in 1836, relating to Indian lands bordering on the Missouri River and ceded to Missouri, it was the intention of Congress to fix the boundary between the two states as the middle of the channel of the Missouri River, *wherever it may be at any particular time and regardless of any changes, however caused or however extended or permanent and duly occurring in its course.* Missouri sought to engraft an exception upon the general rule, governing cases of "avulsion" by force of these acts of Congress, whereby her western boundary had been extended to the Missouri River and it was contended that the federal government had thereby given an absolute guarantee to the people

<sup>9</sup> *Missouri versus Nebraska*, 196 United States, 23; 197 United States, 577.



Historic case where river changed its course after many centuries, altering boundary between Nebraska and Missouri, resulting in famous litigation—Map drawn for THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

# Famous Boundary Disputes Between States

of Missouri, that the stream of water, flowing from the Rockies, known as the Missouri River, *however it should run*, should forever be its boundary line.

On the other hand, it was contended by Nebraska that the change having taken place in a single day, the law of accretion did not apply, that the jurisdiction of the states bordering on the river, and the status of citizens did not fluctuate with every freak of the Missouri River. "If they did," said counsel, "a large portion of the Nebraska population might go to bed at night in Nebraska and get up in the morning on the same spot in Missouri." The court, following the decisions in Missouri versus Kentucky,<sup>10</sup> Indiana versus Kentucky,<sup>11</sup> and Nebraska versus Iowa,<sup>12</sup> held the law to be well settled, that in the case of a sudden and rapid change of channel known as "avulsion," the boundary between two states is still the old thread of the stream.

Accordingly, the court fixed the boundary in the former river-bed and directed monuments to be erected in the middle of the old channel as it was prior to the avulsion in 1867.

## Missouri and Kentucky Controversy Affecting Wolf Island

In this case<sup>13</sup> Missouri claimed that Wolf Island in the Mississippi River, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Ohio River, and containing about fifteen thousand acres, was a part of her territory, on the ground that it was west of the middle of the channel of the Mississippi River.

The boundary between Missouri and Kentucky was conceded to be the middle of the channel or bed of the river. This fact was established

by various treaties between France, Spain and England.



Historic case in which treaties between France, Spain and England were changed by the shifting of a great river channel which altered the boundaries between Missouri and Kentucky—Continuous lines represent original banks of river—Dotted lines represent present banks—Land marked B is new timberland—Land marked C is boundary point that is washed away—Land marked H is strip of Wolf Island that has been washed away—Land marked I shows accretions on western side of Wolf Island—Map drawn for historical record in THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

<sup>10</sup>11 Wall. 395.

<sup>11</sup>136 United States, 479.

<sup>12</sup>143 United States, 359.

<sup>13</sup>11 Wall. 395.



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## Historic Waterways in Mississippi Valley

As Kentucky was carved out of the territory of Virginia, her right and possession of land to the middle of the Mississippi River was recognized as derived from Virginia. When Missouri was admitted to the Union, in 1820, her boundary on the east was as follows:

Thence due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River; then down and following the course of the Mississippi River in the middle of the main channel thereof to the place of beginning.

It was claimed by Missouri that the main channel of the river was on the Kentucky side, and that Wolf Island was west of the main channel, and consequently was a part of Missouri.

The fact was established that at the time of the commencement of the suit, in 1870, the main channel of the river was on the Kentucky side, but the material question was, where was the channel at the time of admission of Missouri fifty years before?

This question of fact was determined in favor of Kentucky, the evidence of her witnesses being found more satisfactory. It was shown that the ownership of Wolf Island had been claimed by Virginia as early as 1782, the arable land having been entered in the proper office of Virginia as vacant land lying within the territorial limits of the state; the island was attached to and formed part of Hickman County, Kentucky, and the lands embraced in it were surveyed in 1837 under state authority, and have since been sold and conveyed to purchasers by the same authority. The people residing on it have paid taxes and voted under the laws of Kentucky, and courts have exercised jurisdiction over them.

Missouri produced no satisfactory proof that she had ever exercised any authority over the island other than the service of a writ by a sheriff for the adjoining Missouri county, in 1820, upon a solitary settler, and residence of a judge of a circuit court of Missouri on the island.

The evidence of the oldest inhabitants in Kentucky was, that prior to 1820, the main channel of the river was on the Missouri side, that the channel on the Kentucky side was very narrow and obstructed by sand-bars, driftwood and rock heaps, while the west channel was wide, deep and unobstructed; in 1825, the Kentucky channel was only two and a half feet deep and about one hundred and fifty yards wide, while steamboats passed without difficulty through the Missouri channel, which was between four and five hundred yards wider.

In later times, after 1825, the Kentucky channel was improved and deepened by the operation of snag boats and was more and more used as it saved about five miles of navigation. Furthermore, the changes by washing away and accretions at various points, as shown by the accompanying map, served to straighten the banks above the island on the Kentucky side, to bring the water closer to them and as a consequence to cast it into the east channel.

The court referred to the physical characteristics of the soil and timber on the island and drew the inference that the island had formerly been a part of the mainland of Kentucky. This was derived from the fact that the timber on Wolf Island, consisting of large poplar, oak and black jack

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trees, was of the same character as found on the mainland of Kentucky opposite the island, and not found on the Missouri shore, and that only primitive soil could produce such trees, for in the case of land made from accretions, the trees were principally cottonwood.

It further appeared that the high land on the island was on a level with Kentucky land and about four or five feet higher than the land on the Missouri side opposite and above the island.

The conclusion was drawn that Wolf Island and the Kentucky shore were once parts of the same table of land, and at some remote period had been separated by the formation of the east channel.

## Controversy Over Green River Island

In 1890, a controversy was submitted to the United States Supreme Court between Indiana and Kentucky<sup>14</sup> relating to the jurisdiction over Green River Island, a formation of the Ohio River, being a tract of land nearly five miles in length and over half a mile wide, immediately above the city of Evansville, Indiana.

Kentucky claimed that her boundary and jurisdiction extended to low-water mark on the western or northwestern bank of the river, under the act of Virginia creating the District of Kentucky and under the earlier acts of Virginia ceding the Northwest Territory to the United States.

When Kentucky became a state, the waters of the Ohio River ran north

of the Green Island tract in a channel sometimes two hundred yards wide, and the tract in question was an island claimed by Kentucky.

In later years, the course of the Ohio River so changed that its main channel ran south of Green Island; the old channel to the north of the island was filled up and the tract seemed to become attached to Indiana, allowing free passage on dry land from the island to Indiana.

It was contended by Indiana that the boundary line was the middle of the river, or if Kentucky had a just claim to the territory south and east of the low-water mark on the western or northwestern side, that low-water mark was and had been since 1873, along the south margin of the Green River Island, and therefore the state boundary runs to the south of the disputed tract.

The court traced the origin of Kentucky's boundary as follows:

Kentucky derived her territorial rights from Virginia, who set apart to Kentucky lands bounded on the north by the territory ceded by Virginia to the United States. In the early period of the Revolutionary War the question whether the immense tracts of land lying within the indefinite charters of the states ought to belong to the states or to the United States, as stated by Chief Justice Marshall, "convulsed our confederacy and threatened its existence."<sup>15</sup>

Congress recommended to the federal states having claims to waste and unappropriated lands in the western country, that they make

<sup>14</sup>136 United States, 479.

<sup>15</sup>Handling's *Lessee versus Anthony*, 5 Wheat. 374, 376.



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“a liberal cession of a portion of their respective claims for the common benefit of the Union.”

Accordingly, Virginia, on the twentieth of December, 1783, passed an act authorizing the execution of a deed of cession to the United States of all right, title and claims, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, which the commonwealth had to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the Ohio River.

On the first of March, 1784, the delegates of Virginia in Congress executed the deed of cession in the same language, which was accepted by Congress and spread at length on its records.

On the thirteenth of July, 1787, Congress enacted the celebrated “Northwest Ordinance,” which, emanating from liberty-loving Virginians of the day, prohibited slavery and established religious freedom in language so choice and in sentiments so lofty as to give this document a great place in American history. This ordinance was entitled “An ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.”

As early as 1820, the question of the boundary between Kentucky and Indiana arose in a similar case in the United States Supreme Court, which afforded a precedent for the decision of the controversy over the Green Island tract. Chief Justice Marshall, in the early case, laid down the principles that when a great river is the boundary between two nations or states, if the original property is in neither, and there be no convention respecting it, each

holds to the middle of the stream, but when one state is the original proprietor and grants the territory on one side only, it retains the river within its own domain, and the newly created state extends to the river only. The river, however, is its boundary. By common consent of mankind the rule has been established that a country bounded by the river would extend to low-water mark. Where a state retains dominion over a river constituting a boundary between itself and another state, it would be extremely inconvenient to extend its dominion over the land on the other side which was left bare by the receding of the water. Whenever, therefore, the river is a boundary between states, it is the main, the permanent river which constitutes that boundary, and the mind will find itself embarrassed with insurmountable difficulty in attempting to draw any other line than the low-water mark.

The courts of Kentucky and Virginia followed the decision of the United States Supreme Court, declaring that the low-water mark on the western or northwestern side of the Ohio River is the proper boundary between the states of Kentucky and Indiana and Ohio, and between Virginia and Ohio.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>In *McFall versus Commonwealth* (2 Met. Ky. 394) a justice of the peace for a Cincinnati township, Ohio, was indicted in Kentucky for solemnizing a marriage on a ferry-boat upon the Ohio, midway between Newport, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and convicted, he having no authority to perform the ceremony within the State of Kentucky. *Commonwealth versus Garner*, 3 Gratt. Va., 655.

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Green River Island was thus held to belong to Kentucky.

## Iowa and Illinois Dispute

A very practical question of the taxation of bridges over the Mississippi arose between these two states in the year 1893.<sup>17</sup>

The middle of the Mississippi River was made the boundary line between the possessions of England and France after the French and Indian War, by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, in these words:

The confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.

In 1783, the treaty of Paris between the United States and Great Britain, wherein George III acknowledged the thirteen original colonies "to be free, sovereign and independent states" fixed the western boundary of the United States as "a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North latitude."

Incidentally this treaty provided that the navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to the ocean "shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States."

In 1762, Louis XV ceded to Spain all the territory west of the Mississippi which was retained until 1802, when Napoleon acquired possession of Louisiana.

During the occupation by Spain, in 1795, a treaty was entered into between the United States and Spain,

<sup>17</sup>*Iowa versus Illinois*, 147 United States, 1.

which described the western boundary of the United States as "the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi from the northern boundary of said states to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator."

This treaty likewise protected the right of navigation of the river in the contracting parties only in these words:

And his catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river in its whole breadth from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention.

In 1803, Napoleon, as First Consul of the French Republic, sold to the United States the territory west of the Mississippi, which was known as Louisiana, for fifteen millions of dollars, and the Mississippi as a boundary between hostile nations became the boundary between states of one nation. This was recognized in the acts of Congress creating several states of the Union, particularly Illinois and Iowa.


The former, on the east side of the great river forming part of the Northwest Territory ceded by Great Britain, was admitted to the Union in 1818.

By the act of Congress confirming the right of the people of Illinois to form a constitution, the northern and western boundaries of Illinois were defined as follows: "Starting in the middle of Lake Michigan at north latitude forty-two degrees and thirty minutes thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River and thence along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River."

By the act of Congress admitting Iowa into the Union, passed on the third of March, 1845, the eastern



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boundary of Iowa is described as "the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River." The same language is used in the constitution of Iowa, adopted May 18, 1846.

The dispute between Iowa and Illinois arose from the different construction placed upon the words describing the boundary lines by the authorities of the states. Iowa complained that Illinois taxed all bridges and other structures in the river, not to the middle of the stream but to the middle of the steamboat channel, and that in the case of the Keokuk and Hamilton Bridge Company, Illinois had taxed so much of the bridge at Keokuk, Iowa, as extended to a point nine hundred and forty-one feet west of the middle of the main arm or body of the river at that point.

It appeared that Iowa on the other hand taxed the same bridge to the middle of the structure between abutments, although that point was two hundred and twenty-five feet west of the middle of the stream, measured from bank to bank. There were nine bridges over the Mississippi connecting the two states, and considerable litigation existed as to the proper theory of taxation. Accordingly, the two states presented the dispute to the United States Supreme Court, after the highest courts of Iowa and Illinois had differed in opinion as to the true boundary. Illinois claimed the right to tax to the middle of the steamboat channel, where navigation was possible.

It was a perplexing question. The Iowa Supreme Court had in one case declared that it could not be possible that Congress intended to make a shifting, sinuous and sometimes obscure channel the boundary between states rather than the bed of the main river, which is well defined by islands or the shore, and decided that the

middle thread of the stream was the boundary, and the limit to the right of taxation.

The Supreme Court of Illinois held just the opposite view, declaring that the river was primarily a medium of navigation and that it would be most unjust to subject the channel, which might be on either side of the thread of the stream, to the control of another state, when the free navigation of the river was essential to commerce, and that Nature's pathway through the channel of a navigable river could not be trammelled by conflicting interests.

The United States Supreme Court referred to many authorities on international law, all pointing in the same direction, which may be well summarized in the quotation from Dr. Criss in *Creasy's First Platform on International Law*:

Grotius and Vattel speak of the middle of the river as the line of demarcation between two jurisdictions, but modern publicists and statesmen prefer the more accurate and more equitable boundary of the navigable mid-channel. If there be more than one channel of a river the deepest channel is the mid-channel for the purposes of territorial demarcation, and the boundary line will be the line drawn along the surface of the stream corresponding to the line of deepest depression in its bed.

The court, following the rule adopted in Illinois, declared that the true line in navigable rivers between the states of the Union, which separates the jurisdiction of the one from the other, is the middle of the main channel of the river—that is, the thread of the stream, the thalweg or mid-channel, and if there be several channels the middle of the principal one, or the one usually navigated.

These great states, forming part of one country, disposed of this difficulty in the constitutional method, without rancor or bitterness, and the result,



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so just and so permanent, affords another proof of the untold benefits of the purchase of Louisiana.

Livingston and Munroe in their joint letter to James Madison, dated May 13, 1803, giving the details of the negotiations for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, touched upon the danger to the United States of the occupation of the right bank of the Mississippi River by a foreign government—so happily averted by the cession.

A divided jurisdiction over the river, they wrote, might beget jealousies, dissensions and dissensions which the wisest policy on our part could not prevent or control. With a train of colonial government established along the western bank, from the entrance of the river far into the interior, under the command of military men, it would be difficult to preserve that state of things which would be necessary to the peace and tranquility of our country.

A single act of a capricious, unfriendly or unprincipled subaltern might wound our best interests, violate our most unquestioned rights and involve us in war. But by this acquisition, which comprises within our limits this great river and all the streams that empty into it from their sources to the ocean, the apprehensions of these disasters is banished for ages from the United States.

So Jefferson, in his message of October 17, 1803, announcing the purchase of Louisiana, refers to the dangers of conflict with other powers in these words:

While the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the western states, and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

## Kansas and Colorado Controversy

In this case,<sup>18</sup> celebrated on account

<sup>18</sup> *Kansas versus Colorado*, 206 United States, 46.

of the novelty and importance of the questions involved, Kansas complained of the diversion and use of the waters of the Arkansas River by elaborate irrigation systems of Colorado, whereby the bottom lands of Kansas bordering on the river were damaged and her farmers deprived of the normal flow of the waters and incidental moisture of the soil contiguous to water-courses.


The Arkansas River rises in the Rocky Mountains near Leadville, Colorado, and runs in the southeasterly direction through Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Arkansas, and finally empties into the Mississippi, two thousand miles from its source. Like the Missouri, it is erratic and uncertain, and its flow presents most unique features. At its source, the Arkansas is a mighty and irresistible torrent rushing over a rocky bed and then sinking into the Arkansas Valley where it is largely absorbed in the dry and thirsty soil.

Timothy Flint, describing the Arkansas, says that "in summer it pours a broad and deep stream from the mountains upon the arid base and sandy plains. The sand and the dry surrounding atmosphere so drink up the water, that in the dry season it may be crossed many hundred miles below the mountains, without wading as high as the knees."<sup>19</sup>


Francis Parkman<sup>20</sup> referring to the Arkansas, thus describes the river near Lamar, Colorado: "The Arkansas at this point and for several miles below is, in August, nothing but a broad bed, over which glide a few scanty threads of water, now and

<sup>19</sup> *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, by Timothy Flint, 1833.

<sup>20</sup> *The Oregon Trail*, by Francis Parkman, 1846.



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then extending into wide shallows. At several places, during the autumn, the water sinks into the sands and disappears altogether."

Elliot Coues<sup>21</sup> speaks of the river near Larned, Kansas, in these terms: "Queer river that—a great ditch, chock full of grassy islets stretching through the treeless prairie like a spotted snake, some seasons so dry you cannot wet your feet in it for miles and have to dig for a drink, sometimes a raging flood two hundred yards wide."

As to the navigability of the river in Kansas, General Grant, when a lieutenant in the army, is reported to have said that the river would be navigable from Wichita, Kansas, to its mouth, if they would copper-line it.

Notwithstanding the uncertain and at times insignificant flow of the stream through Kansas, it was claimed by Kansas in her controversy with Colorado, that the rich bottom lands on its banks had long depended upon the so-called "June rise" produced by melting snows, and upon an underground water course, running through the valley, of a definite area and perceptible movement, which contributed to make the farming lands productive, but, since 1890, the flow of the river had greatly declined, the stream had narrowed its banks and had ceased to flow altogether in certain seasons of the year, the June rise had greatly lessened or nearly disappeared and the farmers along the river had suffered more severely than ever before from drought. All these alleged changes in the average flow of the river and in the underflow were attributed by Kansas to the irrigation systems of Colorado, which diverted and used the water.

Upon the filing of the bill of complaint in the United States Supreme Court, in May, 1901, Colorado inter-

posed a demurrer, challenging the right of Kansas to any relief, on the ground of want of jurisdiction, and claiming that no rights of Kansas were infringed, that Kansas was seeking to redress the wrongs of private citizens of the state and that the acts complained of have been committed, not by the State of Colorado but by corporations and private individuals, not made parties to the suit.

The court declined to pass upon the intricate questions in the case upon a demurrer, and overruled it without prejudice to any question.<sup>22</sup>

Kansas thereupon amended its complaint by bringing in the Colorado Iron and Fuel Company, and other corporations.

Colorado filed her answer, and depositions of three hundred and forty-seven witnesses, constituting eight thousand, five hundred pages of testimony, were taken, and the case was finally argued in the Supreme Court by counsel, upon elaborate briefs, in the month of December, 1906, the argument continuing for four days.


Kansas invoked the ancient maxim, "aqua currit ut currere solebat," and contended that Colorado should be restricted to a reasonable use of the waters of the river for irrigation purposes and should be prevented from consuming all the waters in the river and thus turning the fertile lands of Kansas into a desert. On the other hand, Colorado insisted that the old rule of riparian rights at common law must be abandoned or modified to meet the conditions of an arid country where water was indispensable, or otherwise, farms made productive by irrigation would again become waste and barren lands, driving out hundreds of thousands

<sup>21</sup> *Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike*; note by Elliot Coues, June, 1864.

<sup>22</sup> *Kansas versus Colorado*, 185 United States, 125.



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of people and preventing the development of the great desert region, capable of supporting from fifty to one hundred millions of people.

In support of the defense it was shown that the arid lands of the country, forming the Great American Desert, where the precipitation of rainfall, less than twenty inches annually, was insufficient to produce crops without artificial application of water, embrace between two-fifths and one half of the entire area of the United States, including practically all of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, the greater part of Washington, Oregon and California, about one-third of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma, and a part of Texas. It was also proved that during twenty-five years prior to 1903 there were reclaimed within the arid region almost ten millions of acres, worth more than five hundred millions of dollars, and supporting five millions of people.

The United States intervened in the controversy and contended, through the attorney general, that the policy of the government in respect to the reclamation of arid and semi-arid lands could not be carried out if the common law doctrine of riparian rights were applied, and that the national government had a superior right to control the whole system of reclamation of arid lands and that the rights of the states, *inter sese*, in respect to the flow of the waters of the Arkansas River, was subordinate to government control.

The principal questions argued were; first, what are the extent and limits of national control over the irrigation systems of the West under the Reclamation and other acts of Congress as affecting the rights of the States?; second, what are the relative rights at common law of upper and lower pro-

prietors of land bordering on a river?; third, has the common law of riparian rights been modified by the necessity of irrigation?


The opinion of the court, delivered by Justice Brewer, is a learned and luminous contribution to what he characterized as "interstate common law" which the Supreme Court is building up by decisions in numerous successive cases of dispute. Upon the question of superior control of irrigation by Congress the court comes to the conclusion that although the Reclamation Act of Congress in 1902 (32 Stat. at L. 388) provided for the use of the receipts from the sale and disposal of the public lands in certain states and territories in the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, such act did not justify the doctrine of superior or exclusive control, or authorize the government to enter the territory of the states and legislate in respect to the improvement by irrigation of lands, or otherwise, within their borders;

. . . that no such power was given by the constitution, and the court reiterated the doctrine that the federal government is one of enumerated powers and if the power is not expressly delegated to the United States by the constitution, it is reserved to the people of all the states.


The court then deduces the proposition that each state has full jurisdiction over all its lands, including the beds of streams and other waters, subject only to control by Congress in the matters of public navigation and commerce.

The court in its opinion presents the conflicting claims of the states, but declines to take the extreme views of either state.

The effect of the application of the ancient rules of the common law contended for would be, on one hand, to take away from Kansas lands its semi-



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humid or arable character, and on the other hand, if Colorado were required to abandon the irrigation of its lands, to perpetuate a desert in Colorado beyond the power of reclamation.

So the court adopts the middle course of equality of rights and settles the controversy by holding that the appropriation of the waters of the Arkansas by Colorado by systems of irrigation has diminished the flow of the river through Kansas, that the result of the reclamation has been to transform thousands of acres in Colorado into fertile fields, rendering possible their occupation and cultivation, when otherwise they would have continued barren and unoccupied, and that while there has been perceptible injury to Kansas lands close to the Colorado border, yet there has been little injury to the great body of the valley.

The court declared that Kansas had failed to make out a case entitling her to a decree. It was, however, intimated that if the depletion of the waters of the river by Colorado should continue to increase there may come a time when Kansas may justly claim that there is no longer an equitable division of benefits and seek relief. Accordingly the bill was dismissed without prejudice to the right of Kansas to institute new proceedings in the event of substantial injury in the future.

In the course of the opinion Justice Brewer, long a resident of Kansas, referred incidentally to the effect of cultivation of land in the eastern parts of Kansas as gradually extending westerly the productivity of land by increase of moisture, and he gives the experience of farmers in support of an ingenious but plausible theory that irrigation may compensate for the loss of the waters of the Arkansas River by evaporation and an increased rainfall.



He states the fact that the early settlers of Kansas Territory found the farming was unsuccessful, unless confined to the eastern one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles, but west of that line crops were so affected by drought as to be a failure, but, now that region is the home of a great population with crops as certain as those elsewhere, yet this change was not brought about by irrigation.

The theory was that the original sod was impervious to water, and when the spring rains came, the water, instead of sinking into the ground filled the water-courses to overflowing and ran off to the Gulf of Mexico.

There was no water in the soil, he says, to go up in vapor and come down in showers, and the constant heat of summer destroyed the crops; but after the sod had once been turned, the water from those rains largely sank into the ground, and then as the summer came on, went up in vapor and came down in showers, and so by continual watering preventing the burning up of the growing crops.

He then states the fact that the area of profitably cultivated land, instead of stopping at a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the Missouri River, has extended from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles further west, and seems to be steadily moving towards the western boundary of the state.

He then suggests the reasonable expectation that as the arid lands of Colorado are irrigated and become from year to year covered with vegetation, there will move eastward from Colorado an extension of the area of arable lands, until between the Missouri River and the mountains of Colorado the land will be as fully subject to cultivation as lands elsewhere in the country, and that the productiveness of Kansas and its capacity to support an increasing population may be increased by the use of the water in Colorado for irrigation.



# Historic Lineages in America—First Builders of Western Hemisphere


Investigations in British College of Heraldry & Sociological  
Import of the First Pioneers who came to the New World and  
Founded Lineages which have become Strong Fibres of  
Character in American Civilization & Heraldic Emblazonry

BY

FRANCES M. SMITH

Author of Colonial Families of America

Editorial Staff Frank Allaben Genealogical Company



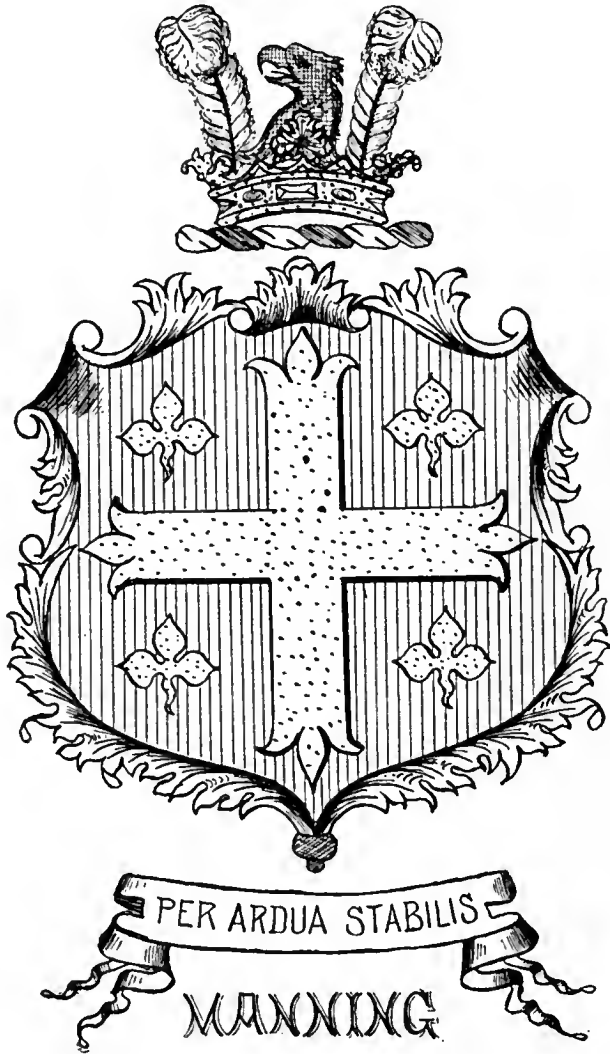
**T**HE inauguration of this department, to be known as the American College of Heraldry, as an auxiliary to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, brings before the American people a new field in historical research. Heraldry, while it has received but little attention in America, is closely related to history and has a very important bearing upon it. It cannot be assumed that a people, because they are living in the most democratic government in the world, cannot admire *valor*. Antiquity is as much the heritage of the liberty-loving citizen of the republic as it is that of the older forms of society. It is even more so—because the Americans can look back upon antiquity as folklore that no longer dictates or orders their lives, while in monarchical governments it still survives in the conventions of society.

There are many Americans today who hold as heirlooms the coats-of-arms that were conferred upon their progenitors in the Old World civilization. This department is inaugurated in these pages to give historical record to these mementoes of antiquity, which must always be treasured by any people who maintain a sense of loyalty to the service of their fathers and the history of civilization.

The tracing of heraldry is a scholarly pursuit, inasmuch as it carries the investigator through all forms of society to the foundation of government and the origin of mankind. Such were the lion of the tribe of Judah, the eagle on the standards of the ancient Romans, the tattoo marks on the savages of America, the white horse of the Saxons, and the heraldic illuminations that are coeval with English civilization.


Many of the latter records are preserved in the British museum and elsewhere, in France and Germany, from whence much of the coat-armor emanates. THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY has made arrangements whereby it will maintain special investigators in the British museum and throughout the institutions of record in Europe. The results of these investigations will be brought to America and recorded in the archives of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY where they will be at the disposal of any subscribers of this publication who desire to consult them by addressing letters of inquiry to the editorial board.—EDITOR

**I**nvestigations in British College of Heraldry





# Manning Foundations in American History

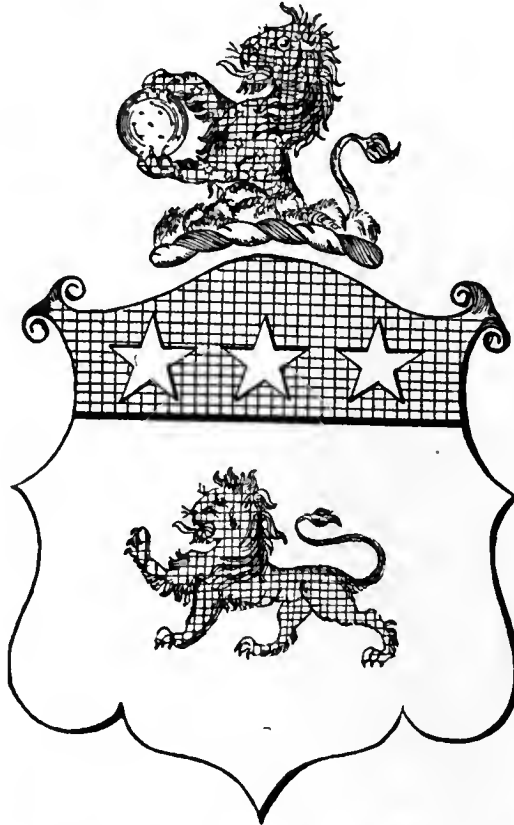


**M**ANNING is from an old Norse word—manningi—meaning a brave or valiant man, and one of the first forms of the name was Mannin; another orthography was Mannyng. One historian gives a Saxon origin for the family, which he calls “ancient and noble.” According to him, Manning was the name of a town in Saxony, and from thence the family of Great Britain sprung. Others make Mannheim, Germany, the cradle of the family, and begin its history with Ranulph, or Rudolph de Manning, Count Palatine, who, having married Elgida, aunt to King Harold I, of England, had a grant of land in Kent. His name is also written de Mannheim-Rudolph of Mannheim. His place in Kent was Downe Court, and there the Mannings have been a power ever since. Simon de Manning, called a grandson of Ranulph, was the first of the English barons to take up the cross, and go forth to the Holy Wars. He was a companion of Richard I, Cœur de Lion, and was knighted on the battlefield. By the thirteenth century, the family was well represented in over a score of countries, and several towns bear their names—Manningham, Yorkshire, and Mannington, Norfolk.

In the New World the Mannings have always been well represented. In 1634, William of Kent made a home at Cambridge, Massachusetts; about the same time we find John and Thomas at Ipswich; another John, and George, at Boston; in 1662, Nicholas at Salem, Massachusetts, and in 1676, Jeffrey Manning in New Jersey. William of Cambridge is regarded as the ancestor of the Mannings of Vermont, Connecticut and New York. His grandsons were Ohio pioneers. William of Cambridge, and Susannah, his wife, had one son, William, born 1614, in England. When it was decided to call a new pastor, he was sent to England to ask Reverend Urian Oakes to accept the position, which he did, and later he became president of Harvard. To William Manning, junior, and John Cooper was entrusted the task of collecting funds for the building of Harvard Hall. In 1635, Thomas and John Manning, born in England, were living in Virginia. Stephen Mannering [not Manning, although this may have been the correct spelling], in 1677, confessed, with others: “We have bin notoriously actors in ye late horrid rebellion, set on foot by Nathaniel Bacon.” In Spotsylvania County, Virginia, Andrew and James Manning were living about 1770, and in Princess Anne County, Henry K. Manning. The family was prominent in South Carolina, where there is a town, Manning, in Clarendon County. Thomas Manning was one of the Council of Safety, South Carolina, in 1775. The picturesque figure is Captain John Manning, whose career, on both land and water, was noteworthy. He was born in England. In 1667, we find him high sheriff of New York City, a judge, and a commander of the high seas, in 1673, when the Dutch fleet arrived with the enterprising purpose of annexing Manhattan Island. Demanding the surrender of Fort James, it was given up, and straightway Captain John returned to England to explain to the king how impossible it was to hold the fort with but a handful of men. The king, turning to the duke of York said, “Brother, the ground could not be maintained with so few men.” Manning was thus exonerated, and returned to New York in the same ship with Governor Andros. Representatives are found in all colonial wars. Benjamin, David, Daniel, Thomas and Samuel were among the number. Diah, of Connecticut, was a drummer of Washington’s Life Guards. Lieutenant Lawrence Manning, of the Continental Army, was father of Richard Irvine Manning, governor of South Carolina, where he was born, at Hickory Hill, Clarendon County.

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nvestigations in British College of Heraldry




COELUM TUERI

Ball





## Ball Foundations in American History



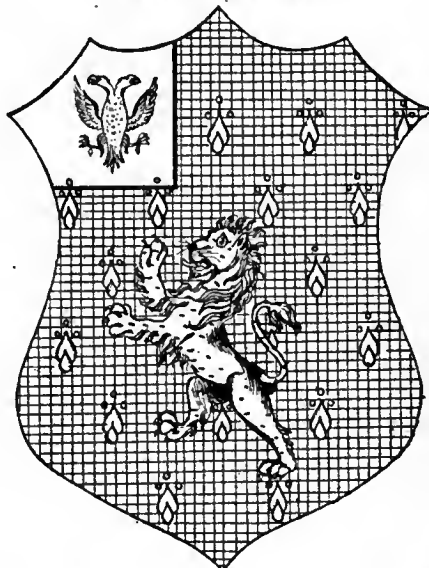
**T**HE first mention of the name Ball occurs in the Domesday Book of Exon, where a certain Vice-Comes Bal is named as a landed proprietor. In the "Worthies of Droon" there is an account of Sir Peter Ball who was skilled in the science of antiquities, and wrote several volumes on the subject. The "brotherhood of man" was first preached by John Ball, Puritan divine, who was born in England in the fourteenth century. He is mentioned by Froude, who says that he was the moving spirit in the insurrection of 1381. One of the heroes of the family was Major Ball, who alone and unarmed, taking his life in his hand, went into the forest of Ladyswood to parley with Highland deserters, inducing them to return to their allegiance. Sir Alexander Ball, admiral of the Blue, distinguished himself at the siege of Malta, and was made governor of the island. Half a century before, Thomas Ball defended the castle of Salonica a year against the Turks, and of him Mahommed, second emperor of the Turks, said that in the great country of the Peloponnesus he had found many heroes, but never a man but him. Frances Ball, daughter of a wealthy Dublin merchant, established no less than thirty-seven convents. Hannah Ball was one of Wesley's most devoted followers. By his advice she broke off a marriage engagement with one who was an ungodly man—from the standpoint of the church. This, Wesley termed an uncommon instance of resolution.

Ball is a name of Saxon derivation, from bal, meaning bold, also quick, swift. The first upon whom the name was bestowed was doubtless swift, or bold, to do and dare. De Ballé is one form of the name; other variations are Balle, Bale, Baul and Bal. Bal is a Belgian surname. One of the early settlers in this country was Francis Ball, who came over in 1640, and helped to found Springfield, Massachusetts. He was a son of William Ball, of Wiltshire, and one of six brothers, all of whom came to seek their fortunes in the Western World. All the Massachusetts Balls are descendants of Francis and his wife, Abigail Burt, who was one of a family of a round dozen and a half, plus one—nineteen brothers and sisters. Edward Ball of Branford, Connecticut, joined the party of New Englanders who moved to New Jersey and helped to build Newark.

In the South the Balls have been a power from the first. Washington's ancestor, Colonel William Ball, came over about 1650, and settled in Lancaster County, where he gave the name "Millenbeck" to his estate, and for six generations there was a William Ball of Millenbeck. His friend and neighbor was John Washington, grandfather of George Washington. Colonel Ball married, in England, Hannah Atherall of Suffolk, and they had four children. One was Colonel Joseph, of Epping Forest, who married Julia Romney, and after her death, Mary Montague Johnson, or the "Widow Johnson," a descendant of the ancient and honorable house of Montague, which was founded by Drogo de Montacuto, in the eleventh century. It was her daughter, Mary Ball, who married Augustine, son of John Washington, and their son was George Washington.

Revolutionary rolls furnish the names of scores of Balls, and among the number are seventeen named John. Twenty-one from New Jersey, enrolled as privates, and nine as officers, were recognized by Washington as relatives. Several were at Valley Forge. The sword and spontoon of Jonathan Ball are still in existence. Another Jonathan was a major in the Revolution.

**I**nvestigations in British College of Heraldry



**EDWARDS**



## Edwards Foundations in American History

**M**ANY American families claim Alfred the Great as ancestor. Possibly the Edward or Edwards family put Edward or Eadward, Alfred's son, in the center of their chart, or rather, at the root of their genealogical tree. Certainly, the Edwardses have been prominent enough in English history to shed a good deal of luster upon the name, by whomsoever borne. Edwardes is another spelling. The name probably started as Udward or Adfert. In Anglo-Saxon records we read of Adferton or Edwardes-tune, which means the enclosure of Edward. The name is an important one in Wales, where one branch claim descent from Tudor Trevor, a chieftain of mighty prowess. These are the Edwards of Sea Castle. Another branch is of the line of Roderick, the great king. "The Edwards Hall," as it is called, near Cardiff, Wales, has been the home of a powerful line of Edwards. It was built by Godofroy de Pomeroy, a Norman knight, in William the Conqueror's time; it came into the Edwards family by marriage, and remained a seat until 1635. The ruins still stand.

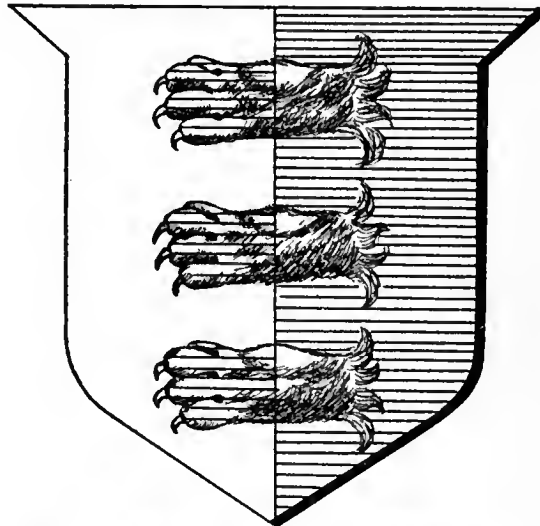
In England the noble houses of Kensington and Anglesey are of Edwards blood. Lord d'Elbœuf, a kinsman of the Conqueror, founded one branch of the family, with seats in Somerset, Cornwall, and Bedford. The title of Sir Herbert Edwardes, one of Britain's greatest generals of the nineteenth century, was an inheritance from an ancestor knighted in 1644 by Charles I. The lord mayor of London, in 1679, was an Edwards. An English historian of note was Bryan Edwards. A fashionable sonneteer, ready rhymer and dramatist, was Richard Edwards, born in 1533, in Somersetshire. He was a gentleman of the royal chapel, and "master of singing boys." His life was spent in England, although his death is recorded as taking place at Edwards Hall, Wales.

It was his grandson, William, who was one of the first of the name in the New World. In 1646, he appears upon the records as a land owner in Hartford, Connecticut. He was one of the founders of East Haven. Daniel Edward, of the fourth generation from William, the Pilgrim, was a member of the king's council for the colony of Connecticut. Timothy, born in 1669, of this line, was chaplain of the troops in the Canadian expedition of 1709. Captain James Edwards served with the Pennsylvania troops in the Revolution. He had the greatest affection for Washington, and on his deathbed said, "I shall soon meet my dear old General Washington." Benjamin, son of Hayden Edwards, of Virginia, was a member of the state convention of Maryland that ratified the Federal constitution, and a member of the first Congress. His brother John was a member of the Virginia convention that ratified the constitution, and afterwards a senator from Kentucky. Another brother, Sanford Edwards, was a surgeon in General Marion's army.

The world-famous one of the family is Jonathan, of whom the historian Fiske says, "He was one of the wonders of the world, probably the greatest intelligence the Western Hemisphere has yet seen." Bancroft writes: "Of all the scholars and philosophers produced by America, only two have established a permanent reputation—Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards." The arms reproduced, those belonging to the Pilgrim William and his descendants, were granted by Edward III, to an ancestor, for prowess at the battle of Crecy, 1335. They are verified by the Heralds' College, London.


I

Investigations in British College of Heraldry




RES NON VERBA

Wilson



# Wilson Foundations in American History




**W**ILSON is a name said to be derived from Williams. In old records we find that a certain John designated himself "John son of William, the son of John de Hunchelf." In another later record he wrote himself John Wilson. In this way the name formed. It was a free and easy way each man had of identifying himself in the long ago. Sometimes the same person bore different surnames at different periods. Thus a man who described himself as William, son of Adam Emmotson, in 1506, calls himself William Emmotson ten years later. Willson was almost invariably the spelling until within the last one hundred and fifty years—now we seldom find the two "I's" used.

Before 1700, a number of Wilsons had found homes in this country. Roger Wilson, born in England, was one of the company who helped to fit out the *Mayflower*. His son John, born in England, 1631, came over twenty years later, and did valiant service in fighting both Indians and Frenchmen. His great-grandson, John, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, was in the Revolution. William, an early settler of Concord, died a soldier in the Continental Army, and his son, Samuel, born here, entered the army when only sixteen and served to the end. The pastor of the first church, built about 1630, in Boston, was John Wilson, who is supposed to have been one of those of Governor Winthrop's fleet. John's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Mansfield, and his mother was niece of the famous Puritan Archbishop Grindal. John Wilson traced a pedigree to William Wilson, "gentleman," of Welsbourne, Lincoln County, England, who died 1587, and was buried in the famous chapel of Windsor Castle. Here his son, Reverend William, a canon of the chapel, was also buried, in 1615. The Reverend John was nearly related to the Wellsbourne family, doubtless a son of Canon Wilson. Gowen Wilson was one of the forty-two men admitted citizens of Kittery, Maine, in 1647.

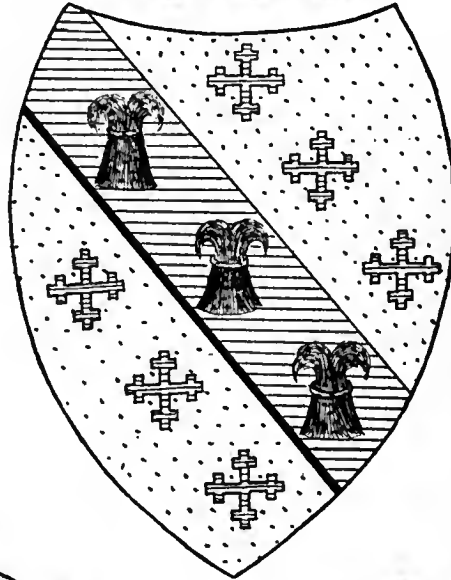
The progenitor of the New York branch of the family was William, a famous doctor in Scotland. The New York William settled at Livingston Manor, and was executor of the will of Chancellor Livingston. William was in the War of 1812. The Pennsylvania family claim Thomas Wilson, who came over in 1730, and was one of the founders of Gettysburg. He married a sister of Major Dunwiddie, of Revolutionary fame. James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was one of the founders of the North Carolina branch of the family. He was born in Scotland, and possessed the splendid characteristics of that nation—characteristics which have made its people notable the world over. James was a member of the Continental Congress, and also the Congress of 1785. Soon after he was appointed Chief Justice.

The coat-of-arms reproduced, that of the Wilsons of Wellsbourne, is recorded in the Heralds' Lincolnshire Visitation of 1592. It is found on the will of Reverend John, of Boston. According to Burke's Peerage, it was granted March 24, 1586. Motto: *Res non verba*—"Deeds, or acts, not words." A lion, as has often been said, is a bearing of high honor—it matters not whether it be the body entire, or erased, or simply a limb. The family of South Carolina, descendants of Dr. Robert, bear arms: Gules, a chevron, between three mullets, argent. Crest: A talbot's head. Motto: *Semper Vigilans*. The New York Wilsons bear arms: Sable, a wolf, ducally gorged. Crest: A wolf's head. Motto: *Ego de meo sensu judico*.



**I**

Investigations in British College of Heraldry



DAT DEUS INCREMENTUM

Bancroft



## Bancroft Foundations in American History

**B**ANCROFT may be a name derived from bane or baynes, meaning white, or fair, and croft, an Anglo-Saxon word for a small enclosed field. In some parts of Scotland, and the Orkney and Shetland Isles, crofters are small holders of land. The term is now almost wholly confined to the Western Highlands. Bancroft may mean a small, white field, as Ashcroft means a close where ash-trees grow, and Allcroft, or Hallcroft, an enclosure by the hall. Croft is a common termination of surnames. About the only variations of Bancroft are Bancraft and Bancreaft.

The family is doubtless of Anglo-Saxon origin. They flourished in Lancashire, where Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, or primate of England, was born, in 1544. He was "chief overseer," as he was called, of the authorized version of the Bible, published 1610. One pilgrim father was John Bancroft, of Warston-on-Trent, Derby, of whom we know that he was married in England before 1622; that about 1632, with wife Jane and son Thomas, he was living in Lynn or Lynnfield, or Reading, Massachusetts, and that he died in 1637. He had another son, his namesake, John. Thomas was in the Indian wars, with the rank of ensign, and afterward he was lieutenant of the Foot Company of Lynn. Ebenezer, son of Lieutenant Thomas, was also a soldier and in Philip's War, with the rank of captain. Among Bancrofts who bore arms in the Continental Army, and were officers, may be mentioned, Lieutenant Samuel of Connecticut; of Massachusetts, Ensign William, Captain James, who died 1831; Lieutenants Edmund, Lemuel and James, and Captain Ebenezer, wounded at Bunker Hill.

The Reverend Aaron Bancroft, of Massachusetts, a Harvard graduate, a minuteman at Lexington and Bunker Hill, is not only remembered for his patriotic services, but also because he wrote a "Life of Washington," and was the father of George Bancroft, the historian. George Bancroft was not only the historian of his country, but a statesman as well. He was representative at both courts of Saint James and Berlin, where he was a *persona grata*. Emperor William I, gave him a portrait of himself, inscribed, "To his friend, in remembrance of the years 1867-74." George Bancroft was also collector of the port of Boston, and secretary of the navy during Polk's administration. The "historian of the Pacific Coast," as he is called, is Herbert Howe Bancroft, born in Ohio, but of old Massachusetts stock. Another is Edward Bancroft, born in 1744, in Westfield, Massachusetts. He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin. Bancroft marriage connections include the families of Websters, Nichols, Parkers, Hartshornes, Deweys, Waldos, Fosters, Tarbells, Daniels and Ives.

The coat-of-arms illustrated, is ascribed to John Bancroft, the Lynn pilgrim of 1632. It is blazoned: Or, on a bend, between six cross-crosslets, azure, three garbs [or wheat sheaves] of the first. Crest: A garb between two wings expanded, or. Motto: *Dat Deus incrementum*. Arms nearly identical are blazoned by Burke as granted, 1604, to the Bancrofts of London. Garb or garbe always means a sheaf of wheat. When of any other grain it is so stated, as a "garb of oats."

**I**nvestigations in British College of Heraldry







## Osgood Foundations in American History

**"D**IVINELY good" is the meaning of Osgood, which is of Saxon origin. Os is God, or the Divinity. The word in the Norse tongue is quite similar—"as"—pronounced "ouse." Other words derived from os are Osbert, "handsome as a god;" Ostgood, "good host;" Osmuna, "divine protection;" Oswald, "divine power." The Latin form is Osgotus.

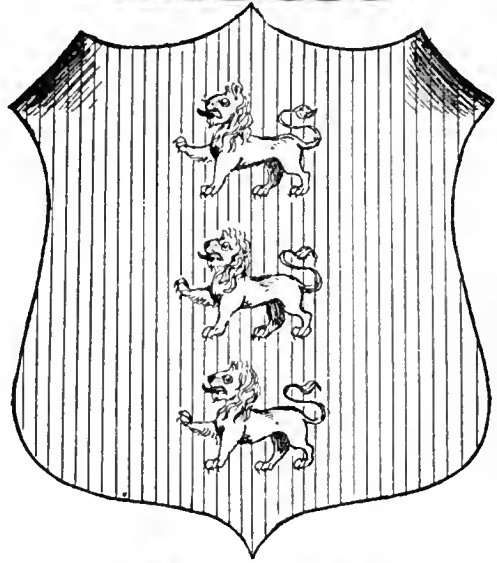
Two old variations of the name are Osgith and Osyth. The king of Northumbria, in 612, was Oswy. Before the Norman conquest, Clapa Osgod was living at Lambeth, and it was at the marriage feast of his daughter, Gytha, in 1402, that Harthacnut, or "Hardicanute," died, as he drained his goblet. Osgod was second only to the king in power. After the battle of Hastings, the Saxon monks, Osgod and Alrik, removed Harold's remains to their monastery at Waltham. In Domesday Book mention is made of several Osgoods holding lands in a number of counties. Osgot was a great land proprietor, probably one of the Saxons who made his peace with the Conqueror, and was confirmed in his possessions. Robertus Osgood was a burgess of Willshire, living in the thirteenth century. In 1316, Adam de Osgodby, of Yorkshire, was keeper of the great seal. One ancestor was John, in 1638, from Herrell, or Wherwell, near Andover, and is said to have named Andover, Massachusetts, which town he helped to found. His was the second house there, and religious services were held in it until the church was built. The property has been in possession of the family until within the last few years.

Another ancestor was Christopher Osgood—or Ossgood, as the name was more commonly spelled in colonial times. He, with his wife, Margaret, was the first settler in the town of Ipswich, Massachusetts. Another pilgrim was William Osgood, who went to Salisbury, Massachusetts. It is said that the three Osgoods were brothers. The Osgoods have been staunch patriots. Captain John, son of John the first, was imprisoned by Andros during the opposition to the taxation of 1687. Colonel John and Captain Peter Osgood were members of the committee which drew up resolutions against the Stamp Act. Peter was a leading member of the committee formed to encourage home manufactures. Massachusetts Revolutionary rolls of those who flew to arms upon the "Lexington Alarm" give the names of six Osgoods from Andover, eight from Salisbury, and twelve from other towns. Under "Miscellaneous Service," Benjamin Osgood "marched 26 miles from home," Thomas "enlisted October 16, 1777, discharged October 18, 20 miles from home."

Samuel Osgood, of Andover, the fifth in descent from John, commanded a company of minutemen at Lexington and Concord, and served on many important committees in the Provincial Congress. He helped to frame the constitution of the United States, and was a member of the cabinet. The first two names on the list of incorporators of the present public school system of New York are those of De Witt Clinton and Samuel Osgood. Samuel was first postmaster-general of the United States, and at his house, 1 Cherry Street, Washington stayed when he came to New York on his inauguration. Thaddeus Osgood, born in 1775, organized the first church in Buffalo, and founded many others. The great philanthropist, George Peabody, was of Osgood lineage.

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VIRTUS OMNIA NOBILITAT

Griffith



## Griffith Foundations in American History



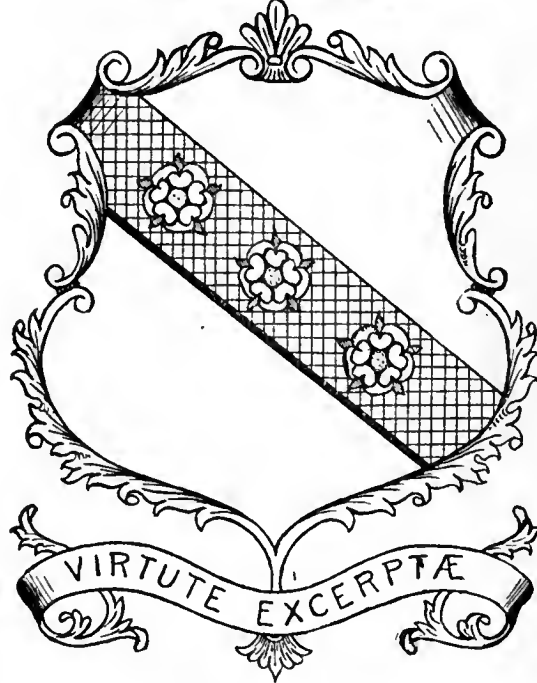
**T**HE family of Griffith is an ancient one, descended from Rhys ap Tudor Mawr, ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales, 1077, through Trahairn Goch, chieftain of Llyn, Carnarvonshire, North Wales. One William Griffith of Llyn, and of this line, about 1700, son of John and Elizabeth, daughter of Viscount Bulkley, and a member of Parliament, married Mary, daughter of Sir Bibye Lake, of London. Owen ap Robert Owen, of Anglesey, was an ancestor of this line, and marriage connections include the earls of Aylesford, and the noble house of Trevon of Trevalyn. This is one account of the origin of the Griffiths. Another has it that the family can claim descent from Lleyllyn, the last king of Wales, who was the son of Griffith, also king of Wales.

The Griffiths in America are descendants of a Welsh princess, Katherine, daughter of Lord Rys, Prince of South Wales, and she married Rydderch ap Kydiron. Their son was Rys ap Rydderch of Castle Howell, or Hywel. Prince Rys, or Lord Rys ap Griffith, was a man of valor in a warlike age, as well as "a great patron of the bards." "He made a feast at Christmas and caused it to be proclaimed throughout the country, a year and a day beforehand. Thither came many strangers, and among deeds of arms, and other 'shows,' the Prince caused all the poets of Wales, who were makers of songs, and recorded of gentlemen's arms and pedigrees, to come thither, and provided chairs for them, where they should dispute together, to try their cunning, where great and rich gifts were prepared for the overcomers."

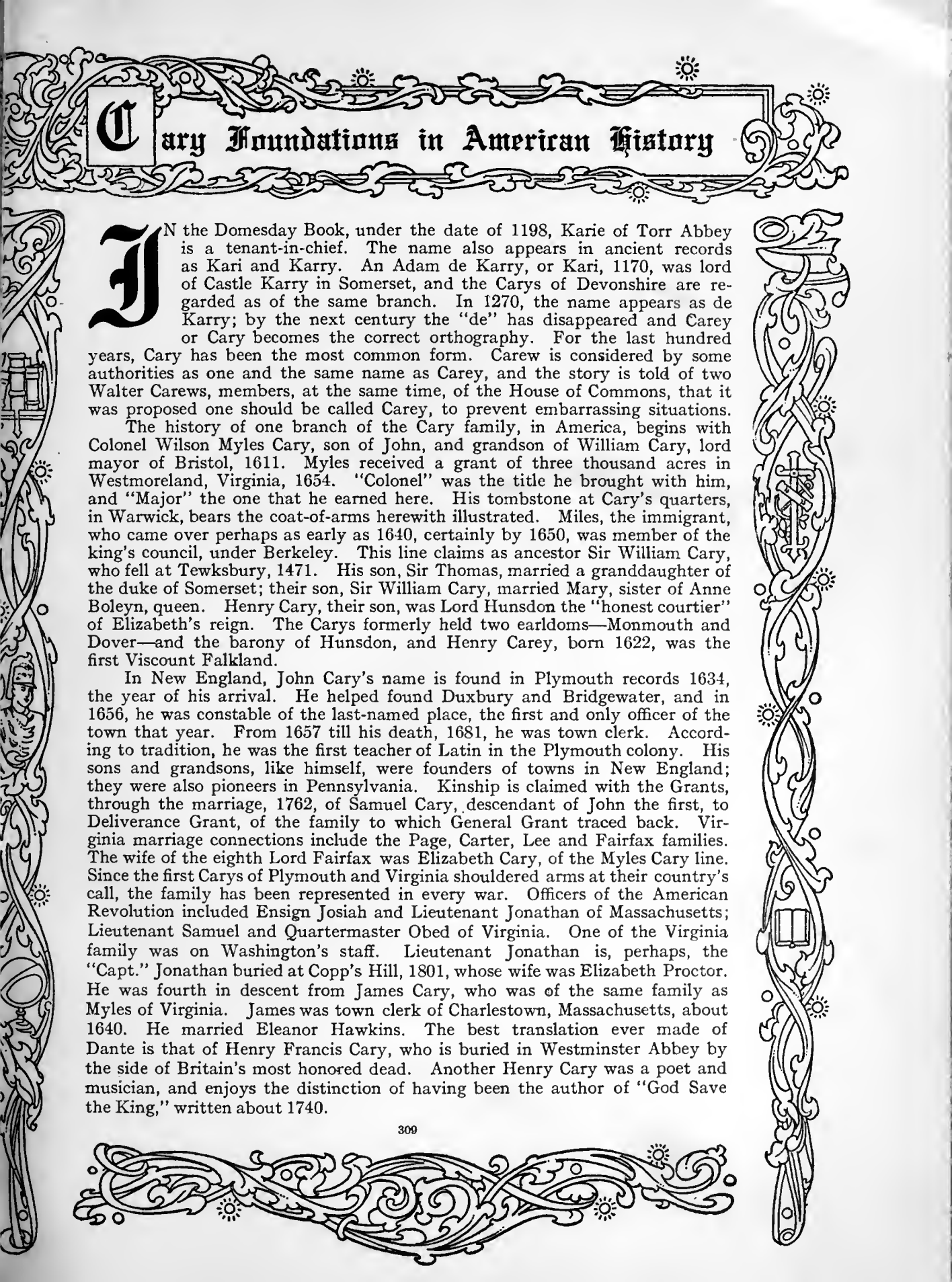
One immigrant ancestor was William Griffith from Cardigan, Wales, 1721. He settled in New York State. Then there is the usual tradition of three brothers. They, too, were born in Wales and crossed the sea in 1715. Their names were Griffith, John and William, and they made homes in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Griffith Griffiths married, 1722, Gwen, daughter of Evan Thomas, and he died in 1760, possessed of considerable property, as his will shows. His children were Evan, Amos, Levi, Dan, Rebecca. In the course of time descendants of the three brothers dropped the "s", writing their name Griffith. The three brothers were sons of Griffith Johns of Llanddewi, Cardigan. They are called college-bred men, of considerable wealth. There was a marriage of this branch of the family with the Howells of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Other marriages include the Sharps, Fosters and Cadwalladers. A relic is an old Welsh Bible with records. One is the autograph of a Richard Williams—"his hand and pen, God save Queen Anne and all her men."

The Griffith record is a patriotic one, and among officers of the Revolution are the following names: From Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Benjamin, 1776, and Ensign Levi, 1776 to 1783; Levi died 1825; from Maryland, Captain Samuel, 1776 to 1778; Lieutenant Charles, Colonel Charles Greenberry Griffith, of the Flying Camp, 1776; Ensign John also of the Flying Camp, and commissioned lieutenant; from Virginia, Captain Philemon, 1776 to 1777—he died 1838; Surgeon and Chaplain David, 1776 to 1779. In Pennsylvania the Welsh family of Griffiths has always been prominent. In 1715, Thomas Griffiths and wife, Mary Norris, were living in Philadelphia. Thomas was keeper of the great seal of Pennsylvania; provincial councilor; judge of the Supreme Court, and mayor of Philadelphia. He died in 1740. William Griffiths was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital. A bookplate used by Thomas is in possession of a descendant. This coat-armor was borne by William Griffith, the New York ancestor, 1721.

**I**nvestigations in British College of Heraldry



Cary



## Cary Foundations in American History

**I**N the Domesday Book, under the date of 1198, Karie of Torr Abbey is a tenant-in-chief. The name also appears in ancient records as Kari and Karry. An Adam de Karry, or Kari, 1170, was lord of Castle Karry in Somerset, and the Carys of Devonshire are regarded as of the same branch. In 1270, the name appears as de Karry; by the next century the "de" has disappeared and Carey or Cary becomes the correct orthography. For the last hundred years, Cary has been the most common form. Carew is considered by some authorities as one and the same name as Carey, and the story is told of two Walter Carews, members, at the same time, of the House of Commons, that it was proposed one should be called Carey, to prevent embarrassing situations.

The history of one branch of the Cary family, in America, begins with Colonel Wilson Myles Cary, son of John, and grandson of William Cary, lord mayor of Bristol, 1611. Myles received a grant of three thousand acres in Westmoreland, Virginia, 1654. "Colonel" was the title he brought with him, and "Major" the one that he earned here. His tombstone at Cary's quarters, in Warwick, bears the coat-of-arms herewith illustrated. Miles, the immigrant, who came over perhaps as early as 1640, certainly by 1650, was member of the king's council, under Berkeley. This line claims as ancestor Sir William Cary, who fell at Tewksbury, 1471. His son, Sir Thomas, married a granddaughter of the duke of Somerset; their son, Sir William Cary, married Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn, queen. Henry Cary, their son, was Lord Hunsdon the "honest courtier" of Elizabeth's reign. The Carys formerly held two earldoms—Monmouth and Dover—and the barony of Hunsdon, and Henry Carey, born 1622, was the first Viscount Falkland.


In New England, John Cary's name is found in Plymouth records 1634, the year of his arrival. He helped found Duxbury and Bridgewater, and in 1656, he was constable of the last-named place, the first and only officer of the town that year. From 1657 till his death, 1681, he was town clerk. According to tradition, he was the first teacher of Latin in the Plymouth colony. His sons and grandsons, like himself, were founders of towns in New England; they were also pioneers in Pennsylvania. Kinship is claimed with the Grants, through the marriage, 1762, of Samuel Cary, descendant of John the first, to Deliverance Grant, of the family to which General Grant traced back. Virginia marriage connections include the Page, Carter, Lee and Fairfax families. The wife of the eighth Lord Fairfax was Elizabeth Cary, of the Myles Cary line. Since the first Carys of Plymouth and Virginia shouldered arms at their country's call, the family has been represented in every war. Officers of the American Revolution included Ensign Josiah and Lieutenant Jonathan of Massachusetts; Lieutenant Samuel and Quartermaster Obed of Virginia. One of the Virginia family was on Washington's staff. Lieutenant Jonathan is, perhaps, the "Capt." Jonathan buried at Copp's Hill, 1801, whose wife was Elizabeth Proctor. He was fourth in descent from James Cary, who was of the same family as Myles of Virginia. James was town clerk of Charlestown, Massachusetts, about 1640. He married Eleanor Hawkins. The best translation ever made of Dante is that of Henry Francis Cary, who is buried in Westminster Abbey by the side of Britain's most honored dead. Another Henry Cary was a poet and musician, and enjoys the distinction of having been the author of "God Save the King," written about 1740.

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Investigations in British College of Heraldry



MARTIN



## Martin Foundations in American History



**M**ARTIN is a Norman name, meaning warlike. William Martin of Tours went to England with William the Conqueror, as a general in the Norman army. To his share fell the barony of Cemmaes or Kemeys, in County Pembroke, and he became baron of Kemeys, and also lord of Combe-Martin of Martinshoe in Devon. He had one son, Baron Robert Fitz-Martin (or "son of Martin"), who married Maud Peverell. They had a son—Baron of Darlington, Devon, who left sons, William and Oliver, and from William, second baron of Darlington, born 1160, all of English lineage, bearing the name Martin, are descended, and from Oliver, who settled in Galway, are descended all of the Irish lineage. No sooner had Martin de Tours acquired vast estates than he devoted a portion of his wealth to the founding of a monastery for Benedictine monks at Saint Dogmael's near Cardigan. This monastery was dedicated to Saint Segwell, and was annexed as a cell to the Abbey of Tyrone in France. This institution was endowed with lands by Robert Fitz-Martin, the son of the founder. Martin de Tours and his successors were summoned to the king's council as barons of Cemmaes, and continued to be lords in the English Parliament. The third baron married Augharad, daughter of Rhys, Prince of Wales. In 1245, Nicholas, the fifth lord of Cemmaes, for services to the king, obtained license for a market every week and a yearly fair at his manor. South Moulton, in Devonshire, was held by the Martin family by service of finding a man with a bow and three arrows to attend the earl of Gloucester when he was hunting in the neighborhood. It is believed that from the barons of Cemmaes, whose ancestor was Martin de Tours, are descended those of the family of Martin who came to New England. More than one knight, or man-at-arms is recorded in the roll of Battle Abbey as bearing the name of Martin. The patron saint of the family is Saint Martin, the son of a Roman military tribune, who was born at Sabaria, a city in Hungary, about A. D., 316. The saint attained great celebrity on account of his sanctity. The festival of Saint Martin, which occurs November 11th, was instituted by Pope Martin, about A. D., 650. Upon that day the casks of new wine were tapped. The immigrant ancestor was John Martin, one of the founders of the town of Swansea, Massachusetts. He had five sons and four daughters, each of whom settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts, afterwards Rehoboth. Among other early settlers of the Martin family were Abraham, Isaac, Richard and Samuel. The latter was born in Lancashire, England, May 2, 1760, and was a son of Richard Martin, nicknamed "Mad Dick," who was a member of Parliament. From the bequests of Abraham Martin, who died in 1670, it may be inferred that he was a Puritan of the good old stock, and solicitous for the welfare of the colony. The Bible of John Martin, the immigrant, is still extant. Captain Simeon Martin of Providence, Rhode Island, fourth from immigrant John, was one of the first to enlist in the Revolution. He was later adjutant-general and major-general of the militia of his state, and at one time lieutenant-governor. Ebenezer Martin served in the first brigade of Massachusetts, 1781. Captain George Martin was engaged in scouting expeditions. Another George Martin was deputy quartermaster in the Revolution. Martins also served in the Indian wars. A John Martin was interpreter of the Indian campaign during King Philip's War, and a Richard Martin advanced £1 5s. 4d. toward carrying on the war against Philip.



# The Course of Civilization

BY

FRANCIS TREVELYAN MILLER

Founder and Editor-in-chief of "The Journal of American History"




In following the course of civilization, and the trend of men and nations, I have satisfied myself regarding one point—that they all focus in the Hand of God.

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## The Hand of God

When ways perplex and worlds seem deep in strife;  
When men forget the Fire that lights the spark of Life;  
When turmoil reigns and man greets man with curse;  
Take courage: Infinite Power still guides the Universe.

When conscience blinds and faith in man seems dead;  
When Good succumbs to greed and Love is money-fed;  
When earth seems off its course and sways in unknown realm;  
Take faith: the Hand of Natural Law is always at the Helm.







# Organization of an American Public Service Institution

## Editorial Announcement

**T**HE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY is now in its fifth year as the national repository for the publication of documents, papers, illustrative matter, antiquities, and works of art connected with the history of civilization on the Western Continent. Hundreds of unique and intensely interesting human documents, written or pictorial, have first appeared in its pages, and thus have been placed permanently on record in the principal libraries of the world. It has become, as its founders intended, a great American institution.

Notable as its services have been in the past, it is now able to announce

arrangements looking to a wide extension of its work. The system which it has been organizing during several years past, and to which reference has been made from time to time, has now been perfected. The publication of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY is now to be conducted in connection with a research and publishing house organized exclusively along the special but broad lines originally laid down and since maintained in the editorial policy of this journal. By this sound policy of permanent organization THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY can offer to its readers, and to all interested Americans, facilities for a far-reaching public service.

### Department for Preservation of Historical Records


The recent wholesale destruction by fire of invaluable historical documents in the state capitol at Albany, New York, reminds us of the perishability of every record which has not been multiplied by the printing press to secure the deposit of copies in widely-scattered libraries. The loss of these precious documents will leave a permanent hiatus in the annals of the state of New York. Many an old family, having delayed the work of research, will perhaps

remain forever unable to enliven its history with many picturesque details which might have been gathered from these papers.

It is but one demonstration of the practical necessity of preserving valuable family records and historical documents by bringing them forth from the precarious hiding-places in private collections and granting them historical record where they may be of value to the generations. Deposit in safety vaults, or in the archives




# **J**nauguration of a National Repository



of historical societies, is not a sufficient precaution. Many societies are urging the raising of funds for new buildings under the plea that the records in their custody are now exposed to destruction; while, in fact, no edifice built by man is beyond the reach of great conflagrations such as sometimes sweep our cities.

America has long needed a national repository and it was for that purpose that **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY** was founded and is now prepared to extend in an unlimited way its service in multiplying copies and placing them permanently on record, accessible to the historical students of the whole world. Materials of every kind, written and pictorial, brief or voluminous, should be submitted immediately to its editorial staff. Advice will be given as to the proper form of record.

**THE JOURNAL** will publish in its own pages suitable records, documents, and historical illustrations, as heretofore, seeking constantly to increase, with each issue, its value and attractiveness. Manuscripts which can be illustrated are especially desired. Many historical records and manuscripts, however, though of the greatest worth, are too technical in nature or of a bulk too great for use in **THE JOURNAL**. These, however, must be preserved, and the publishers have an organized service for the publication of such material, as books or brochures, under the auspices of **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**. Editorial assistance will be rendered in compiling or arranging such data for publication, or in carrying out such auxiliary research as may be required to place a valuable document or illustration in its proper historic setting.



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## **Historical Record of Books Issued Under Auspices of "The Journal of American History"**

Historical publications issued under the auspices of **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY** will be adequately described in its pages, and arrangements will always be made for a special sale of these to subscribers in combination with **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**. The following combinations can already be announced.

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**THE OLD POST ROAD.** By W. Harrison Bayles. A volume of about 400 pages, with from thirty to forty illustrations. It is now in press, and will be ready in July. Price, \$4.00. This book delivered, and a year's subscription to **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**, for \$5.00.

This very interesting and valuable volume gives one of the most vivid pictures of colonial life, linked with the history of the conditions and modes of

travel on the old post road from Maine to Georgia, via Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg and Charleston, from the very earliest period down to the commencement of railroad travel. This includes the picturesque period of the stage-coach—experiences of travel by mail-coach and other lines, the rivalry of the competing lines, accidents, early mail robberies, and all the exciting incidents of the road. It also includes the period when steamboats formed a part of many lines of travel, and gives a history of the rise of the great steamboat monopoly in the state of New York, the fight against it, and its final overthrow in the celebrated Supreme Court case in which Webster, Wirt and Emmet took part.

Still more important is the account of the early attempts to establish post-offices and post routes in the colonies; the difficulties of maintaining them south of Philadelphia; the gradual improvement of the service down to the Revolutionary War; the sudden collapse of the royal post

# An American Public Service Institution

on the dismissal of Benjamin Franklin; the substitution of posts by each colony, combined under Franklin as postmaster-general of the United Colonies; and their history down to the era of the railroad—a more complete account of the colonial postoffice than has before appeared.

**THE CITY THAT WAS.** By Stephen Smith, A. M., M. D., LL D. A volume of about 250 pages with more than twenty illustrations. It is now in press and will be issued in July. Price, \$1.25. This book delivered, and a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, for \$3.75.

It is safe to say that the reader will scarcely find a parallel to the human document which makes up the bulk of this volume. The following is from the publisher's note which prefaces the book:

"The story of a great life-saving social revolution, the mightiest in the nineteenth century, and one of the most momentous in the history of civilization, is told here for the first time. It is told by a chief actor in the event from the standpoint of the transformation of the city of New York.

"Only by forcing ourselves into a receptive mood can we of the present credit the half of what is set before us concerning *The City That Was*. The shocked imagination rebels. It seeks relief in assuming that even a trained expert, a contemporaneous witness and investigator of the conditions described, in writing after they have passed away, unconsciously yields to the historian's temptation to throw the past into dramatic relief by startling exaggerations.

"Dr. Smith, however, leaves us no room for doubt. The appalling chapter in which he lays bare the New York of 1864 is a contemporaneous document. It is a physician's report of a systematic medical inspection of New York in that year, as delivered before a Legislative Committee a few months later by the very physician who had directed the inspection.

"Nevertheless, *The City That Was* is not New York alone. She is but a type. Her condition, with variations, may be multiplied, during the early years of the nineteenth century, by the total of the cities, towns and villages in the world. In the work of regeneration some of these anticipated her. Others, including all throughout the territory of the United States, were aroused through her agitation and inspired by her example.

"As a student of local history, the writer thought himself familiar with the many phases of the growth of New York; but

the condition of the city as late as the period of our Civil War, as here depicted, startled him as might a revelation."

**OLD TAVERNS OF NEW YORK.** By W. Harrison Bayles. A volume of about 400 pages with about forty illustrations. It is now in press and will be issued in the early fall. Price, \$4.00. This book delivered, and a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, for \$5.00.

Tavern life in old New York presented many remarkable features, including a humorous and a romantic side, and Mr. Bayles' story of the taverns of the most cosmopolitan of our colonial towns affords, without resort to distortion or exaggeration, one of the most entertaining pictures of colonial life to be found in American literature.


The taverns played an important part in our early social and political economy, and at some periods and in some localities, and notably New Amsterdam and New York, their influence was second only to that of the churches.

**SIDE-LIGHTS ON MARYLAND HISTORY:** *With Genealogical Sketches of the Families of Importance in Colonial Maryland.* By Hester Dorsey Richardson. To be published in the autumn of 1911. Two volumes, with many illustrations. A most important contribution to American history and genealogy. Price, \$5.00 per set; price, delivered with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$7.00.

Any of these combinations, or of those given farther on, may be accepted in connection either with new subscriptions or with renewals. Subscribers for the current year may at any time renew for 1912, and so avail themselves of these offers. THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY has received in the past the generous assistance of many who, to their own subscription, have added one or more subscriptions as gifts to friends, libraries, colleges, or public schools. We hope to deserve this support more and more, and at the present time, when a number of new and attractive features are being arranged, we shall especially appreciate this form of encouragement. Any book combination may be accepted when sending THE JOURNAL as a gift, THE JOURNAL to be sent to the person designated, and the book to the person paying for the subscription, unless otherwise ordered.



## Inauguration of a National Repository



**M**ANY biographical and autobiographical records have appeared in **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**. Sketches of persons whose lives are linked with our history, and especially such as can be accompanied by portraits, or other interesting material for illustration, are desired for publication. Other manuscripts for biographies, autobiographies, memoirs and brochures, extensive or brief, may be published in book or pamphlet form under the auspices of **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**.

While the reading public often is embarrassed by the multiplication of "Lives" of persons who have achieved great renown, other persons, less conspicuous, but whose scattered memorials, gathered and woven together, would interest and inspire us, are soon forgotten for lack of fitting biographies. We

should never forget that a book or brochure is a more permanent and far more intelligible and worthy monument than most of those which we erect. Several biographical works are being prepared for this department. The first to be announced is that of a distinguished American:

**JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER.** By Frank Allaben. In two illustrated volumes of about 330 pages each, in box. Price, \$4.00. These volumes delivered, and a year's subscription to **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY**, for \$5.00.

A part of this work is entertaining biography, giving a wonderfully vivid picture of the life in New York of a wealthy young aristocrat eighty years ago. Another feature is General de Peyster's criticisms of men and battles during the Civil War. Ten chapters are devoted to ancestry, including studies in the early histories of the following fifteen old New York families: Beekman, Colden, de Lancey, de Peyster, French, Livingston, Loockermans, MacPheadris, Nicoll, Philippe, Schuyler, Van Cortlandt, Van Rensselaer, Van Slichtenhorst, Watts.

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### Institution of a Genealogical Publication Department

**THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY** has attracted wide attention, both in this country and abroad, through the published researches on the genealogical foundations of American pioneers, tracing these ancestral strains back to their European origins.


Men and their biographies are the units, family annals form the lines, the stories of nations present the plane surfaces, and the philosophy of the development of the race as a whole gives the cubic contents of human history. It is difficult to understand how some who have long recognized the value of individual biographies should be slow to realize the importance of genealogical studies

—studies that will afford the future historian an entirely new method of analysis in approaching history in its larger aspects, as a national and international science.

**THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY** has taken the lead in emphasizing the scientific value of family research, and the broader-minded scholars, including even those once inclined to regard genealogical study as purely social, are beginning to recognize the new light. In the furtherance of this movement, **THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY** is prepared henceforth to increase its usefulness to genealogists and historians in a very definite way.



# An American Public Service Institution



First, a series of articles is planned to outline in detail the fundamental importance of genealogy as a department of historical research, to show how interesting this subject may be made, and to discuss the best methods in genealogical research and in presenting the results of research in permanent form.

Secondly, the pages of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* will continue to be open to these sociological studies, preference being given to those which show the establishment of connecting links between family lines in the New and Old Worlds, and in which the interest of historical illustrations can be added to that of the narrative itself.

In the third place, the publishers already have in operation what they may conservatively claim to be the most economical and efficient service in the world for the publication and dissemination of genealogies and family histories, large or small, on a basis that will secure the compilers from the financial losses so often sustained in printing genealogical records.

Genealogical printing requires special knowledge, special facilities, special care, special enterprise and special consideration for the author, who, at best, is never over-paid for his labor. The publishing service now placed under the auspices of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY* has established new standards in all these respects.

The publishers' editorial staff is composed of trained genealogists, and the experience of the entire staff is freely at the service of inquirers. One inquirer may desire counsel in arranging and numbering his genealogy; another needs advice in preparing his manuscript for the printer; a third has questions concerning one or more of the many details of book-making—the type, paper and bind-

ing most suitable in a given case; the best form of reproduction of illustrations, with the proper ink and paper; the size of the edition and the price which will best serve the interests of the book. Consultation on any point is cordially invited either by letter or by a personal call at the Publication Offices of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, Number Three, West Forty-second Street, near Fifth Avenue, New York, and directly opposite the new Public Library, which is one of the costliest and most beautiful in the world and has unusual facilities for research.

Every manuscript accepted for publication is critically read by an expert before it goes to the printer, in order to insure that the arrangement followed, the spelling, punctuation, abbreviations, and all details are uniform and consistent. Any doubtful point is referred to the author for decision. This service saves the entire expense of many "author's corrections" on the printed proofs.

In addition to the reading by the printer's proofreaders, and by the author, trained genealogists always read all the proofs of every genealogy published under the auspices of *THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY*.

This institutional service includes the manuscripts of authors, who, not being trained literary workers, desire critical examination of their work, editorial supervision and preparation for the press. However disconnected or rough in form, any genealogical data turned over to this literary service department can be arranged and compiled in literary style, either for publication or for preservation in a typewritten manuscript.

The entire work of preparing a genealogy can be undertaken—the collecting of the data by research, the

# Grace offered freely. Chap. lv. lvj. Gods word sure.

terror, for it shall not come neere thee.  
15 Behold, they shall surely gather together, but not by me: who soeuer shall gather together against thee, shall fall for thy sake.

16 Behold, I haue created the smith that bloweth the coales in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his worke, and I haue created the worker to destroy.

17 A No weapon that is formed against thee, shall prosper, and euery tongue that shall rise against thee in iudgement, thou shalt condemne. This is the heritage of the seruants of the LORD, and their righteousnesse is of me, saith the LORD.

## CHAP. LV.

1 The Prophet, with the promises of Christ, calleth to faith, 6 and to repentance. 8 The happy successe of them that beleue.

**H**\* O, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy and eate, yea come, buy wine and milke without money, and with-

thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes, saith the LORD.

9 For as the heauens are higher then the earth, so are my wayes higher then your wayes; and my thoughts then your thoughts.

10 For as the raine commeth down, and the snow from heauen, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bread to the eater:

11 So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not returne vnto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.

12 For ye shall goe out with ioy, and bee led forth with peace: the mountaines and the hilles shall breake forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

13 In stead of the thorne shall come vp the Firre tree, and in stead of the braker shall come vp the Myrtle tree, and it shall be to the LORD for a name, for an everlasting signe that shall not be cut off.

labour for that which latitieth not:  
hearken diligently vnto me, and ease ye  
that which is good, and let your soule  
delight it selfe in fatnesse.

3 Incline your eare, and come vn-  
to me: heare, and your soule shall liue,  
and I will make an euerlasting cove-  
nant with you, euen the \*sure mercies of  
Dauid.

4 Behold, I haue giuen him for a  
witnesse to the people, a leader and  
commander to the people.

5 Behold, thou shalt call a nation  
that thou knowest not, and nations that  
knew not thee, shall runne vnto thee,  
because of the LORD thy God, and  
for the Holy One of Israel, for he hath  
glorified thee.

6 Seeke ye the LORD, while  
he may be found, call ye vpon him while  
he is neere.

7 Let the wicked forsake his way,  
& the vnrighteous man his thoughts:  
and let him returne vnto the LORD,  
and he will haue mercie vpon him, and  
to our God, for hee will abundantly  
pardon.

8 For my thoughts are not your

\* Acts 13.  
34.

† Hebr. the  
man of ini-  
quise.

† Hebr. he wil  
multiply to  
pardon.

respect of persons. 9 He inueyeth against  
blinde watchmen.

¶ Or, equity.  
**H**us saith the LORD,  
keepe yee iudgement,  
and doe iustice: for my  
saluation is neere to come,  
and my righteousnesse  
to be revealed.

2 Blessed is the man that doeth this,  
and the some of man that layeth holde  
on it: that keepeth the Sabbath from  
polluting it, and keepeth his hand from  
doing any euill.

3 Neither let the some of the  
stranger, that hath ioyned himselfe to  
the LORD, speake, saying, The  
LORD hath vtterly separated mee  
from his people: neither let the Eu-  
nich say, Behold, I am a drie tree.

4 For thus saith the LORD vnto  
the Eunuches that keep my Sabbaths,  
and choose the things that please mee,  
and take hold of my covenant:

5 Euen vnto them will I giue in  
mine house, and within my walles, a  
place and a name better then of somes  
and of daughters: I wil giue them ane-

uer-

# Inauguration of a National Repository

compiling of the material, and the delivery of a complete work, either a typewritten manuscript or a printed book, as may be desired.

This public service department will furnish estimates for printing and publishing in any style, also in reproducing illustrations by etchings, half-tones, photogravures, steel en-

gravings, or coats-of-arms in colors. Heirlooms, old seals, family plate, old furniture, oil portraits, miniatures, silhouettes, daguerreotypes, coats-of-arms, views, exteriors and interiors of old homesteads, historic documents, autographs, gravestones, all these provide illustrations which add to the interest and value of a book.

## Genealogical and Biographical Works Published Under Auspices of "The Journal of American History"

Genealogical works published under the auspices of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY will be announced in its pages and offered to its subscribers, in combination with THE JOURNAL, at special prices. The following are either now ready or about to be issued from the press.

**ALLIED FAMILIES OF PURDY, FAUCONNIER, ARCHER, PERRIN.** By Anna Falconer Perrin and Mary Falconer Perrin Meeker. Printed on beautiful Alexandra Japan paper, cream, antique, with two large folded charts and 19 illustrations, including the Purdy, Fauconnier, Archer, and Perrin arms; bound in three-quarters Morocco. Only 79 numbered copies printed, of which only a few remain unsold. Price, \$12. Price, delivered with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$13.50.

**ANCESTRY OF LEANDER HOWARD CRALL.** By Frank Allaben. A quarto on Old Stratford paper, with pedigree charts, chapters and documentary appendices on 21 American and English families, with many illustrations including coats-of-arms in colors. This volume gives documentary proof of the descent of many Americans from the Norman and Plantagenet kings of England. Only 125 numbered copies. Price, \$50. Price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$51.

**ANCESTRY OF WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.** By Mabel Thacher Rosemary Washburn. Eight ancestral families of the President, with illustrations, printed

on Italian handmade paper. Only a few copies remain. Price, \$2.00. Price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$4.00.

**BEATTY-ASFORDBY:** *The Ancestry of John Beatty and Susanna Asfordby, with Some of Their Descendants.* By Mrs. Rudolph Samuel Turk. In addition to American lineage, it gives royal descent from Plantagenet kings and lines from many armigerous English families. Illustrated with 18 coats-of-arms. Price, \$4.00. Price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$6.00.

**BRETT BOOK, THE:** *A Genealogy and History of William Brett, the Pilgrim, His Descendants, and Many Allied Families, With Other Bretts in England and America.* By Lucy Belcher Goodenow. Will be published in the early autumn of 1911. Printed on Alexandra Japan, with coats-of-arms in colors and "tricked," and other illustrations. Price, in cloth, \$5.00; delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$7.00. Price, in three-quarters Morocco, \$8.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$10.00. Price, in full Morocco, \$10.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$12.00.

**COLONIAL FAMILIES OF AMERICA.** By Frances M. Smith. Contains monographs on 40 families, illustrated with 41 coat-of-arms. Price, \$2.00. Price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$4.00.

**COLVER-CULVER GENEALOGY.** By Frederic Lathrop Colver. A genealogy of the descendants of Edward Colver,



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ancestor of all the Colvers and Culvers in America. Price, \$5.00. Price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$7.00.

**COWDREY-COWDERY-COWDRAY GENEALOGY:** *William Cowdery of Lynn, Massachusetts, 1630, and His Descendants.* By Mary Bryant Alverson Mehling. Cowdrey arms in colors, and other illustrations. Price, in cloth, \$7.00; delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$9.00. Price, in three-quarters Morocco, \$9.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$11.00.

**JESSE SMITH:** *His Ancestors and Descendants.* By L. Bertrand Smith. Contains much valuable material on many prominent colonial families of New England. Price, in cloth, duodecimo edition, \$4.00; price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$5.00. Price, in cloth, large paper edition, printed on Alexandra Japan, \$6.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$7.00. Price, in three-quarters Morocco, large paper edition, \$10.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$12.00.

**LINCOLN'S ANCESTRY.** By Mabel Thacher Rosemary Washburn. Will be published this summer. Interesting lineage of Abraham Lincoln through ten families. Illustrated. Price, \$1.00; price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$3.50.

**PARSONS FAMILY, THE:** *A Genealogical Record of the Ancestors and Descendants of Elijah Parsons, Born at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1744, a Descendant in the Fifth Generation, of Cornet Joseph Parsons, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1636.* By Henry Parsons. To be published in the autumn of 1911. Printed on Alexandra Japan, and illustrated. Price, in cloth, \$5.00; with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$7.00. Price, in three-quarters Morocco, \$6.50; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$8.50. Price, in full Morocco, \$7.00; with THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$9.00.

**PECKHAM GENEALOGY:** *The English Ancestors and American Descendants of John Peckham of Newport, Rhode*

*Island, 1638.* By Stephen F. Peckham. An exceedingly valuable book, to be published in the autumn of 1911. It will be superbly illustrated with the Peckham arms in colors, and ancestral portraits and scenes. One of the most interesting genealogies, from an historical standpoint, which has ever been published. Price, \$10.00; price, delivered, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$11.50.

**SELDENS OF VIRGINIA AND ALLIED FAMILIES.** By Mary Selden Kennedy. In two volumes. To be published in the summer of 1911. This important book contains separate genealogies of more than 60 families in Virginia and Maryland, with extensive data on more than 150 additional families. Numerous coats-of-arms will appear among other illustrations. Price, \$10.00; price, with a year's subscription to THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, \$12.00.

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This public service department will include researches to establish eligibility to membership in any of the American patriotic societies, and application papers will be prepared, accompanied by the requisite proofs. Special care is required in prosecuting genealogical researches in Europe, as it is extremely difficult



# Inauguration of a National Repository

to induce many of those who profess competence for this work to adopt exact and scientific methods in transcribing records abroad. This difficulty disappears in utilizing the carefully organized service under the auspices of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

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## Institution of an American Record of Heraldry with Three Thousand Authentic Coats-of-Arms

Announcement also has been made in these pages of the inauguration of a departmental service to be known as the American Record of Heraldry. Affiliations have been made whereby special researches are being conducted in the British museum and throughout the European record offices. Arrangements further have been completed with the leading contemporary illuminators in this country and abroad for the emblazonment of the established coats-of-arms.

The whole subject of armorial usage in America is a complex one, and up to the present time it has been left in confusion. No critical, authoritative work exists from which the right of Americans to bear arms can be established. An American armory, which will contain all the authentic blazons, with full records and proofs of the dates and reasons for their being conferred, has been in preparation for some time through the genealogical house of Mr. Frank Allaben.

The blazons of three hundred coats-of-arms ascribed to colonial Americans, have been collected. The authentic-

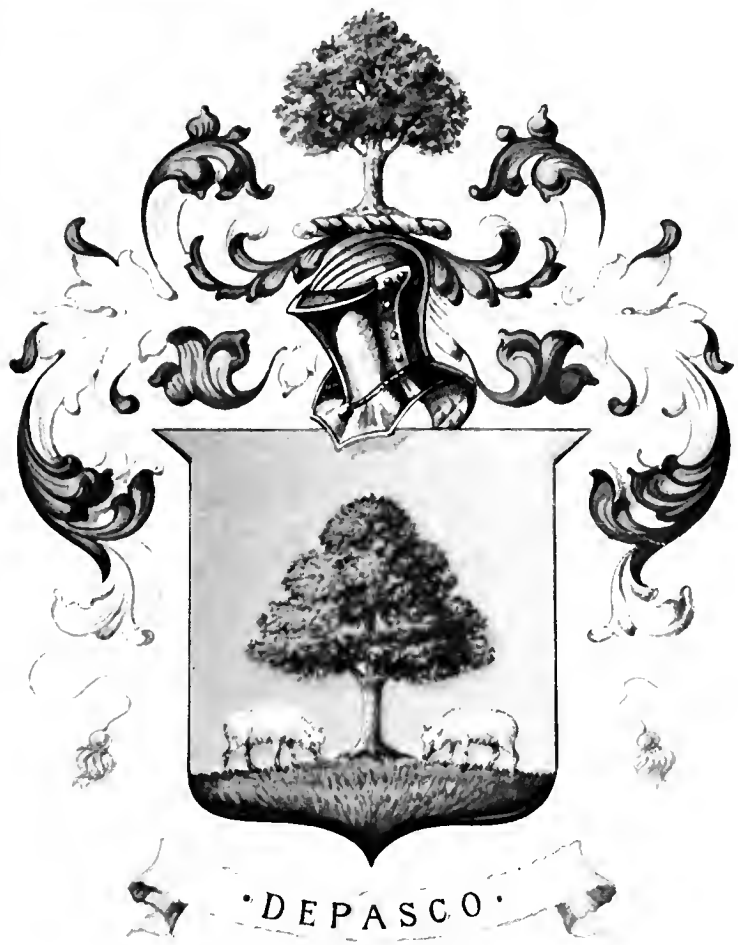
ity of their armor is now being fully investigated. In numberless instances, proof has been found of the right of Americans to these arms; in other cases, a rigid examination has been made and they will not be finally accepted until established by scientific research. The readers of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY who have evidence of, or are in possession of coat-armor in their families, are requested to communicate with the Heraldic Department immediately. Photographic evidence of family silver, seals, tombstones, and other records, is especially desired. Statements along these lines with illustrations, will appear in the pages of THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY from time to time—to be included finally in the authoritative volume that is being prepared by Mr. Allaben.

The successful merger of the two strongest historical and genealogical interests in America has established THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY as the national repository for the American people.





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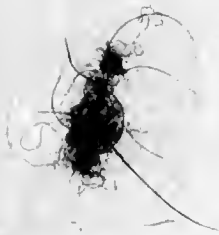


✦ de Peyster ✦

Wm. J. Peyster  
American History







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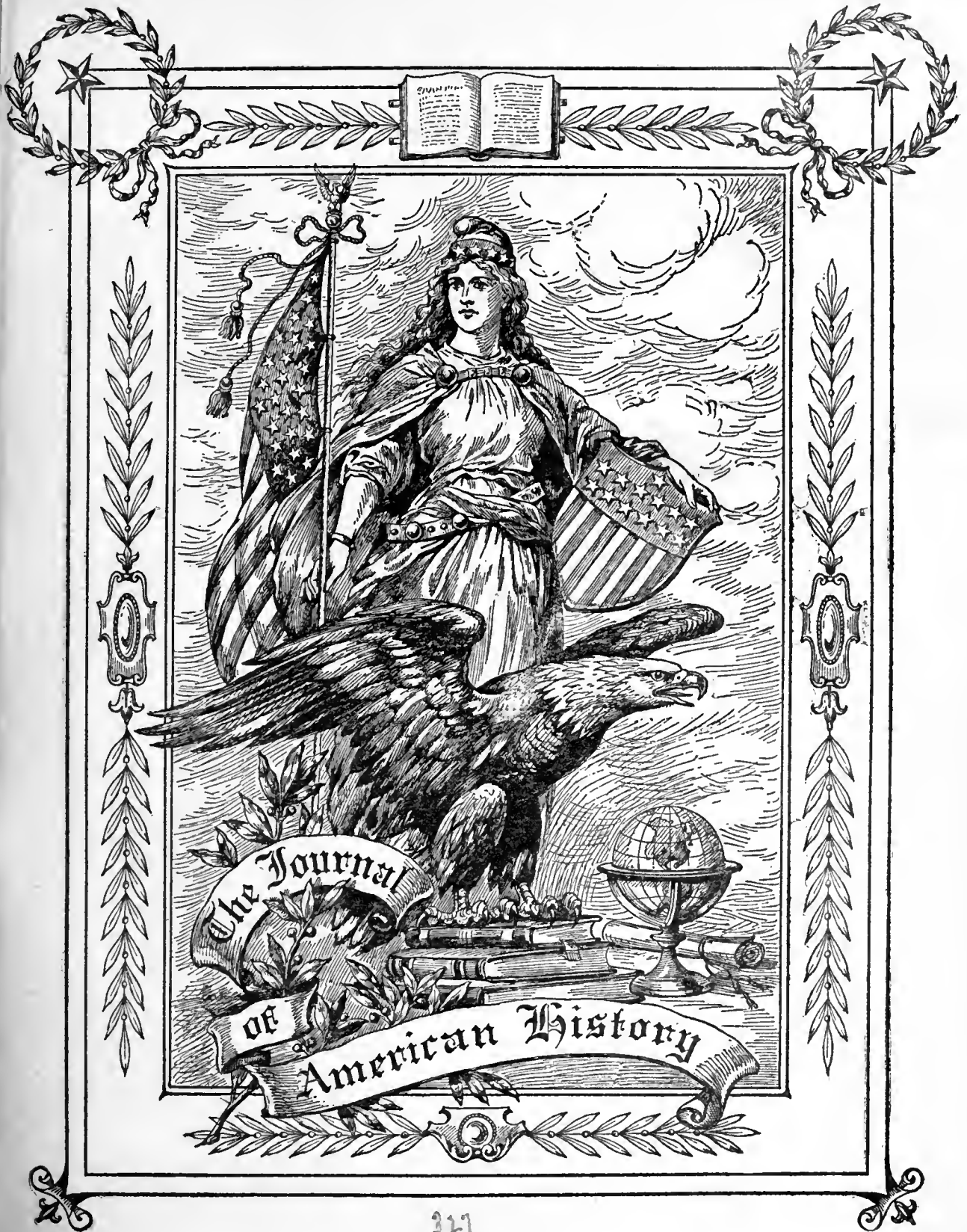
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MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER

Maker in 1507 of the map, long lost, wherein the name America was first given to the New World. This map was produced by the Gymnase Vosgien at St. Dié, Lorraine, where a celebration of the naming of America has just taken place. Portrait from an old painting, furnished for record in *The Journal of American History*





# The Journal of American History

VOLUME V  
NINETEEN ELEVEN



NUMBER III  
THIRD QUARTER

## The Naming of America

Celebration in the Quaint Old Town of St. Dié, France, where a Little Group of Savants in 1507 Gave the Name of Amerigo Vesputci to the New Continent Discovered by Columbus & The Map of Waldseemüller, Lost for Three Centuries, and Found by Chance in 1901 in a Wurtemberg Castle & The Curious Ancestral Tree of Amerigo Vesputci



IN July of this year there was a celebration at the little town of St. Dié in old Lorraine, now the Department of the Vosges in France, which is of interest to Americans, for it commemorated the formal bestowal on the New World of the name "America," 25 April, 1507.

About 1490 Gaultier Lud founded at St. Dié a society for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, which was called the Gymnase Vosgien, and was placed under the patronage of René, the Duke of Lorraine. There were three members of this society who were especially concerned in the study of geography—Nicholas Lud, Matthias Ringmann, and Martin Waldseemüller.

Before 1507 there had existed among the members of the Gymnase an interest in Americus Vesputcius and his explorations. In 1503 one of them, Jean Basin de Sendacour, brought from Paris a copy of Vesputcius' Epistola. This was translated into French, and into Latin from the French version, the latter translation being made by Basin. Matthias Ringmann also had edited and printed at Strasburg, in 1505, the Vesputcian tract, De Ora Antarctica.

## How America Received Her Name in 1507


But in 1507 a printing press was erected at St. Dié, and its first product was the famous *Cosmographiæ Introductio*. This contained some account of the ancients' conception of the geography of the world, together with the story of the four voyages of Americus Vesputius. It referred, in the text, to a map, as appearing in the book, on which was represented the world as known before the discoveries of the Fifteenth Century, as well as the results of those discoveries. It was in the *Introductio Cosmographiæ* that Waldseemüller declared that the new-found Continent should bear the name of America, in honor of the explorer.

But the map mentioned in the book was not there. For centuries the geographers of the world have been puzzled by its omission, and some have thought that it may have been found too large in size for convenient insertion when the *Introductio* was published. It was not until 1901 that the mystery was solved. In that year Professor P. Joseph Fischer, of Stella Matutina College, at Feldkirch, in Austria, was engaged in researches on the discoveries of the Northmen in Greenland and North America. While working in the library of Prince Waldburg, at Wolfegg Castle in Wurtemberg, Professor Fischer discovered two maps made by Waldseemüller. One of these proved to be the long-lost map of 1507, and the other was made in 1516. In the former a long, narrow island represents the Western Hemisphere, and bears the name, America. The maps are wood engravings, and that of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* shows a bust of Ptolemy and one of Americus Vesputius.

There has been much criticism of Waldseemüller and his associates for their bestowal of the name of Americus Vesputius rather than that of Christopher Columbus upon the New World. While some scholars have sought to defend Vesputius, the generally-accepted theory of the facts which led to this honor being given to him is as follows. He was acting as commercial agent for the Medici family of Florence—his native city—in Seville when Columbus was preparing for his second expedition. The two met at this time and Columbus' accounts doubtless fired Vesputius with ambition and determination to seek his way also to the new, golden land in the West. At any rate, in 1499 he set sail and went to the mouth of the Orinoco River, where Columbus had been the year before, the latter thus becoming the discoverer of the South American Continent. In 1501, Vesputius made his second voyage, and two others in 1503 and 1505. In 1504 he addressed a letter to the Duke of Lorraine (the patron of the *Gymnase Vosgien*), in which he gave the sailing date of his first voyage as 29 May, 1497. As he sailed on his first voyage to the shores of South America, this date, had it been the true one, would make him the discoverer of the American Continent, for Columbus went to South America in 1498, and Cabot discovered the Northern part of the Continent in the same year.




## Celebration at St. Die in the Vosges France



Americus Vespucius, or Amerigo Vespucci, as his name really was, came from a noble and ancient Florentine family. He was the son of Anastasio Vespucci and the latter's wife, Elizabeth Mini. At his birth in 1451, the family had fallen somewhat in its fortunes, but still held rank among the nobility. The earliest known home of the Vespucci was in the town of Peretola, near Florence. Early in the Thirteenth Century they removed to Florence, where they lived in the part of the city known as Santa Lucia di Ogni Santi. Their residence was near one of the gates of Florence, called Porta della Cana, now the Porta del Prato, on the street now called Borgognisanti. The house was standing in 1846 and was then occupied by a hospital for the sick poor. This was in the care of the monks of Saint John of God—San Giovanni di Dio—and it was one of their number, Antonio Salvini, who, in the Eighteenth Century, placed a marble tablet over the doorway, which may be translated: "To Americus Vespucius, a noble Florentine, who, by the discovery of America, rendered his own and his country's name illustrious throughout the whole world. Upon this ancient mansion of the Vespucci, inhabited by so great a man, the Fathers of Saint John of God have erected this tablet as a memorial, in the year 1719."

The Vespucci were anciently possessed of much wealth and owned many houses in Florence, over the doorways of which the Vespucci Coat-of-Arms was emblazoned. It was Simone Petro di Vespucci who founded the fortune of the family. He was one of the great Florentine merchants of the Fourteenth Century. He was devout and charitable and endowed a number of hospitals. His wife erected a beautiful chapel in the Church of Ogni Santi, and there she and her husband were buried. On the tomb is the following inscription, as translated from the Latin: "The tomb of Simone Petro di Vespucci, a merchant, and of his children and descendants, and of his wife, who caused this chapel to be erected and decorated, for the good of her soul, in the year 1383."

The Vespucci were prominent in the public affairs of Florence, many of them holding office in the State. Amerigo Vespucci's father was Secretary of the "Signori"—the Senate. His uncle, Juliano Vespucci, was Ambassador to Genoa and became Governor of Pistoria. In 1336 the Secretary of the Republic of Florence was another Amerigo—Amerigo di Stagio Vespucci. The name of Amerigo is found many times on the family tree. This curious record of the ancestry of the great explorer was found in Florence in the Reale Deputazione Sopra il Regolamento della Nobilita di Toscana, an establishment where the records of many noble Florentine families are preserved.—*The Editor.*



Vrbis Deodate tuo clarificens nomine praesul  
 Qua Vogelii montis sunt iuga praesit opus



Finitū. vij. kl. Mahj  
 Anno supra sesqui  
 millesimum. vij.

Pressit/ & ipsa eadē Christo monimēta fauēte  
 Tempore venturo cetera multa premet.

Fac-simile of the imprint-mark at Saint Dié, of the  
 Gymnase Vosgien, 1507, on the last page of the Cosmo-  
 graphiæ Introductio

COSMOGRPHIAE

Capadociam/Pamphiliam/Lidiam/Ciliciā/Arme-  
 nias maiorē & minorē. Colchiden/Hircaniam/Hio-  
 beriam/Alhaniā: et præterea multas quas singulatim  
 enumerare longa mora esset. Ita dicta ab eius nomi-  
 nis regina.

**America**  
 Nūc v̄o & hę partes sunt latius sustratę / & alia  
 quarta pars per Americū Vesputiū (vt in sequenti-  
 bus audietur) inuenta est / quā non video cur quis  
 iure veter ab Americo inuentore sagacis ingenij vi-  
 ro Amerigen quasi Americi terrā / siue Americam  
 dicendā: eū & Europa & Asia a mulieribus sua for-  
 tita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mores ex bis bi-  
 nis Americi navigationibus quę sequunt̄ liquide  
 intelligi datur.

**Priscianus**  
 Hunc in modū terra iam quadripartita cogno-  
 sci: et sunt tres primę partes cōtinentes / quarta est  
 insulatū omni quaq; mari circūdata conspiciat. Et  
 licet mare vnū sit quęadmodū et ipsa tellus / multis  
 tamen sinibus distinctum / & innumeris repletum  
 insulis varia sibi noīa assumit: quę et in Cosmogra-  
 phię tabulis cōspiciunt̄ / & Priscianus in tralatio-  
 ne Dionisij talibus enumerat versibus.

Circuit Oceani gūrges tamen vndiq; vastus  
 Qui quib; vnus sit plurima nomina sumit.  
 Finibus Hesperijs Atlanticus ille vocatur  
 At Boreę qua gens furit Armaspa sub armis  
 Dicit ille piger necnō Saturn. idē Mortuus est alijs;

Fac-simile of page of the Cosmographiæ Introductio con-  
 taining the suggestion that Columbus' new-found Conti-  
 nent be named after Vespucci



MATTHIAS RINGMANN

One of the geographers of the Gymnase Vosgien at Saint Dié who was especially concerned in the production of the *Cosmographie Introductio*—From an old painting furnished for record in *The Journal of American History*



PAGE FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MISSAL

Fac-simile from an ancient Mass-Book preserved in the Library of Saint Dié





FAC-SIMILE FROM THE SAINT DIÉ MISSAL

The original is a well-preserved parchment, each page richly illuminated



Fac simile of the famous Waldseemüller map lost to geographers until 1901, when it was discovered by Professor P. Joseph Fischer in the library of Prince Waldburg, at Wolfegg Castle, Württemberg.

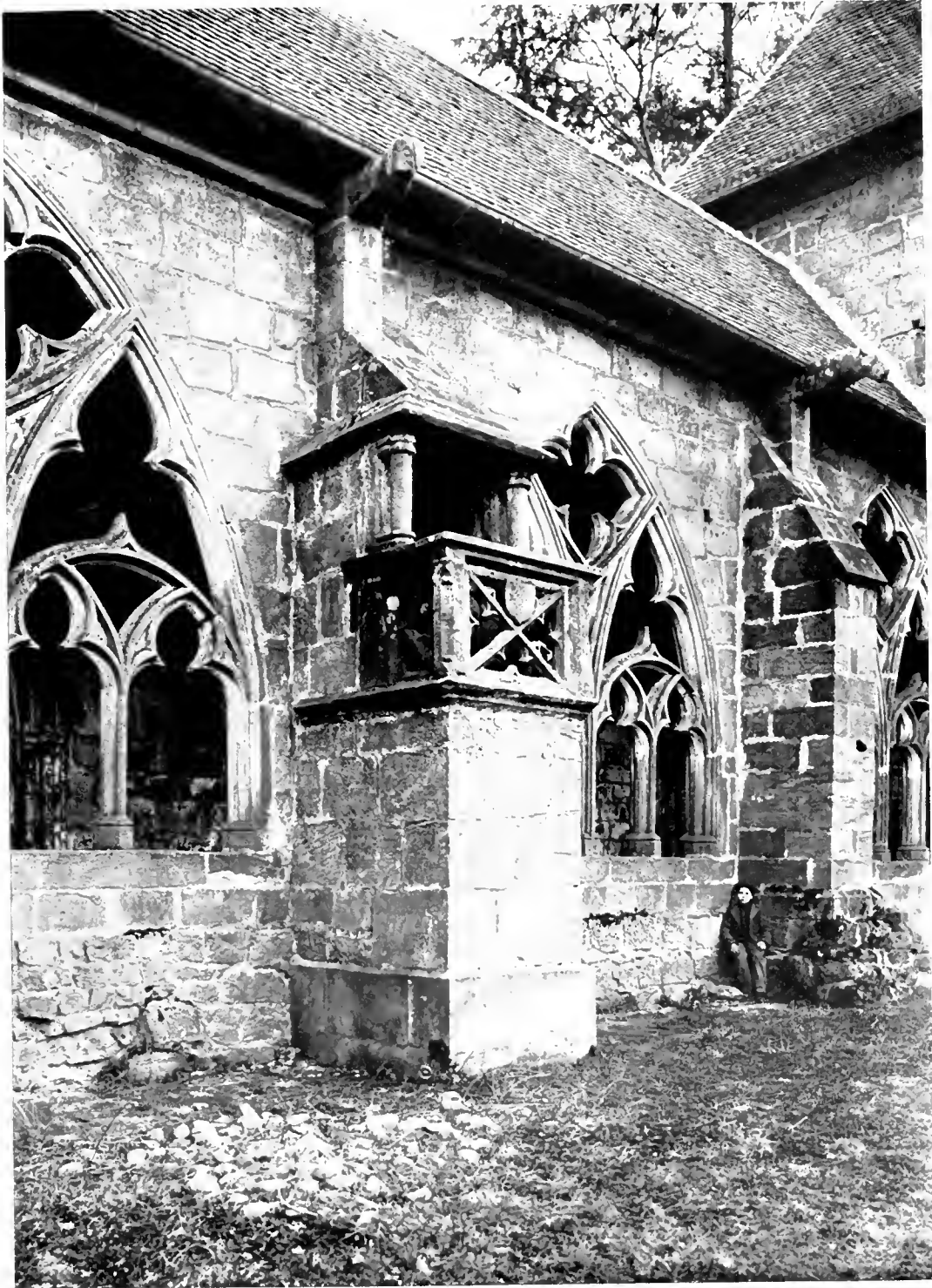


The first product of the printing press of the Gymnase Vosgien at Saint Dié Map of the world of 1507, with portraits of Amerigo Vespucci and Ptolemy, and outline of North and South America



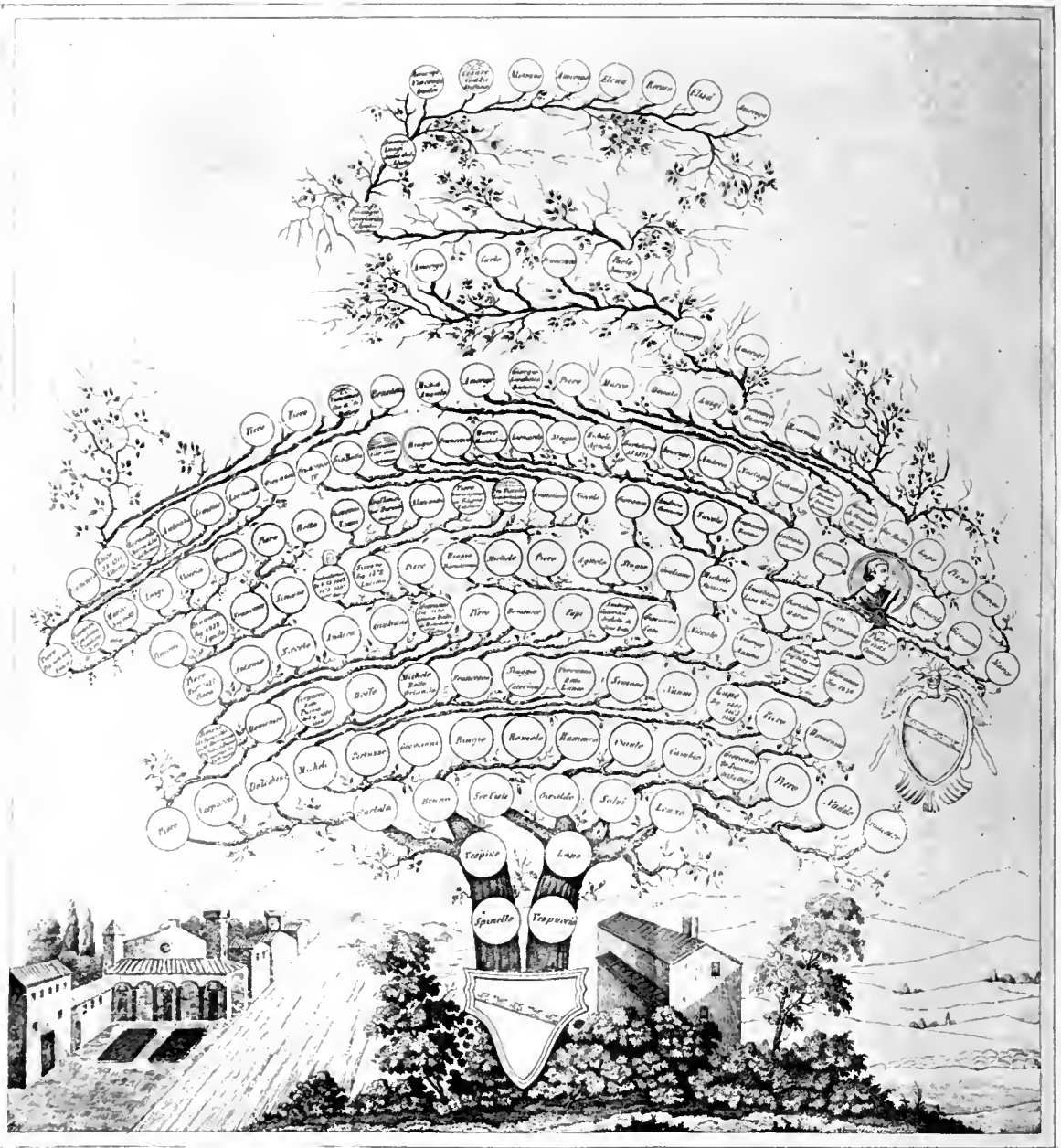
SCENE OF AMERICA'S BAPTISM

Occupied in 1507 by the Gymnase Vosgien—From this old house Waldseemüller, Ringmann, Lud, and others, sent forth the work which gave America its name



OLD OUTDOOR PULPIT OF THE CHURCH AT SAINT DIÉ

From this mediæval preaching-place Waldseemüller and his scholar companions, the sponsors of America, probably heard many a discourse



FAMILY TREE OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI

Curious ancient pedigree of the great explorer's race, with the Vespucci Coat-Armor and Seats, and a portrait of Amerigo—Preserved in Florence where the Vespucci were noble merchant-princes in the Middle Ages

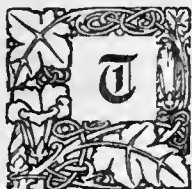


# The Tragedy of Anne Hutchinson

BY

JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN

Editor of the Standard Dictionary and American Cyclo-  
pædia and Member of many Historical Societies



HE movement for the erection of a memorial to Anne Hutchinson, the martyr of religious liberty, whose ashes repose beneath the soil of Pelham Bay Park, now within the limits of New York City, was begun in 1904. The *New York Times* in its issue of Sunday, July 17, of that year, published an article entitled, "The Tragedy of Anne Hutchinson," contributed by the writer, detailing the main incidents of her life and closing with the suggestion that it would

be an appropriate and graceful act if her sisters of the Metropolis should atone in some measure for the acts of the men who drove her into the wilderness by the erection to her memory of a monument or other fitting memorial near the scene of her suffering and death. Two days later, July 19, the *Times* approved the suggestion in a brief editorial article, and shortly afterward, Mr. J. Edward Weld, of New York, a lineal descendant of Joseph Weld of Roxbury, Massachusetts, to whose care Mrs. Hutchinson was committed by the Massachusetts authorities during the winter of 1637-8, suggested that the memorial should be erected by the descendants of the persecutors of Mrs. Hutchinson, as an atonement for the mistaken zeal of their Puritan ancestors.

Later, the writer enlarged the article contributed to the *Times* in 1904, and made it the subject of a lecture. Through this and through further efforts of Mr. Weld, the Colonial Dames of the State of New York became interested in the project. A committee of the Society, with Mrs. Quincy Gillmore as chairman, was appointed to consider the subject and, after a thorough discussion, at which Mr. Weld and the writer were present by invitation, it was decided to place a bronze tablet on Split Rock, a boulder in Pelham Bay Park, near the site of Mrs. Hutchinson's dwelling in 1643.

The tablet, a fine piece of bronze, was unveiled on Wednesday, May 3, 1911, in the presence of a distinguished company, including several hundred representatives of the Colonial Dames, with their President, Mrs. William Robison. Addresses were made by William B. Hornblower, the Rev. James de Normandie, pastor of the church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and J. Edward Weld, and the tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Walter Jennings, a descendant of William and Anne Hutchinson. It is worthy of note that the cherry-tree growing in the cleft of Split Rock was in full bloom at the time, as if Nature sought to crown the event with her approval.



## The Tragedy of Anne Hutchinson



ON the eastern border of Lincolnshire, almost in sight of the German Ocean, from which it is distant only about four miles, lies Alford, a market town of a considerable antiquity. Its site, a plain with a background of wooded hills, is on the northern edge of the great Fen District, memorable as the scene of the last stand of the Saxons against William the Norman, so vividly described by Charles Kingsley in "Hereward the Wake."

Though near the ocean, Alford may be considered an historic centre, for its neighborhood has witnessed the genesis of events that have left their impress on the world's history. A semi-circle, with a radius of some sixty miles, drawn west of Alford, will include Scrooby, Bawtry, and Austerfield, whence went forth Bradford, Brewster, and their fellow Pilgrims to learn in Holland the lessons which enabled them to found a new State in a New World; Epworth, the birthplace of John Wesley, founder of Methodism; Boston—Saint Botolph's town—parent of Boston of the New World and home of the Cottons, the Coddingtons, and other New England families; Huntington, the home of Oliver Cromwell; and Groton, the birthplace of John Winthrop, founder of Massachusetts. Two miles south of Alford is the hamlet of Willoughby, the birthplace of Captain John Smith, founder of Virginia, while Alford itself was the home of Anne Hutchinson, the real founder of Rhode Island.

The meres and marshes of the fen country have been transformed into rich grass and corn lands, and Alford is now on the border of a highly cultivated agricultural district. But the village itself is much the same as it was three centuries ago, its houses clustered on a single street, a third of a mile long, watered by a rivulet. In the Sixteenth Century Alford possessed some two hundred and thirty houses, with a population of a little more than a thousand souls; to-day it has about twice as many.

At the close of the Sixteenth and beginning of the Seventeenth Century, among the prominent families in or near Alford were the Hutchinsons and the Marburys. The Hutchinsons were earlier of Lincoln, where several of the name had achieved eminence. John Hutchinson, born in 1515, was successively Sheriff, Alderman, and Mayor of Lincoln. He died in 1565 while serving a second term as Mayor. His eldest son succeeded to many of his honors, but his youngest son, Edward, born in 1564, removed to Alford and resided there until his decease in 1632. Edward Hutchinson left eleven children, the eldest of whom, William, baptized August 14, 1656, became the husband of his more





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famous wife, Anne Hutchinson, and the progenitor of many noteworthy persons in this country.

The Marburys were connected with some of the best blood in the Kingdom. Francis Marbury, the father of Anne Hutchinson, was the third son of William Marbury, Esquire, of Girsby, Lincolnshire, and of Agnes, daughter of John Lenton, Esquire. He married, first, Elizabeth Moore, by whom he had three daughters. His second wife was Bridget, daughter of John Dryden, Esquire, of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Cope, Knight. By this second marriage Francis Marbury had eleven more children, of whom Anne, the second child, was baptized at Alford, July 20, 1591. Her mother's eldest brother, Erasmus Dryden, created a Baronet in 1619, was the grandfather of the poet-laureate, John Dryden. Anne Hutchinson was therefore second cousin to John Dryden. She was also related collaterally through the Drydens to Jonathan Swift, the erratic Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin, who, though born in Ireland, was of English ancestry.

Francis Marbury is always mentioned on the parish records at Alford with the affix "Gentleman." He must have entered early into Holy Orders, for in 1605 he was Rector of St. Martin's Vintry, London. In 1607-8 he was presented to St. Pancras, Soper Lane, which charge he resigned two years later on his presentation to St. Margaret's in New Fish Street. This last parish he held, in conjunction with St. Martin's Vintry, until his decease in 1610-11.

William Hutchinson and Anne Marbury were married, August 9, 1612, in the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London. They returned to Alford and made that place their home, and on its parish registers are recorded the baptisms of fourteen children born to them between 1613 and 1633, the year before their departure for the New World.

While we do not know the precise reasons which induced the sundering of the ties binding them to their native land, we can easily conceive that their emigration was the result of causes similar to those which actuated so many others about that time. It was a period of unrest, religious, political, social. The leaven of Puritanism had divided the Church of England and brought into being a new political party. The country was torn with dissensions. Archbishop Laud, foremost in Church and State, was eager in the persecution of those who differed with him, and the King, ruling without a Parliament, was harrassing the people for ship-money. Freedom of speech and almost of thought were interdicted. Whoever held opinions antagonistic to those of the ruling power was obliged to renounce political honors and emoluments, and was denied social advancement. To remain in England was to subject one's self and one's children to persecution, and many principal families, able to leave, sought retreats where they were free to exercise their faculties and



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their religious rites in peace. Some fled to Germany and some to Holland, and very many to the New World. Within a score of years after the landing of the Pilgrims more than twenty thousand emigrants sought new homes in New England alone.

Another, and perhaps a weightier reason for the emigration of the Hutchinsons was the departure in 1633 of the Rev. John Cotton from Boston, where he had officiated for twenty years as Vicar of St. Botolph's. His inclination to Puritan practices had attracted the attention of Archbishop Laud, and to escape imprisonment he was obliged to flee. Together with the Rev. Thomas Hooker, who also had incurred Laud's enmity, and the Rev. Samuel Stone, afterwards associated with Hooker at Hartford, he sailed in the ship "Griffin" for New England, landing at Boston in September, 1633. An intimacy had long existed between the Hutchinsons and the Cottons and, in spite of the sixteen miles separating Alford from Boston, Mrs. Hutchinson had so often sat under Cotton's ministrations that she had become thoroughly imbued with his teachings. His departure for the New World had undoubtedly its influence in inducing the Hutchinsons to make a similar change of residence; and it is even probable that they would have accompanied him but for the expected birth of their last child, Susanna, which occurred in November, 1633, shortly after Cotton's departure. As an illustration of the exigencies of the time, the Rev. Mr. Cotton's flight was so necessary that he was obliged to leave under conditions similar to those which detained the Hutchinsons, and a son, born to him on the passage, was named, in consequence, Seaborn. In anticipation of their own emigration, the Hutchinsons intrusted their eldest son, Edward, then twenty years old, to Mr. Cotton's care, and he accompanied him in the "Griffin." With him came also probably his uncle, Edward Hutchinson, the youngest brother of William, and his wife, both of whom returned to England after 1638. The elder Edward Hutchinson was made free in Boston, March 4, and the other September 3, 1634, both before the arrival of William's family.

In the following year, 1634, William and Anne Hutchinson sailed for New England in the same ship, the "Griffin," with ten children, three others having been buried at Alford. William was then forty-eight and his wife forty-three years old. Accompanying them was William's aged mother, Mrs. Susanna Hutchinson (his father having died two years previous), his brother, Samuel Hutchinson, and his sister, Mary, wife of the Rev. John Wheelwright, afterward prominent in the Antinomian controversy. Among their fellow passengers were the Rev. John Lathrop, afterward the first minister of Scituate, and the Rev. Zachariah Symmes, who became pastor of the church at Charlestown. Winthrop tells us that one of the chief amusements in the long voyages of the time was listening to sermons, and that often three long homilies were delivered within the twenty-four hours. Though no diary of

## Some Early Throes of Religious Liberty

the "Griffin's" voyage has been preserved, it is not likely that Messrs. Lathrop and Symmes were exceptions to this homiletic custom of their brethren, so it is probable that they delivered themselves daily of the orthodoxy of the day, tintured, as was the custom of our Puritan forbears, with their individual opinions. Another custom of those primitive times was the discussion by the laity of the points of doctrine raised in such sermons. In these discussions, in which the ministers also took part, we may easily imagine that Mrs. Hutchinson was not backward, and as, according to contemporary evidence, she was of a nimble and comprehensive wit, we may conceive that she sometimes got the better of her antagonists. However this may be, it is certain that these ministers, and especially Mr. Symmes, became greatly prejudiced against her and that Symmes carried his animosity so far as to attempt, after the arrival in Boston, to exclude her from admission to the church.


But the Hutchinsons were too important to be kept in the background. They landed in Boston, September 18, 1634, and two months later the father of the family was admitted to the Boston church, and the wife and four eldest children were made members shortly afterward. In March, 1635, William Hutchinson and his sons, Richard and Francis, became freemen of the colony, and in the following May William was chosen to represent Boston in the General Court.

William Hutchinson's house in Boston stood on the corner of Washington and School Streets, on the site of the since famous Old Corner Bookstore. Nearly opposite was the residence of Governor Winthrop. Mrs. Hutchinson took a prominent place in the church almost from the time of her admission, asserting herself and her views as far as was permitted to women in those ungallant days. She was foremost, too, in works of mercy and charity, not only using her means generously but giving personal attention to those in attractions and intellectual superiority, she easily won her way to the front and soon became the most prominent woman in the colony. All her contemporaries give her great credit for powers of mind, even those who disagreed with her acknowledging her pre-eminence in that respect. Governor Winthrop calls her a woman of "ready wit," and Johnson, the author of "Wonder Working Providence," says she was "the masterpiece of woman's wit." The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, the minister of Ipswich, says of her: "This gentlewoman was of a nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, of great charity, and notable helpfulness." Elsewhere he speaks of her as the "she Gamaliel," comparing her with the learned preceptor of St. Paul.

I have already noted the custom in those days of holding meetings to discuss the sermons of the pastor. This custom was doubtless of benefit both to pastors and people, for it must have been a spur to the ambition of




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the former and a source of gratification as well as of spiritual comfort to the latter. These meetings were to our forefathers what the concert and the lecture are to us, but they differed in one respect from the gatherings of to-day in that they were confined to the male sex. The Puritans of Anne Hutchinson's time believed with St. Paul that it is "a shame for women to speak in the church;" they even went a little further than the Saint and barred them as well from their post-ecclesial discussions.


Before Mrs. Hutchinson's arrival the women of Boston had meekly borne this indignity without remonstrance, but she was of different stuff. She had well-settled opinions concerning the great questions which then agitated men's minds and she saw no reason why she should be curbed in expressing those opinions. For the purpose of ventilating her views, she invited the women to meet at her house for discussions similar to those which weekly drew together the men of the congregation. The experiment proved a success. The meetings soon attracted all that was good among the gentlewomen, the assemblies often numbering sixty to eighty persons. At first the ministers and elders favored these meetings and smiled upon Mrs. Hutchinson's efforts. Mr. Cotton, writing of them, says she was "well-beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference and blessed God for her fruitful discourses." Her meetings were looked upon as a spiritual awakening and all believed that through them souls might be brought to Christ. But presently some of the ministers made the discovery that Mrs. Hutchinson had ideas not always in consonance with their teachings, which they had been accustomed to have accepted as oracles. They began to look askance at these gatherings, which had attained such popularity that they were held twice a week, and in time conspired to put an end to them.

To understand thoroughly the situation, we must glance briefly at the Constitution of the Massachusetts Colony and at the politico-religious policy of those who controlled it. The Puritans who left England ten years later than the Pilgrim Fathers were not, like them, Separatists, but claimed still to retain connection with the Mother Church. They were simply Non-Conformists, refusing to conform to the church ceremonial because it tended, by perpetuating what they considered corrupt practices, to lessen the chasm between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. As their ideas met with little tolerance at home, and those who advocated them suffered persecution, they determined to seek a new land where they could build up a church and a society in accord with their peculiar views. But no sooner had they established themselves in the New World than they became even more intolerant than those from whose persecutions they had fled. "They who in England," says Edmund Burke, "could not bear being chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters, than they scourged their fellow refugees with scorpions." They left Old England ostensibly for the sake of religious





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liberty; they established in New England an oligarchy where even the suggestion of religious liberty was treason. Every one who came to them was stretched on their Procrustean bed; if he fitted, he was admitted into fellowship; if not, he was lopped off.

As early as 1631 it was enacted that no one but a church member should be made a freeman, and no one could become a church member unless proposed with the consent of the minister of the congregation. Thus the ministers controlled not only the church but the body politic. The Bay Colony was in short a theocracy, in which every power was subordinated to an oligarchy of theologians.


Among the first to feel the weight of the principles thus established was Roger Williams, who had left England for reasons similar to those which had actuated Winthrop and his associates. But he differed from them in advocating a total separation from the English church, and when he was invited to take the pulpit of Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church, in the latter's temporary absence in England, he declined on the ground that they were an unseparated people. When, shortly after, Mr. Williams received a call from the church at Salem, the General Court, sitting at Boston, addressed to the church members of Salem a letter of remonstrance, asserting that Mr. Williams, in addition to his reason for declining to join the Boston congregation, had declared that the Magistrates "might not punish the breach of the Sabbath nor any other offense that was a breach of the first table of the law." This, which impugned the right of the civil authorities to punish an ecclesiastical offense, was a crime in the eyes of the founders of Massachusetts and was the beginning of the controversy which led to Mr. Williams' banishment and the founding of the Providence Colony on the principle of absolute religious liberty.

The Hutchinson family had been in Boston about a year when Mr. Williams was banished, but, though Mrs. Hutchinson must have been conversant with his opinions, there is nothing to show that she took any part in the famous controversy. Yet there can be little doubt, from the character of her teachings, that she was permeated with his ideas in regard to soul liberty and that she was as far advanced in opinion as he was. By one Puritan authority she is spoken of as "like Roger Williams, or worse."

In October, 1635, the very month when sentence of banishment was passed against Mr. Williams, Mr. Henry Vane landed in Boston. Winthrop, later inimical to him, was at first his friend. "One Mr. Henry Vane," he writes, "son and heir to Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the King's house, who, being a young gentleman of excellent parts, and had been employed by his father (when he was Ambassador) in foreign affairs; yet, being called to the obedience of the gospel, forsook the honors and preferments of the court, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here." Mr. Vane, whose



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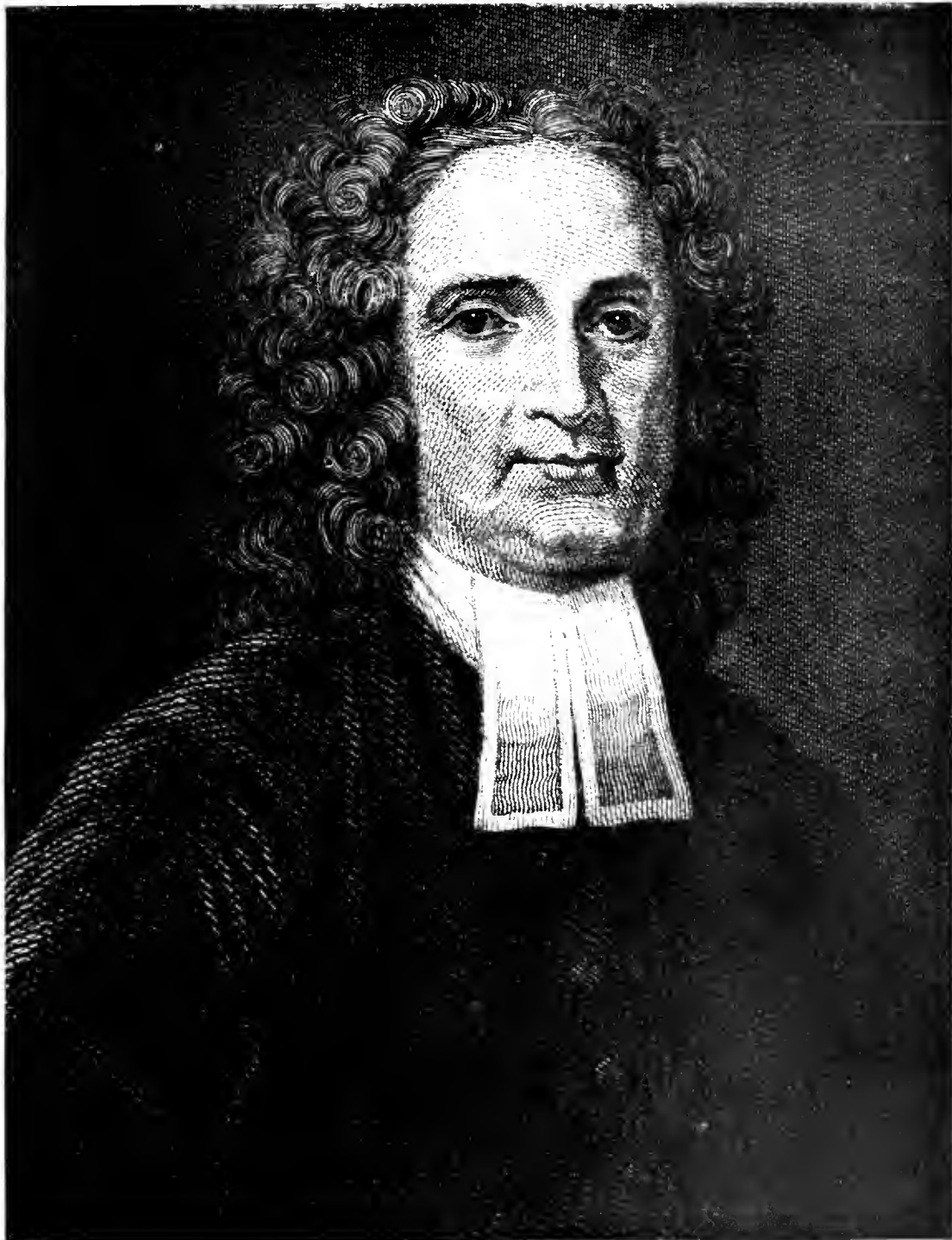
present representative in England is the Duke of Cleveland, was admitted almost immediately to the Boston church, and at the next election, in the following March, was chosen Governor to succeed Mr. Haynes. At this time Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been a member of the Boston church more than a year, had developed, through her lectures and her personal influence, a very strong following. Among her friends was the Rev. Mr. Cotton, the colleague of Mr. Wilson, and Governor Vane soon enrolled himself among her staunchest supporters; but, unfortunately for her, Mr. Winthrop held aloof.

Winthrop says of her in his history: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church in Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: (1) That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. (2) That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches, as (1) Our Union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead in every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself. There joined with her in these opinions a brother of hers, one Mr. Wheelwright, a silenced minister sometimes in England."

This slighting reference to the Rev. John Wheelwright, one of the most distinguished clergymen of his day, "whose long life," says the Hon. James Savage, "afforded him a triumph over the injustice of intolerance," is characteristic of Winthrop's narrow-mindedness. Mr. Wheelwright was not Mrs. Hutchinson's brother, but the brother-in-law of her husband, through marriage with William Hutchinson's sister, Mary. He was a graduate of Cambridge University and had been for some years a clergyman of the Established Church until dispossessed by Archbishop Laud. He came to Boston in 1636 and was chosen pastor of a branch church in what is now Braintree. Because he differed in opinion with Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, and his associates, he suffered contumely, persecution, and banishment; but, more fortunate than some of the other sufferers in that strange episode of Massachusetts history, he was finally permitted to return and lived long enough to see the triumph of many of the principles he had advocated and for which he had suffered.

While it would be impossible to discuss thoroughly without the limits of a volume Mrs. Hutchinson's teachings, we must glance briefly at the principal points as given by Mr. Winthrop. That she taught the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the person of the believer is probably true, but the deductions drawn by Mr. Winthrop were largely his own and were not admitted by Mrs. Hutchinson. She also maintained the doctrine of justification by faith as opposed to justification by works; and, as her opponents asserted, claimed to being "under a covenant of grace," denouncing those opposed to her as being "under a covenant of works." The Rev. John Cotton was largely responsible for her opinions. Cotton, of a sanguine temperament and strong





THE REVEREND JOHN COTTON

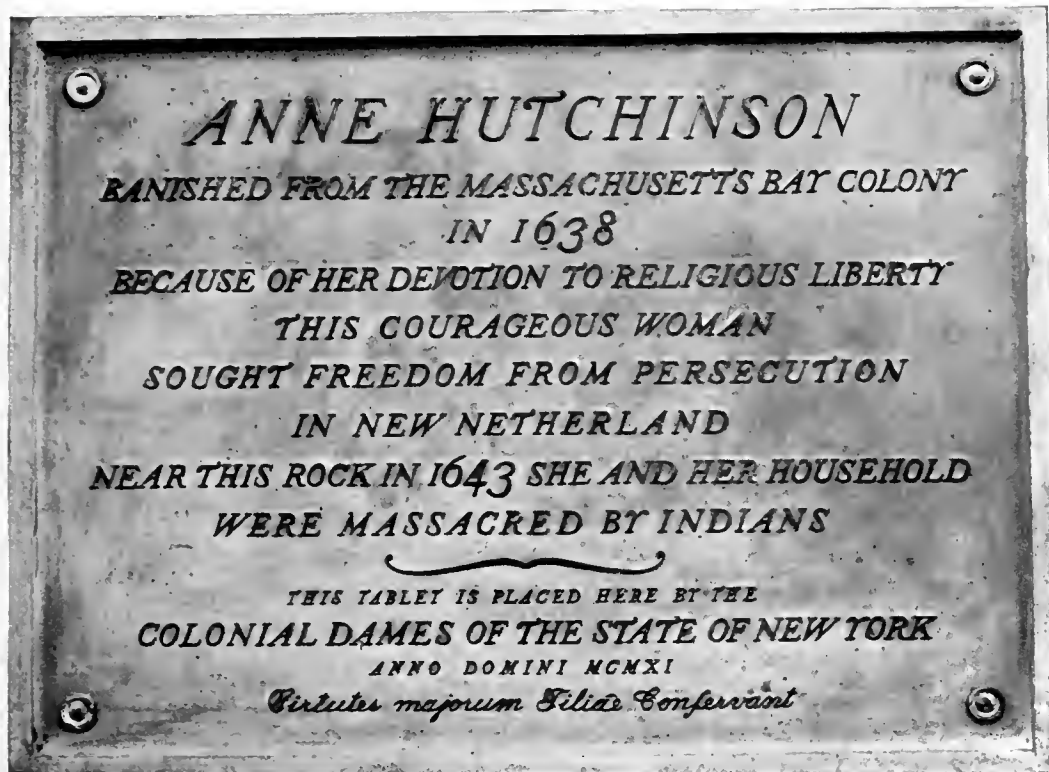
The famous Puritan minister, who, exceptional among his colleagues, was a loyal friend to the persecuted Anne Hutchinson



SPLIT ROCK

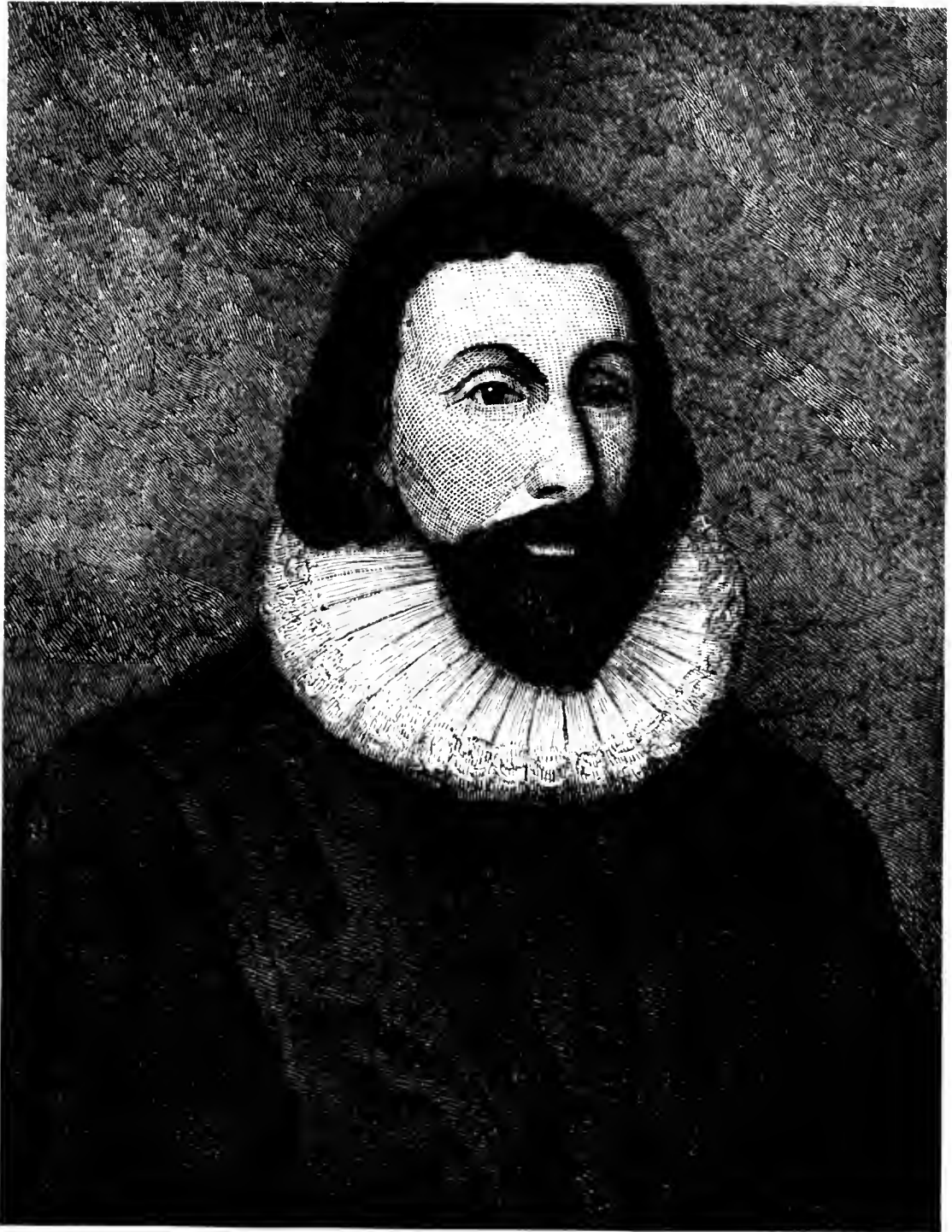
Boulder in Pelham Bay Park, New York City, near the site of Anne Hutchinson's last dwelling-place,  
1643—Cherry-tree growing in the cleft






ANNE HUTCHINSON TABLET

Placed by The Society of Colonial Dames, on Split Rock, and unveiled, amid impressive ceremonies,  
May 3, 1911




THE WORSHIPFUL JOHN WINTHROP

The most famous Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who was one of the sternest persecutors of Anne Hutchinson



## Some Early Throes of Religious Liberty




emotional nature, was given to softening the rigidity of the teachings of Puritanism by preaching the happiness of the elect and joys awaiting the true believer. Edward Eggleston, in his "Beginners of a Nation," says: "Cotton professed that he loved to sweeten his mouth with a piece of Calvin before he went to sleep. His emotional rendering of Calvinistic doctrines wrought strongly on the people of the new Boston, and his advent was followed by widespread religious excitement."

Mrs. Hutchinson, his ardent disciple in both old and new Boston, followed closely in his footsteps and emphasized in her meetings his favorite doctrine divided the Church and, if we are to believe Mrs. Hutchinson's the Boston church, only five members dissenting from her, but among these five were Winthrop, who had grown jealous of Gov. Vane, and Mr. Wilson, who was envious of the popularity of Mr. Cotton, and who saw in Mrs. Hutchinson's conferences a usurpation of ministerial functions.


The controversy growing out of the discussion of these two points of doctrine, divided the Church and, if we are to believe Mrs. Hutchinson's enemies, came near to disrupting the State. The colony separated into two hostile factions, those supporting the views of Mrs. Hutchinson under the leadership of Governor Vane, and her opponents, under that of Mr. Winthrop. "It began to be as common here," says Winthrop, "to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists."

The quarrel became so bitter that Mrs. Hutchinson's opponents, resenting her characterization of them as living under a covenant of works, sought the records of past heresies to find terms of opprobrium to apply to her and her followers. At first they called them Opportunists and Familists, and finally Antinomians, as being *anti nomos*, against the law, that is, the moral law. This was probably suggested by a comparison of her teachings with those of John Agricola, chaplain of the Elector of Saxony in 1526, who carried to extreme Luther's doctrine of justification by faith as opposed to good works. Agricola maintained that the moral law was superseded by the Gospel, that it is not binding on Christians, and that a child of God cannot sin. The Massachusetts authorities, who held this to be a grossly immoral doctrine, saddled the heresy on Mrs. Hutchinson, and, as Edward Eggleston says, "hatched a brood of inferences from the opinions Mrs. Hutchinson held, or was thought to hold, and then made her responsible for the ugly bantlings." Some went even further and stooped to personal abuse. The Rev. Peter Bulkeley, pastor of the church at Concord, calls her "that Jezebel, whom the Devil sent over thither to poison these American churches with her depths of Satan, which she has learned in the schools of the Familists." This and similar attempts of other opponents to connect





# S tory of the Tragedy of Anne Hutchinson



Mrs. Hutchinson with the licentious sect of Familists or members of the Family of Love in Holland are sad illustrations of the extent to which theological rancor will carry one otherwise noted for charity and brotherly love. It is the more noticeable in Mr. Bulkeley's case because he was an intimate personal friend of Mr. Cotton's, a graduate of the same University, and a presbyter of the same diocese in England. But Mr. Bulkeley was of the party called Legalists, who upheld the doctrine of salvation by works or by conformity to law, while Mr. Cotton believed with Mrs. Hutchinson in salvation by grace.

Another sinner in this respect is the Rev. Thomas Welde, the minister of Roxbury, who was responsible for the publication in 1644 of a tractate entitled "Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians," etc., attributed by late historians to Mr. Winthrop. In the last page of this, supposed to have been supplied by Mr. Welde, Mrs. Hutchinson is called the "American Jezebel." In this connection it is interesting to note, as an illustration of the changes wrought by time, that Mr. Welde's grandson, of the same name, married the great-granddaughter of this Jezebel, outcast of the Boston church, and that their son became the minister of Attleborough.

In March, 1637, the Rev. Mr. Wheelwright, who had become one of Mrs. Hutchinson's most ardent supporters, preached a sermon on a fast day in which he asserted that "those under a covenant of grace must prepare for battle and come out and fight with spiritual weapons against pagans, and anti-Christians, and those that runne under a covenant of works." For this utterance, claimed to be seditious, he was called before the General Court and, notwithstanding the protestation of Governor Vane, who condemned the proceedings of the Court, he was censured. A petition justifying the sermon and the preacher was signed by nearly all the members of the Boston church, but the Court took no notice of it. Some of the friends of Mr. Wheelwright then threatened an appeal to England. This only added fuel to the flames, for in the colony "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the King."

So virulent had grown the controversy that the opponents of Mrs. Hutchinson, consisting chiefly of members of churches outside of Boston, determined that the next General Court of election should be held in Newtown (now Cambridge), beyond her influence. At this court, marked by tumultuous proceedings and fierce speeches, some of the brethren going so far as to lay violent hands on each other, Governor Vane was defeated and Mr. Winthrop elected in his place. Mr. Dudley was chosen Deputy Governor. Events now proceeded rapidly. The political horizon being thus cleared, it was adjudged a fitting time to purge the colony of heresy and to prescribe what was and what was not proper for the churches to believe.

## Some Early Throes of Religious Liberty

A synod of all the teaching elders throughout the country was therefore called to meet at Newtown. Ministers gathered from near and far, even Hartford and the other towns in the Connecticut Valley, then under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, sending their delegates. For more than three weeks this assembly, presided over by Rev. Thomas Hooker and Rev. Peter Bulkeley, wrestled with points of doctrine, erroneous opinions, and unwholesome expressions, and after much wrangling and many heated debates, during which the Governor had frequently to interpose and sometimes even to adjourn to give the contestants time to cool off, a long list of errors, eighty-two in all, were condemned.


Governor Vane, in disgust at the turn of affairs, had meantime returned to England, but others of the Boston church took offence at the production of such an array of errors, asserting that it was a causeless reproach upon the country, and calling for the names of the persons who held these errors. The majority replied vaguely that all these opinions could be proved to be held by some in the country, but declined "to name the parties because the assembly had not to do with persons, but doctrines only." Mr. Cotton, who had been forced by the weight of opinion against him to modify his views, gave a qualified assent to the conclusions, but withheld his signature. He contented himself with saying that he "disrelished all those opinions and expressions as being, some of them heretical, some of them blasphemous, some of them erroneous, and all of them incongruous." Ten years later he wrote concerning the synod: "Such as endeavored the healing of these distempers did seem to me to be transported with more jealousies, and heats, and paroxysms of spirit than would well stand with brotherly love, or the rule of the gospel."

The heresies being thus extirpated, the coast was clear to proceed against the heretics. Mr. Wheelwright was disfranchised and banished from the colony, and those who had signed or taken part in the petition in his behalf were either banished or otherwise punished. The Court\* then summoned Mrs. Hutchinson and "charged her," says Winthrop, "with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures in her house, whereat sixty or eighty persons did usually resort, and for reproaching most of the ministers, (viz., all except Mr. Cotton) for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, nor were able ministers of the New Testament; which were clearly proved against her, though she sought to shift it off." The first of these charges, that she kept "two public lectures in her house," seems trivial enough to the present genera-

\*The General Court consisted of the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, the Deputy Governor, Mr. Dudley, John Endicott, one of the magistrates for life, and Mr. Israel Stoughton, Mr. Richard Saltonstall, and other Assistants. Of the clergy were present Rev. Thomas Welde, Rev. Hugh Peters, Rev. John Cotton, and others.



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tion, but it was among the heresies condemned by the Synod. One of the resolutions passed by the assembled clerical wisdom, as quoted by Winthrop, reads: "That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly (as was then in practice in Boston), where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetic way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding Scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly and without rule."

Mr. Cotton made a feeble attempt to defend her, but his own position was not secure enough to permit him to espouse her cause too openly. Others who spoke in her behalf were brow-beaten by Endicott and Hugh Peters, while Winthrop, who knew her best, acted as chief inquisitor. It is difficult to conceive, in these days of toleration, of the standard of justice which actuated the conduct of our forefathers. This woman was brought before a court of prejudiced men, in which her accusers were her judges, was allowed no counsel nor permitted to call witnesses, and was subjected to hours of interrogation by the best intellect of the day. She was forced to stand during her long trial, which lasted two days, until she almost fell from exhaustion, yet no word of complaint appears to have fallen from her lips. Though the court was called to convict, so little was proved against her and so bewildered were her judges by Cotton's ambiguous and sophistical arguments that she would probably have been acquitted but for her own undaunted truthfulness. She disdained to refute any of the accusations, and even went to the extent of denying the authority of her judges, declaring that they would suffer disaster for her persecution. "So," says Winthrop, "the court proceeded and banished her; but because it was winter, they committed her to a private house, where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else."

Winthrop is somewhat disingenuous in this. The private house to which the prisoner was assigned was not in Boston, as one would judge from the context, but in Roxbury, where she was far from her husband, children, and friends. She was committed there to the custody of Mr. Joseph Welde, brother of her bitter enemy, the minister of Roxbury. "To be committed to prison in another town," says Mr. Savage, "even at the house of so good a man as Mr. Welde, might not be an agreeable process of conversion; but when subjected to the perpetual buzzing of the clerical tormentor, she must have been more than woman, not to prove incorrigible."

Having thus disposed of the chief conspirator, the authorities now turned their attention to her followers. As these consisted of the best men in Boston and the surrounding towns, they did not dare to accuse them openly of treason; so they trumped up against them a cause of suspicion,



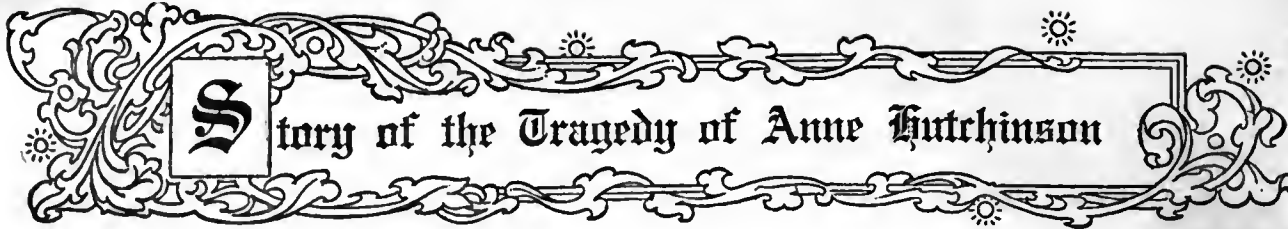
## Some Early Throes of Religious Liberty

asserting a fear that they were about to rise in armed rebellion, and ordered them to surrender their arms and ammunition.

Mr. Savage truly says of this: "In no part of the history of any of the United States, perhaps, can a parallel be found for this act." The records contain the names of fifty-eight citizens of Boston and of seventeen others in Salem, Newbury, Roxbury, Ipswich, and Charlestown who were thus disarmed.

As religious intolerance had led to the severance of Roger Williams from Massachusetts and had been a considerable factor in determining the emigration of Mr. Hooker and his friends to the Connecticut Valley, so the dissensions which had grown out of the Hutchinson controversy led the friends of that gentlewoman to meditate another secession, with the project of a new settlement on Long Island or Delaware Bay. To the student of history it will be interesting to glance briefly at the names of some of the adherents of this persecuted woman who were willing to follow her into exile. At their head were Dr. John Clarke, a learned physician, and William Coddington, Treasurer of the Colony, and reputed the wealthiest man in Boston. The latter was afterward for many years Governor of Rhode Island, the former Deputy Governor and long the Colony's trusted agent in London. Among the others were William Hutchinson, who succeeded Coddington as Judge, that is, Governor, in the first settlement on Rhode Island; his son, Edward, ancestor of the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts; John Sanford, afterward Governor of Rhode Island; John Coggeshall, first President of Rhode Island under the patent; Thomas Savage, afterward Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces in the beginning of King Philip's War, and ancestor of the famous genealogist of New England; William Aspinwall, Assistant Secretary of Rhode Island; William Dyer, Secretary and Attorney General of Rhode Island; Henry Bull, Deputy, Assistant, and Governor; and representatives of many families since prominent, as Underhill, Oliver, Marshall, Burden, Pell, Gridley, Cole, Rainsford, Townsend, Wilbour, Parker. What was Massachusetts's loss was Rhode Island's gain. The high character of the men thus driven into the wilderness gave an impetus to the small beginnings already made by Roger Williams and his friends at Providence, and helped to build up the first State in the history of the world founded on principles now recognized as fundamental.

The disfranchised and banished partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson shook the dust of Boston from their feet and journeyed southward looking for a new home. Roger Williams persuaded them to settle in his neighborhood, and, through his influence with the natives, the island of Aquidneck in Narragansett Bay, afterwards named Rhode Island, was bought and a settlement made at Pocasset or Portsmouth, on the northernmost end. The colony increased so rapidly that in the spring following a portion separated and found-



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ed a new township at the southern end of the island, which was named the New Port, now Newport, the summer metropolis of America.


Meanwhile Mrs. Hutchinson was removed from Mr. Welde's in Roxbury to Mr. Cotton's house in Boston, that the latter and other ministers might have opportunity to convert her, if possible, from the error of her ways; but to the astonishment of the good men who reasoned with her she declined to have her religious ideas run into the cast-iron mould prescribed by them as the only way of attaining heavenly joys. "After much time and many arguments had been spent to bring her to see her sin, but all in vain," says Winthrop, "the church, with one consent, cast her out." Winthrop adds: "After she was excommunicated, her spirits, which seemed before to be somewhat dejected, revived again, and she gloried in her sufferings, saying that it was the greatest happiness, next to Christ, that ever befel her."

Two or three days later Governor Winthrop "sent a warrant to Mrs. Hutchinson to depart this jurisdiction before the last of this month." She left Boston on one of the last days of March, 1638, going by boat to Mount Wollaston (Braintree), where her husband had a farm. Thence she went by land to Providence and soon after joined her husband and family on the island of Rhode Island.


Anne Hutchinson's active life ended with her banishment. In her new home, where she was surrounded by men and women in accord with her own sentiments, she might have passed the rest of her days in contentment and peace had not the jealousy and hatred of her enemies in Massachusetts followed her even there. Winthrop, whose better nature was often overshadowed in dealing with opponents by narrow prejudices and superstition, seized every opportunity to cast slurs on her. He records in his history every vague report concerning her that reaches his ears, in one case going beyond the bounds of decency to give the disgusting details of a matter which he says was openly discussed in a lecture in Boston. It is now almost impossible to read appreciatively the records of trivial circumstances, treated by our forefathers as vital to religion and morality, which seem in the light of the present worthy only of pity and contempt. While all must recognize the nobler elements of Mr. Winthrop's character and give him credit for honesty and sincerity, we cannot pass in silence the narrowness which characterized him.

So acrimonious grew the relations between the elect in Boston and the miserable sinners whom they had cast out that the people of Rhode Island were forbidden to come into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts under pain of death. Even Roger Williams did not dare to go to Boston to take ship for England when sent thither on the Colony's business, but was obliged to go to New Amsterdam to seek passage on a Dutch vessel. In 1641 Mrs. Hutchinson's son, Francis, and her son-in-law, Rev. Mr. Collins, had occa-






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sion to go to Boston. As soon as their presence was known, they were ordered before the Governor and Council. As they did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they refused. The Constable therefore brought them into court, where Mr. Collins was charged with having written a letter declaring, says Winthrop, "all our churches and ministers to be anti-Christian, and many other reproachful speeches." Mr. Collins acknowledged the letter and maintained it, but also "maintained that there were no Gentile churches (as he termed them) since the Apostles' times, and that none could ordain ministers, etc. Francis Hutchinson did agree with him in some of these, but not resolutely in all." This, however, was enough, and they were committed to prison. Mr. Collins was fined £100 and Francis Hutchinson £50, and the court ordered them kept in prison until they gave security. "We assessed the fines the higher," says Winthrop, "partly that by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept close prisoners) and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the synod and other occasions to the value of £500 at least; but after, because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them to £40 and £20." "But," adds Mr. Winthrop, with a gravity which would bring a smile on the face of a graven image, "they seemed not willing to pay anything. They refused to come to the church assemblies except they were led, and so they came duly. At last we took their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them."

The only comment necessary on this narrative is that Francis Hutchinson, who thus sinned against the ordinances of Massachusetts, was then just twenty years old and his companion but little older. In the next year, 1642, William Hutchinson, the father, died in Newport. The settlement on Rhode Island was then but four years old, and there was still doubt about the permanency of the new colony. Plymouth claimed that some of its territory was within her bounds, and Massachusetts laid covetous eyes on its fertile lands and magnificent bay. Providence and Rhode Island gave shelter to those who had left Massachusetts for conscience' sake or who had been expelled for offences against her laws. There, free from her vengeance, they scoffed at her ordinances and defied her power. This was, of course, very irritating. In the belief that they would be doing God's will in driving still further into the wilderness these disaffected spirits, the authorities of the Bay Colony set on foot a movement to extend their jurisdiction over the Narragansett country. The mere apprehension of the possible success of such a movement caused consternation in Rhode Island and led some to look for homes elsewhere out of reach of the vengeance of Massachusetts. Among these was Mrs. Hutchinson who, now without the protection of a husband, derived from these rumors the belief that Newport was no longer a safe refuge for herself and her family. The country west of Narragan-





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sett was controlled partly by Massachusetts and partly by Connecticut, whose chief minister, Mr. Davenport, had taken part in the proceedings against her, so she saw no safety short of the Dutch settlements, beyond New Haven. Several English families had already settled in that region, notably Captain John Underhill, at Greenwich, and the Throgmortons and Cornells nearer New Amsterdam.


Mrs. Hutchinson removed to her new home probably in the autumn of 1642. She bought property on what is now Pelham Neck and built a house near a little affluent of the river now called after her, Hutchinson's River. This affluent was long named Black Dog Brook, possibly from some connection with Mrs. Hutchinson's fate, and later, Hutchinson Brook. The site of her home, the remains of the foundations of which were visible within the past generation, was near a large boulder called Split Rock, the divided parts of which are wide enough assunder to permit the growth of a tree between. It is now included in Pelham Bay Park, Borough of the Bronx, within the limits of New York City. The Rev. Mr. Welde, in noting Mrs. Hutchinson's removal, facetiously remarks that her new home was on Manhattan Island, "near a place called by seamen, and in the map, Hell-gate."

Mrs. Hutchinson was unfortunate in selecting this time for a removal. The Dutch Governor, Kieft, had aroused the enmity of the savages by his inhumanity and treachery, and the red men, provoked to fury, resolved to exterminate the Dutch and all connected with them. They ravaged Long Island, plundering and burning, and swept Manhattan Island to the gate of the fort at New Amsterdam. It is possible that Mrs. Hutchinson, whose knowledge of savage character had been gained by intercourse with the gentler Narrangansetts, propitiated and made friendly by Roger Williams and his associates, may have considered herself safe in her exposed situation. But the savages of her new home were very different from those she had come in contact with in Rhode Island. They were known as the Siwanoys, a clan of the Mohegan tribe, whose possessions extended from near Hell-gate to Norwalk.

We know little of the final catastrophe beyond that it happened in August, 1643. The savages that drove the Dutch to seek shelter within the walls of Fort Amsterdam, burned her house and slew every person in it save one, the youngest daughter, Susanna, a child of nine years, who was carried into captivity. Most historians of this event say that Mrs. Hutchinson and all her family were cut off, but this is far from the truth. Of the children brought to the New World, five, at least, married and left families. Mrs. Hutchinson was accompanied in her new migration only by her son, Francis, then a young man of twenty-two years, her son-in-law, Rev. Mr. Collins, with his wife, her daughter, Anne, and four other children, all under age. If, as some record, sixteen persons in all were killed, the remainder



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were either servants or members of other families, for some of the Throgmortons and Cornells were slain in the same massacre. The Throgmortons, who came over with Roger Williams and followed him to Providence, have their names perpetuated in Throg's Neck. It is interesting to note that the neck where the tragedy occurred, a little east of Throg's Neck, was long called Anne's Hoeck or Hook, in memory of the outcast of Boston, and the property including it was named the Manor of Anne Hoeck's Neck. The savage who claimed the honor of slaying Mrs. Hutchinson assumed her Christian name, and eleven years after the catastrophe, when he and others confirmed a deed of the property to Dr. Thomas Pell, he signed himself "Ann Hoeck alias Wampage." The property was next called "Hutchinsons," and in 1664, when Thomas Pell granted to James Eustis, Philip Pinckney, and others the right to settle "at Hutchinsons, that is where the house stood at the meadows," the place was named "Ten Families," from the fact that that number settled there. Still later it was called after the Pell family, Pelham, *ham* in the Anglo-Saxon signifying home or dwelling.

Susanna Hutchinson, the daughter carried into captivity, remained with the savages four years, almost long enough to become one of them. She was finally ransomed when thirteen years old by the Dutch, and returned to her family in Boston, where she eventually married John Cole and had a numerous posterity. Of the other children who survived, Captain Edward, the eldest son, was killed in the service of Massachusetts in King Philip's War, in 1675. He was the father of Hon. Elisha Hutchinson, father of Hon. Thomas, who in turn was father of his more famous son, Thomas, the celebrated historian and last Royal Governor of Massachusetts. From Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Edward, was descended the wife of John Singleton Copley, whose son became Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor of England. Another daughter of Captain Edward's, Susanna, married Nathaniel Coddington, son of Governor William Coddington and of Anna Brinley, daughter of Thomas Brinley, Auditor General of both Charles I and Charles II.

Of Anne Hutchinson's other daughters, Faith married Major Thomas Savage and became the ancestress of the noted historian and genealogist of New England, and Bridget became the wife of Governor John Sanford, and the mother of another Governor of Rhode Island, Peleg Sanford.

It would be gratifying if we were able to record, in conclusion, that the sad fate of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children brought remorse to the hearts of those who were primarily responsible for it, but even the usually gentle and catholic Winthrop had only sarcasm for the catastrophe. He remarks, after detailing the facts of her death:

"These people had cast off ordinances and churches, and now at last their own people, and for larger accommodation had subjected themselves to the

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Dutch and dwelt scatteringly near a mile asunder; and some that escaped, who had removed only for want (as they said) of hay for their cattle which increased much, now coming back again to Aquiday, they wanted cattle for their grass."

George Bishop, the author of "New England Judged," tells us that Winthrop repented on his death-bed, six years later, of his harshness. As the story goes, when Mr. Dudley, then Deputy Governor, pressed him to sign an order of banishment of a heterodox person, he refused, saying: "I have done too much of that work already."

The Rev. Mr. Welde, who was in England at the time of the massacre, writes of it in a spirit of pious exultation: "The Lord heard our groans to heaven, and freed us from our great and sore affliction." He continues: "Now I am come to the last act of her tragedy, a most heavy stroak upon herself and hers, as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New England. \* \* \* The Indians set upon them, and slew her, and all her family, her daughter and her daughter's husband, and all their children, save one that escaped; (her own husband being dead before); a dreadful blow. \* \* \* I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this commit the like outrage upon any one family or families; and therefore God's hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woeful woman, to make her, and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example of their cruelty above others."

In these later days, when nearly three centuries roll between us and the events I have endeavored to describe, we, who are many of us descended from both parties in that memorable episode, can look back with philosophical equanimity at the questions then considered important enough to divide Churches and to threaten the existence of States, and judge with impartiality the actors who honestly took opposite sides in them. Massachusetts, yet in her infancy, was confronted with conflicting policies, the one involving religious toleration, the other compulsory theological conformity. She chose the latter, and it colored her history and her institutions more than a century and a half.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who sought, like Roger Williams, to turn the tide in the other direction, only to be overwhelmed by it, was far in advance of her time. "She was a woman," says Eggleston, "cursed with a natural gift for leadership in an age that had no place for such women." Having this gift she was unable to stifle her longings to give expression to it, and so, says Adams, she "attempted a premature revolt against an organized and firmly-rooted oligarchy of theocrats." Failure was inevitable, for the time was not yet ripe; but, advanced as we are to-day, who can tell what our progress might not have been had religious tolerance and civil liberty—the ideas of Roger Williams, of Henry Vane, and of Anne Hutchinson—prevailed earlier throughout New England!



## Southern California in the Sixties

A Visit to What Now is the Garden Spot of the World, at the Close of the Civil War, When the "Lower Country" of California Was a Wilderness

BY

PROFESSOR STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

Member of the New York Historical Association, Late Member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Chemist of the California Petroleum Company and the Union Oil Company of California, Member of the American Pbliosophical Society, etc.




On the 15th of June, 1865, the writer sat on the deck of the steamer Costa Rica as she steamed out of New York harbor. The Civil War had just closed, and a three years' service, most of the time at the front, was merging into a trip to Southern California, by way of the Isthmus of Panama, in search of a second Pennsylvania oil region that was said to exist there.

During the previous winter, a most flattering invitation had been extended to investors throughout the Atlantic States, to put their savings into a scheme organized as the "California Petroleum Company," which was to operate on the Ojai Ranche, then said to contain "a fabulous wealth of oil." The literal truth of this statement has been proved by the experience of forty years of prospecting, although the first well that produced oil in Southern California was drilled upon the property. The objects of this scheme were set forth in a report made by Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., who had acquired a deservedly high reputation, for that time, as an investigator of Pennsylvania petroleum. He had been to the Pacific Coast; had stood upon the ground and had brought from there samples of the oil. A portion of these samples had been examined under his own supervision by Professor Peter Collier, another portion by Doctor John M. Maisch, at the United States Army Laboratory, where the writer was then on duty, and another portion by Professor C. M. Warren, one of the best experts on petroleum at that time living. The reports made by these gentlemen substantially agreed, and when they were supported by the positive statements of Professor Silliman, there seemed to be no doubt that his assertions were substantially correct. The writer was brought into contact with the promoters of this scheme, and he was now going out to the Pacific Coast as the chemist of the company.

After an uneventful voyage of seven days we reached Aspinwall and



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The Rev. Mr. Welde, who was in England at the time of the massacre, writes of it in a spirit of pious exultation: "The Lord heard our groans to heaven, and freed us from our great and sore affliction." He continues: "Now I am come to the last act of her tragedy, a most heavy stroak upon herself and hers, as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New England. \* \* \* The Indians set upon them, and slew her, and all her family, her daughter and her daughter's husband, and all their children, save one that escaped; (her own husband being dead before); a dreadful blow. \* \* \* I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this commit the like outrage upon any one family or families; and therefore God's hand is the more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woeful woman, to make her, and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example of their cruelty above others."

In these later days, when nearly three centuries roll between us and the events I have endeavored to describe, we, who are many of us descended from both parties in that memorable episode, can look back with philosophical equanimity at the questions then considered important enough to divide Churches and to threaten the existence of States, and judge with impartiality the actors who honestly took opposite sides in them. Massachusetts, yet in her infancy, was confronted with conflicting policies, the one involving religious toleration, the other compulsory theological conformity. She chose the latter, and it colored her history and her institutions more than a century and a half.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who sought, like Roger Williams, to turn the tide in the other direction, only to be overwhelmed by it, was far in advance of her time. "She was a woman," says Eggleston, "cursed with a natural gift for leadership in an age that had no place for such women." Having this gift she was unable to stifle her longings to give expression to it, and so, says Adams, she "attempted a premature revolt against an organized and firmly-rooted oligarchy of theocrats." Failure was inevitable, for the time was not yet ripe; but, advanced as we are to-day, who can tell what our progress might not have been had religious tolerance and civil liberty—the ideas of Roger Williams, of Henry Vane, and of Anne Hutchinson—prevailed earlier throughout New England!





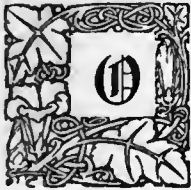
## Southern California in the Sixties

A Visit to What Now is the Garden Spot of the World, at the Close of the Civil War, When the "Lomer Country" of California Was a Wilderness

BY

PROFESSOR STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

Member of the New York Historical Association, Late Member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Chemist of the California Petroleum Company and the Union Oil Company of California, Member of the American Philosophical Society, etc.




ON the 15th of June, 1865, the writer sat on the deck of the steamer Costa Rica as she steamed out of New York harbor. The Civil War had just closed, and a three years' service, most of the time at the front, was merging into a trip to Southern California, by way of the Isthmus of Panama, in search of a second Pennsylvania oil region that was said to exist there.

During the previous winter, a most flattering invitation had been extended to investors throughout the Atlantic States, to put their savings into a scheme organized as the "California Petroleum Company," which was to operate on the Ojai Rancho, then said to contain "a fabulous wealth of oil." The literal truth of this statement has been proved by the experience of forty years of prospecting, although the first well that produced oil in Southern California was drilled upon the property. The objects of this scheme were set forth in a report made by Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., who had acquired a deservedly high reputation, for that time, as an investigator of Pennsylvania petroleum. He had been to the Pacific Coast; had stood upon the ground and had brought from there samples of the oil. A portion of these samples had been examined under his own supervision by Professor Peter Collier, another portion by Doctor John M. Maisch, at the United States Army Laboratory, where the writer was then on duty, and another portion by Professor C. M. Warren, one of the best experts on petroleum at that time living. The reports made by these gentlemen substantially agreed, and when they were supported by the positive statements of Professor Silliman, there seemed to be no doubt that his assertions were substantially correct. The writer was brought into contact with the promoters of this scheme, and he was now going out to the Pacific Coast as the chemist of the company.

After an uneventful voyage of seven days we reached Aspinwall and

  
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with a jolly company, including five brides, we crossed the Isthmus one Sunday, and just before sunset we beheld the wooded islands of Panama Bay, the sleepy, old, mediæval town and the dreamy beauty of tropical vegetation. One of the brides repeated Keat's sonnet to Chapman's Homer as we beheld "a peak of Darien," when making off on a lighter to the steamer that was to take us up the Pacific Coast. We sailed over this enchanted, summer sea, often for days without motion, save the long swell of a glassy ocean. Some of the time we were out of sight of land. Often we saw the blue summits of the high peaks of Central America, and again, we were so near the land that we could distinguish the cocoanut trees on shore and see the waves break on either hand until lost in the dim distance. One afternoon we sailed along such an unbroken beach for seventy miles.

One morning the steamer was turned towards the land and soon a narrow gateway appeared among the hills, scarce twice the steamer's length in width, by which we entered the land-locked bay of Acapulco. The bay is about a mile in diameter, surrounded by hills, over which no wagon road had then been constructed. No wheel had then rumbled over the narrow streets of the sleepy old town, for two hundred years. All communication with the interior towns was by saddle horses or mules over trails that led through the mountains. The water of the bay was crystal clear, and we amused ourselves by throwing small coins overboard to see the native boys dive and catch them before they could reach the bottom.

A day or two more and we were at Manzanilla, with its hills clothed with white oleanders, that formed great banks of snow-white color under a tropical sun. The stately columns of the Giant Cactus arose from the banks of snow, with orange colored flowers as large as a dinner plate. Here ripe pineapples were brought on board, externally of the color of old oak, and so soft that the pulp was eaten with a spoon; as soft as a peach. I have never seen any such before or since.

After three weeks of delightful weather, our summer excursion along the shores of Central America and Mexico came to an end in San Francisco harbor. A few days later we were steaming south on the old steamer Senator, bound for Santa Barbara. On the evening of July 10 we made a landing. There was no wharf there then. The steamer lay about a mile off shore, and the passengers and their baggage were landed by small boats through the surf. The star-lit sky and one dim lantern made visible the dusky outlines of the mountains as the sailors crossed their hands and made a chair on which we were carried dryshod through the surf. No palatial modern hotel awaited us, but a down-east Yankee kept a comfortable tavern up the main street. Thither we wended and were soon fast asleep. In the morning the weird mystery of the half revealed landscape had vanished







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and in its place came the serene beauty of the placid ocean and the distant islands of the Santa Barbara channel. Although the scene has since become familiar to me it always recalls the lines:

“The mountains look on Marathon  
And Marathon looks on the sea.”

From Point Conception east to Mt. Hoar, the coast plain is bounded north by the sentinel mountains and south by the sea. In the center stands Santa Barbara, the mountains touching the sea in the dim distance on either hand. The next day we rode thirty miles down the coast, much of the way along the beach with the waves of the Pacific Ocean washing our horses feet, to the old Mission of San Buena Ventura.

We had traveled about five weeks. Every mile we journeyed had apparently removed us farther and farther from the world that we had known, the Anglo-Saxon world of the Atlantic Coast, and sent us farther and farther into another world, the Latin world of Spanish America. We caught glimpses of it at Panama and Acapulco, another at San Francisco, we plunged into it at Santa Barbara, and were buried within it at San Buena Ventura. The world of nature had changed as greatly as the world of action and of spirit. The green and wooded hills of New England and New Jersey had given place to the chapparal covered mountains and treeless hills of the western coast. The boisterous Atlantic tossed us no longer; the vast expanse of the Pacific soothed us with the balmy zephyrs of the southern sea. It was “a land in which it seemed always afternoon;” like Mexico and other Spanish lands, the Land of Mañana. Even the whales in the Santa Barbara channel slumbered until the prow of a lazy steamer bumped them into consciousness, as I once witnessed sailing down the coast.

The hotel into which we were ushered in San Buena Ventura was a one story adobe of the Spanish type, built around three sides of a square, the court open in the rear, and with a long veranda in front. The roar of the waves on the beach a quarter of a mile distant, arose and fell with a majestic cadence, as we strolled out to view the wierd and curious old village, transplanted from Sixteenth Century Old Spain to the America of the Nineteenth. The Mission garden with its two date palms, its olive trees, and enormous prickly pears, was scarcely less interesting than the old Mission Church with its belfry almost covered with the nests of the cliff-swallow. The old priest at the church entertained us kindly and told us that “his people had very good faith but very poor customs,” a remark that he explained by telling us that after his people had stolen and eaten his chickens they came and confessed the theft.

We soon established ourselves upon the Ojai Rancho at Number One, where the first well driven for oil in Southern California was then being



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drilled, and commenced our search for oil. Nothing but a copious stream of sulphur water was yielded by Number One, and it has flowed without interruption for forty years. There were tar springs in abundance upon the hillsides, indicating that nature had hidden abundant stores of bitumen in their ponderous depths, but it was all black, viscid, and heavy mineral tar and not the coveted fluid petroleum. Numbers Two and Three also failed to produce bitumen in any form. Like Number One they were both located in the valley of San Antonio Creek, a tributary of the San Buena Ventura river, where Professor Silliman had prophesied a second Oil Creek awaited the drill. Number Four was located in one of the cañons of the Upper Ojai, at the foot of a steep hillside, down which the maltha trickled in the sun in such quantities that Doctors Torrey and Jackson, in highly imaginative diction, described the outflow as a "petroleum cascade." Number Four failed to yield the coveted oil.

There were no banks at that time south of San Francisco. What little banking was done in the "Lower Country" was done in a small way by private individuals. The currency was exclusively specie. The officers of the Company kept their account in the city and received their remittances of cash for current expenses in coin, sent by express through Wells, Fargo, & Company to Santa Barbara, nearly sixty miles from Number One. I was frequently a messenger to carry these bags of coin between the two places. The dry summer lapsed into autumn. The contagion of indolent freedom was in the air as I rode along the Pacific beaches or over the chapparal-covered hills. The most ennobling mode of locomotion invented by man—on horseback in a Spanish saddle—was our only mode of conveyance, slower but scarcely more fatiguing than a railroad train, for in that climate the rhythmic motion of the horse with his Spanish gait, made a forty mile ride a mere pastime. An American woman, accustomed to the country, rode eighty miles in one day, and resting her horse the second day returned home on the third. We rode over those beautiful wooded hills with no companions but the wild flowers, through natural parks of live oak, into cañons shaded at noon day where the deer were too wild to flee, and who shared with us the crystal coolness of the white sulphur springs.


On a plateau of the Upper Ojai was the "Big Spring." Around this spring Professor Silliman had described an area one square mile in extent covered with asphaltum three feet in thickness. He had also estimated the millions of gallons of oil that this asphaltum would yield when distilled, at fifty gallons to the ton. Ten huge retorts were shipped from New York in which to distill this asphaltum, but they never got beyond San Francisco and were finally sold at auction to pay storage charges.

The Hon. Levi Parsons, who was called Judge Parsons, was an ec-



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centric genius who held stock in the California Petroleum Company. One day he came down to the Rancho, and with the superintendent and the writer rode up by where Nordhoff now stands, into the Upper Ojai to the Big Spring. The view as the Judge sat under the tree near the Big Spring looked up the slopes of the Coast Ranges over a scene of sublime desolation, without a hint of petroleum or other form of bitumen, save the thick mineral tar that bubbled on the surface of the spring. All over the area of a mile square the flowers and forage plants peculiar to that country through which our horses had just wallowed, stood in luxuriant profusion as high as the stirrups. Suddenly, and after a profound sigh, the Judge exploded: "Good Lord!! How much Silliman can see after dinner and a good bottle of porter." The empty porter bottles lay on the ground behind him. This is the only explanation I have ever heard offered concerning Professor Silliman's prodigious mistake. It was decided that day to drill Number Five on the Big Spring plateau. It was drilled. It passed through soil and asphaltum into shale, but like its predecessors did not yield oil.


The Hon. Thomas R. Bard, late United States Senator from California, was Assistant Superintendent of the California Petroleum Company. He, with the writer, succeeded in locating well Number Six still farther east in the valley of the Sisar Creek. Instead of being below a tar spring it was placed above one. It was the first well in Southern California that yielded oil and it has yielded oil ever since, although it has not been pumped continuously.

While this work was being prosecuted upon the Rancho, the writer had not relaxed his efforts to find the source of the sample of oil sent east by Professor Silliman. A small laboratory had been established beneath an enormous live oak tree near Number One, where all of the different varieties of bitumen to be found in that country had been successively treated and tested, but nothing corresponding with the results obtained by Messrs. Collier, Maisch, and Warren could be gotten from any crude material that was discovered, nor could diligent enquiry supplemented by thousands of miles of travel on horseback, reveal more than two springs of petroleum in all Southern California, and these were forty miles apart and neither of them upon the Ojai Rancho. The writer went at night and stole a sample of oil from one of these springs, and after a very careful series of comparative tests he established the fact that Professor Silliman had been made the victim of a stupendous hoax and that the oil that he had had analyzed was a mixture of equal parts of refined Pennsylvania kerosene and the oil of the before named spring.

The year wore on apace. Everything became dry as tinder. Many of the trees cast their foliage late in autumn although there was no frost.

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In the tops of the bare sycamore trees the bunches of mistletoe hung like swarms of bees. Not a drop of rain fell from the fourth of July till the middle of November. After the rain, for a few weeks, the remains of vegetation became of a sombre black and then nature awakened and put on robes of green. Winter came, and such a winter. On the twelfth of January, 1866, we stood upon the steps of the old Priory of Santa Barbara and the breath of Eden fanned our cheeks from the soft southern sea. We rode along the crests of the low mountains, and looked down into the valleys filled with square miles of wild flowers. Wreaths of lilac colored lace like veils of tulle, lay upon the sides of the mountains where the ceanothus bloomed. The most barren spots were hung with the creamy Yucca bells, and the great scarlet larkspur, the cardinal flower of that region, nodded from the moist spots in every cañon. In places the whole face of the country, as far as the eye could reach, was golden with yellow violets, and there were whole square miles of wild mustard tall enough to hide a man on horseback.

In the San Buena Ventura and Santa Clara valleys a few acres were irrigated and planted to barley, corn, and beans and a few gardens were cultivated in the Mission village. The man who would have proposed to raise a crop without irrigation would have been declared a lunatic, to say nothing of the benches or low table lands where the soil lay from six to ten feet deep and mustard grew ten feet high.

In May, 1866, the writer in company with Doctor George L. Goodale, late Professor of Botany in Harvard University, made a trip over the country. We left San Buena Ventura in the afternoon and made the Ranche house at Number One near the entrance to the Ojai by evening. The next day we went through the Ojai by where Nordhoff now stands, then a natural park of live oak filled with wild deer. Keeping on through the Upper Ojai, then a vast mustard field, we went out by the Santa Paula cañon on to Camulos. Not a habitable dwelling nor a human being was seen during the day save the solitary keeper at the east end of the ranche where Ferndale now is. At about this time ex-Senator Bard and the writer spent a night at the East End. Bard slept outside the cabin and was awakened in the middle of the night by a bear who poked his nose into Bard's face. It was here that the Spaniards in Dana's time lassoed wild bears to use in their bull fights. At Camulos we found Doctor Jonathan Letterman who was so long Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac. He entertained us very agreeably by explaining to us a birdseye view of the battle field of Gettysburg that he had just received. Camulos has since become famous as the location of the scenes of "Ramona." The Ranche house was then the only structure that could claim to be a house in the Santa Clara valley between Newhall





SYCAMORE TREE, OJAI RANCHE, VENTURA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA  
The bunches of mistletoe on the tree resemble swarms of bees



SPANISH HOTEL OF ADOBE IN VENTURA, 1865  
Showing Palm-trees in the Mission Garden—The site now occupied by a Bank—The "American Hotel" of 1865 is on the right in the picture



LAST ADOBE HOUSE IN VENTURA

In the Sixties every building in the town was of adobe, except the white house in the background of the picture. Just built at the time of Professor Peckham's visit, 1865—In 1894 this house was the last relic in Ventura of the old-style Spanish homes.



MISSION CHURCH OF SAN BUENA VENTURA IN THE SIXTIES

When used as a Parish Church—The cornice covered with nests of swallows—Now modernized



CLOISTER OF SAN FERNANDO

Forty miles from Los Angeles—Occupied in 1865 as the residence of Don Andreas Pico

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The Big Spring, Ventura County, California, at the foot of the Santa Inez Mountains—Dead boughs placed near spring to protect it from the cattle



First well that produced oil in California, drilled in 1866 by Thomas R. Bard—The well, seen at the left of the picture, is without a derrick.



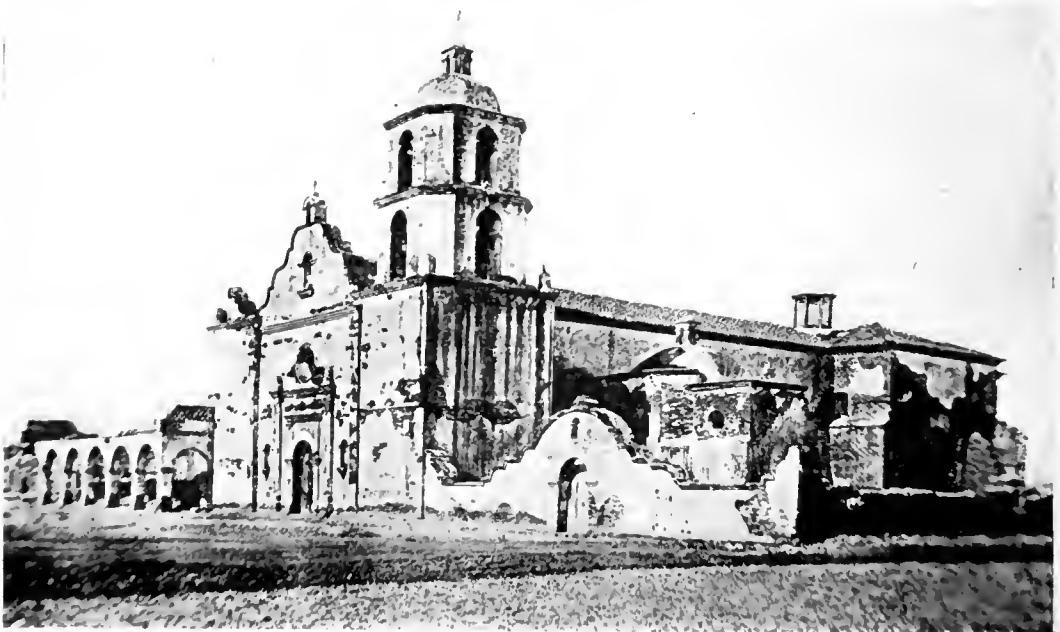
Native Indian women in the sun on the steps of the  
old Mission Church at Ventura



Last of the Mission Indians of the San Buena Ven-  
tura Mission—A survival in the Sixties of the old  
Spanish Régime



Monastery Church of Santa Barbara, still occupied by Franciscan Monks



Church of San Luis Rey, now in ruins—From the door of the Church one may look out upon the Pacific



The Oaks of Ojal—Live Oaks in the Sulphur Mountains—Five thousand acres of these trees made, in 1865, a wild and beautiful natural park



"Number One," the Ojal Rancho House, Ventura County, California, near the first well drilled for oil in California, 1865—Reproduced from a sketch in India ink by Miss Louise J. Bard




Camulos, the only Ranch House in Santa Clara Valley, California, in 1865—The scene of Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona"



Gigantic prickly pears in the garden of the Spanish Hotel at Ventura, California, 1865, from eight to ten feet high



## Passing of the Olden-Time Spanish Regime





and the ocean. Square miles of mustard stretched away on either hand to the mountains that border the valley limiting the landscape to an ellipse from which apparently there is no exit. In the morning the Doctor took us into a cañon on the south side of the valley to visit some oil wells that he had been drilling that produced only tar. Thirty years afterwards a well was drilled only one hundred and twenty-five feet from these wells that made a good flow of oil of fine quality.

We continued our journey in an easterly direction up and down hills and along the valleys past the Pico spring (which was the second petroleum spring), by tunnels and wells until late in the afternoon we found ourselves at the hostelry on the south side of the San Fernando Pass. After supper, as the sun was near the horizon, we climbed to the summit of the pass. As we stood there the view to the northwest towards Fort Tèjon and the San Joaquin valley embraced a vast wilderness of mountains, summit beyond summit of the Coast Ranges, for seventy miles. There was absolutely nothing in the whole expanse to indicate that a human being then or ever had existed.

The next morning being Sunday we concluded to spend it among the hills to the east of the pass in preference to entering Los Angeles. We climbed about two thousand feet over soft, unaltered sandstones, then over those in which the iron had turned red from the effects of heat, then over rocks that had been metamorphosed into gneiss, and finally at the top we found the core of the mountain to be solid granite. We found marine shells and the bones of whales embedded in the soft sand rock two thousand feet above the sea, and had a glorious panorama spread before us to the ocean forty miles distant. The day was cloudless, the air clear, the mountains veiled in purple haze. The vast expanse of diluvium formed by the torrents that have poured for ages out of the cañons of the San Rafael mountains, on which Burbank and other towns now stand, sloped to meet the San Fernando plain, covered with flowers but not a house or man or beast, save the white walls of the old Mission of San Fernando, as far as the eye could reach, arose to indicate that other human beings than ourselves existed.

Next day we rode across this plain to Los Angeles. In the middle of the plain we saw a specimen of the Yucca or Spanish Bayonette, common in that region, that surpassed in size all other individuals that we met. The flower stalk is taller than the species common in our gardens, growing usually from eight to ten feet high. This plant grew in clean gravel. The flower stalk sprang from a hemispherical tuft of long, slender leaves, with points like bayonets. It is called the Bayonette plant. The flower stalk was at least thirty feet high, one-half of which was the centre of a cone of flowers with a base equal to its height; that is to say, the cone of flowers





## Southern California as Seen in the Sixties

was fifteen feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. There were several thousands of those cream-colored bells hung upon the branches in every stage of development from half-opened buds to full blown flowers. I never saw such a magnificent floral display from a single plant.

We stayed all night at the best hotel, an adobe Spanish inn near the old Mission church, called the "Bella Union." There we ate boiled eggs for fear of dirt. Next morning the Doctor flattered our host into presenting him with a bottle of genuine California wine, as a specimen of the article. As we rode out by where Hollywood now stands through the Cauhanga Pass and stopped to look back over the orange groves and vineyards that surrounded the little adobe town, the Doctor chuckled with delight at the prospect of moistening his parched lips at lunch with some unadulterated grape juice. But alas, when in the middle of the plain with miles of mirage stretched on either side we pulled the cork, a mild aroma of vinegar greeted our nostrils and the Doctor's visions of a draft "long cooled in the deep delved earth" blended with the mirage, as it dawned upon us that we had only a bottle of very feeble vinegar with which to quench our thirst.

We plodded on over the Santa Susannah Pass and into the Simi valley. The semi-weekly stage to San Francisco passed us else we saw neither man nor beast for the whole forty miles. Evening found us at a place where we slept in a hay stack and ate eggs. Next morning we rode through the Simi Ranche. This property, of about two hundred thousand acres, had been owned by the Noriega family, whose daughter's marriage with Mr. Robinson as celebrated in the old Mission church at Santa Barbara, is described in Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast." The thousands of cattle that covered the ranches of this region and formed the wealth of the feudal Spaniards, who were the gentry of the country in Dana's time, had all been swept away by the drought of 1863 and their dried carcasses strewed the valleys in every direction. Not even the Ranche house was left, it having been burned. The cattle were gone, the Noriegas were gone; such as Creation's dawn beheld, the valleys sloped to the mountains on every hand.

We reached San Buena Ventura that night, having made the entire trip of two hundred miles in seven days without change of horses and without having seen, outside of Los Angeles, a score of human beings or other living things save rattlesnakes and horned toads.

A few weeks afterwards I visited Los Angeles alone. Looking about the village I enquired for anything worth seeing, and was directed to a beer garden located near where the Post Office now stands, that was kept by a Pennsylvania Dutchman.

The proprietor took me over his place, which proved to hold one veri-



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table curiosity. He showed me attached to a tall pole what looked like an odd sort of grapevine. It proved to be a cabbage that had grown year after year, one stump growing out of the other, zigzagging up the pole. He said it was ten years old and had produced ripe seed eleven times. I asked him where he got the seed and he replied, "Oh, from Pennsylvania. It's just common seed. It's the climate." There was no frost to kill and the heads were not cut off but were allowed to ripen. Tomatoes grow on from year to year until the vines are forty feet in length.

Twenty-eight years afterwards I returned to that region, and such a transformation as I beheld! The mustard and the square miles of flowers had both disappeared. In their places hundred-acre bean fields, orange and lemon groves, olive orchards, prune orchards, apricot, and almond orchards. The whole face of the country had changed. Groves of the Australian Eucalyptus had sprung up, as it were in a night, in the valleys and on the treeless hill-sides, producing a landscape of diversified forest and plain instead of vistas of treeless hills. Railroads ran through the valleys and towns had sprung up as if by magic.

There was nothing left of old Santa Barbara but the old Mission church. That furnishes to-day, as in 1866, a glimpse into mediæval Spain. The rest is a modern town, a wharf, street railroads, and summer hotels. Yes, the mountains still look on Marathon, and Marathon looks on the ever-sparkling summer sea.

At San Buena Ventura (Ventura for short), the two palm trees still stand in the Mission garden. The cliff swallows' nests have all been removed from the tower of the old Mission church. On the corner where the Spanish hotel stood is a solid free-stone bank which declares emphatically that it is no longer necessary to go thirty miles to Santa Barbara to get a bag of gold. Only one adobe house was left in 1894.

Railroads, carriage roads, and buggies had taken the place of the Los Angeles stage and the Spanish saddle. The little adobe village had become a great city with miles on miles of pretty homes that were covered with roses that bloom eternally. No such transformation ever took place before in so short a time, and it is still going on, till now Southern California has become one of the gardens of the world.





**Cooke**

Arms of Cookes of Virginia—  
Descendants of Mordecai Cooke,  
who settled in Gloucester County  
about 1650



**Lawson**

Coat-of-Arms emblazoned on  
Rowland Lawson's will, probated  
in Lancaster County, Virginia,  
1700



**Gardiner**

Coat-Armor borne by the fam-  
ily of Gardiner's Island, New  
York—Founder of this line in  
America was Lyon Gardiner,  
born in 1599



**Child**

These Arms of the Child family  
of Middlesex, England, are as-  
cribed to Ephraim Child of  
Watertown, Massachusetts, 1631





## Ghent of the De Peysters

The Strong Part Played in Flemish History by a Famous New York Family & Ghent's Struggle for Freedom in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Period & Pre-eminence of the Guild-Leaders and Merchant-Princes of the Turbulent, Liberty-Loving Low Countries & Ancestors of Many Americans & Romance of History Disclosed by Recent Genealogical Investigations

BY  
FRANK ALLABEN




HOW far-reaching and how persistent are the subtle influences of heredity? To what extent does environment impress itself upon the web and woof of human nature? Does it leave a permanent stamp on character, which is transmissible as an unconscious bias or predisposition to future generations?

Genealogical researches into the European origins of American families disclose coincidences so striking—if mere coincidences they are—as fairly to force these questions on the mind. The old New York family of de Peyster is a case in point. None held a prouder or more secure pre-eminence than they in the social and political aristocracy of New Netherland and New York; and yet they possessed a singular family trait in their tendency to sympathize with and support the popular party in the clash of classes and struggles for representative government in the turbulent little metropolis at the mouth of Hudson's River. This might pass as a curious anomaly so long as the European antecedents of the de Peysters remained hidden in obscurity. But when recent researches reveal the same tendencies in the ancestors of the New York de Peysters,—aristocrats who espoused the cause of the liberties of the Flemish people during three hundred years prior to the transplanting of the race in New Amsterdam,—what are we to think?

The de Peysters of New York were aristocrats of the most intense type. From the arrival of the founder of the American family, Johannes de Peyster, he took as of right a place of leadership in the community, filling, successively, the offices of Schepen, Burgomaster, Alderman, and Deputy Mayor. In 1677 he was appointed Mayor, but declined the honor on account, as he said, of his imperfect knowledge of the English language. New Amsterdam had then become New York, and English was the official tongue.

Johannes was born in Haarlem, Holland, the son of Johannes de Peyster and Jossine Martens. The elder Johannes, as recent researches prove, had



# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

removed from Ghent, the ancestral home of the de Peysters from the Twelfth Century, and had gone first to Amsterdam and later to Haarlem. One of his grandsons, Johan de Peyster, educated at Leyden University, was a Councillor-at-Law and became Schepen of Rotterdam. A number of letters from him to his cousins in New York, with two from his father, Isaac, to Johannes de Peyster, the first American ancestor (Isaac's brother), were preserved among the family papers here, and until recently these documents contained the only known clues to the European origin of the family.

The de Peysters of the second generation in New York were not less distinguished than their father. Isaac de Peyster was Assistant Alderman of the city and for many years a member of the New York Provincial Legislature. His brother, Johannes, was Captain in the Militia, Assistant Alderman, a member of the Assembly, and Mayor of New York. (Some of his descendants were officers in the Continental Army during the American Revolution). Another brother, Cornelius, was Assistant Alderman, Captain in the Militia, and Chamberlain of New York. These all actively supported Leisler. Their sister, Maria, was the grandmother of the liberty-loving William Alexander, titular Earl of Stirling and Major-General in the patriot army during the War for Independence.

Still more eminent was another brother, eldest of the sons of the first Johannes, De Heer Abraham de Peyster—"The Lord Abraham de Peyster"—as he is worshipfully mentioned in contemporary records. He was one of the notable figures in Colonial New York, where he was born in 1657 and died in 1728. An opulent merchant, a civic magnate, a social grandee, he was an influential supporter of Leisler and the intimate and most trusted friend of the Governor, Richard, Earl of Bellomont. William Penn alludes in a letter to the charm of de Peyster's personality, his social gifts, and wit. No man in the Colony was more conspicuous in public affairs. He held the military rank of Colonel, commanding the city troops, was Alderman, Mayor, Justice of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice, Receiver-General of the Port of New York, Treasurer of New York and New Jersey, member of the King's Council, its presiding officer, and Acting-Governor of New York. His incumbency of the Acting-Governorship was in 1701, upon the death of the Earl of Bellomont. Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan being in the Barbadoes at the time, the government devolved upon the Council, of whom at first only four were in town, Abraham de Peyster, Dr. Samuel Staats, Robert Walters, and Thomas Weaver. When Chief Justice Smith arrived, followed soon after by Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler, an acrimonious squabble arose over the presidency. The Chief Justice, supported by Livingston and Schuyler, claimed it by right of seniority, whilst the majority said it should be decided by vote.



**DE HEER ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER**

Colonel, Chief Justice, and Acting Governor of New York. The most Eminent of his family in Colonial America. A scion of the Burgher aristocracy of mediæval Ghent.



# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

The principle involved was an important one. If Smith, by the accident of seniority, became the sole representative of the King, and the sole fount of local authority, the government of the people of New York became subject to one man, holding his high place by chance, and responsible to no power on this side of the Atlantic. On the other hand, all of the members of the Council had (theoretically, at least) an equal authority, and their choice of a leader would place the administration of affairs in the hands of one who might justly be considered simply as the authorized spokesman and representative of the entire Council.

The stand taken by de Peyster in this matter was typical of his attitude in all public questions. An aristocrat of the aristocrats, he as citizen almost invariably espoused the democratic side. In the Leisler affair the great majority of de Peyster's own social class were arrayed against the people's elected leader, but de Peyster heartily championed Leisler's cause, believing it to be the cause of representative government. Similarly, in the warfare waged by Bellomont against the collusion of the rich merchants of New York with pirates, de Peyster joined zealously in the Governor's efforts to stop the abuse and to punish the offenders, thus acting again in opposition to the majority of his social peers.

Had Abraham de Peyster been the only one of his family to exhibit this strong tendency, one might believe it to be the result of causes individual to himself. But this democratic spirit in civic affairs, in contrast to an aristocratic spirit in the personal life, is an ever-recurring trait of the de Peyster blood in America. Does its root, then, lie deep in the sources whence springs the genius of a race—that distinctive character which makes one family to differ from another as surely as the unique personality of one individual distinguishes him from all other men? In short, are family traits as persistent in mankind as we believe them to be in the animal and vegetable worlds? The argument for this view certainly gains immensely when, as in the case of the de Peysters, the habitual attitude which a race has exhibited for several centuries in America can be traced back for a period as long in the still more remote ancestral line in Europe, and be found strongly characterizing the earliest known members of the family as they suddenly emerge in the Middle Ages—gigantic figures out of the mist.

The period when the Ghent of the de Peysters was a power in world-politics divides into three spans of approximately a century each. The "Battle of the Spurs," 1302, where the Flemish burghers overwhelmed the flower of the nobility of France, inaugurates the heroic time, which goes on through the leadership of the first Van Artevelde, 1336-1345, and the exploits of Hyoens, Van den Bossche, and the second Van Artevelde, down to the Battle of Roosebeke.

# The Old World City of an American Family

The second span, 1385-1477, is the opulent century of Burgundian dominion, when the strong hand of king-like dukes checked and restrained the turbulence of the cities, with the untamed republicanism of Ghent ever remaining an irritating thorn in the pride of Burgundy.

The third span, embracing the dominion of Austria and Spain, witnessed the rebellious throes of Flemish Protestantism under the relentless



Some of the family silver brought to New Amsterdam by the first American de Peyster

sway of rulers set upon enforcing conformity throughout their dominions. Many de Peysters remained Catholic. Others becoming Calvinistic, these, with nearly a half of the inhabitants of Ghent, violently were uprooted from their ancestral city and driven into other lands. The son of one of these expelled Ghenters, himself born on Holland soil, brought the vigor of his race, with his personal remnant of the old de Peyster magnificence, including a goodly assortment of family plate engraved with the ancestral Coat-Armor, to the primitive society of New Amsterdam.

As early as 1184, according to the chronicle of Wilhelmus Brito, twenty thousand armed men were sent to the help of Philip Augustus, King of France, by "the community of the people of Ghent—proud of their towering houses, their treasures, and the number of their population." Even then the de Peysters were one of the great families of the burgher aristocracy, Arch-



## Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

ambaud de Peyster appearing as witness to a deed of gift as early as 1148. But it was the heroic age, ushered in with the dawn of the Fourteenth Century, when Ghent herself uprose and seized the supreme headship of the Flemish cities, that saw the de Peysters stand out prominently in Ghent's affairs, as wealthy burghers, deans of guilds, captains of the military, schepens, envoys, ambassadors.

Until some searcher shall have discovered a list of the names of the men of Ghent who participated in that famous victory, we may not say how many of the de Peysters fought in the Battle of the Spurs, and helped to gather from the fallen knights on that bloody field the seven hundred golden spurs which the conquering Flemings hung as a trophy in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Courtrai. But twenty-six years later, on 28 August, 1328, when another French king, Philip of Valois, revenged the French nobles by an overthrow of the burghers at Cassel, we know that de Peysters were among the Flemings, and that one of their number, Hugues de Peyster, fell in the thick of the fight. Moreover, a few years prior to this, in 1324 and 1325, Captain Heinric de Peyster was Commander of the Guards, keepers of one of the gates of Ghent. A wealthy burgher-aristocrat, two years earlier, in 1322, as we learn from an ancient document, Heinric de Peyster was living in the street called Pensterwick, opposite Duerle. As Captain of the Guards, he probably bore an important part in one of the successful defensive exploits of the Ghenfers.

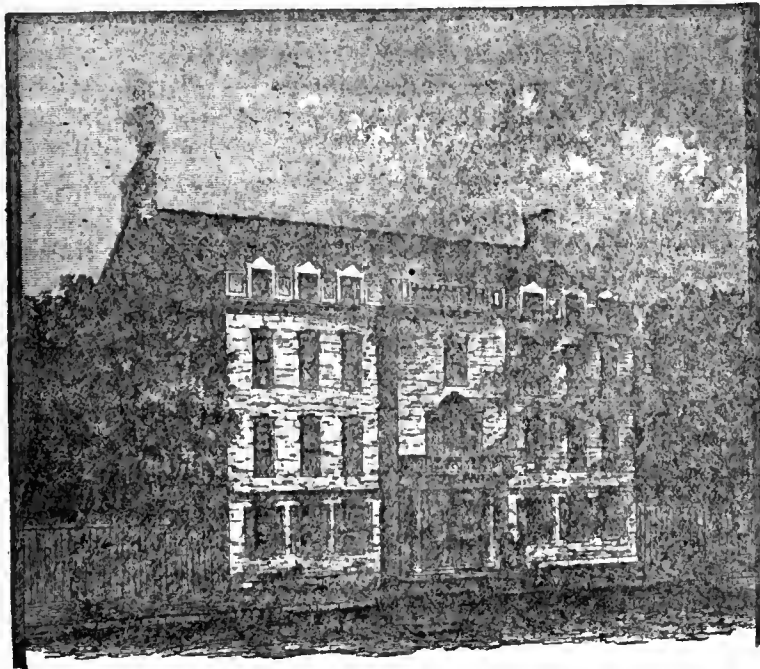
By the end of the Thirteenth Century Ghent had grown into a great walled and fortified city, more populous than Paris. The prestige and wealth which Venice and the other Italian towns had acquired during the earlier Middle Ages had for some time been in process of transfer to the rising cities of the Germanic race in northwestern Europe, and chief among the beneficiaries of this movement were the Flemish communities, with Ghent and Bruges at their head. Bruges was the commercial depot, the great exchange and clearing-house; Ghent, the industrial centre—greatest, richest, most independent of manufacturing towns in mediaeval Europe.

She had become a city of powerful guilds and of picturesque guild-houses. Her rank and file were restless artisans, weavers of woolen and linen goods, or followers of some one of the numerous other trades. The wool woven upon her looms clothed well-nigh half of Europe. Her citizens of gentle blood, like the de Peysters, were wealthy merchants, proprietors of the looms, chiefs of the guilds. Practically all her inhabitants were engaged in commercial or industrial enterprises either as masters or workmen, and many of her burghers possessed overflowing opulence. Like the great manufacturing towns of modern times, Ghent became the centre of unrest and agitation; the instigator and director in the revolt of the cities against an age-

# The Old World City of an American Family

long repression by kings and nobles; the self-appointed leader of the commons in a rough, but heroic, struggle for freedom and self-government. Bruges, more mercantile than Ghent, was less radical and vigorous; while the constant rivalry between these two cities unfortunately tempted each, at times, to sink the common weal in a savage desire to assail and humiliate a commercial rival.

All this brings us back to the keeping of the gate by Captain Heinric de Peyster. Bruges and Ghent were then at war, Bruges having assumed Ghent's customary role of leader in a revolt of the Flemish cities against the




House of De Heer Abraham de Peyster on old Pearl Street, New York

nobles. Rather than serve under Bruges, Ghent had espoused the patrician side, and presently she was besieged by the men of Bruges, and of other Flemish cities, with Nicholas Zannekin at their head. The attack was bravely made, but failed. Captain de Peyster and his guards, with other warlike Ghenters, thronging the gates and walls of the city, threw back the invaders, successfully repulsing Zannekin and his entire host; and the next year, 1326, Ghent and the nobles having triumphed, the peace of Arques was framed.

What kind of man was this Captain de Peyster who thus, war-like, sword in hand, bursts upon our vision on the ramparts of a beleaguered mediaeval town? We may take Brito's picture of the Flemings of a genera-



# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters



tion earlier and simply add to it another degree or two of wealth, culture, self-confidence, and self-assertion. "A people," he says, "who have an abundance of all sorts of things, but injure themselves by domestic dissensions, moderate in eating and drinking, liberal in expenditure, fond of fine clothes, handsome and robust of body, with splendid hair, fair skin, and tanned face, whose land is full of waters rich in fish, numerous streams and canals dangerous to the enemy, which make it safe there, if there be no civil war; full also of fields rich in grain, by which the commerce of the sea flourishes, of cattle giving butter and milk, with few woods and in general no wine, in place of which a beer prepared from oats serves the natives for drink after their work."

As for Captain Heinric de Peyster, we know that he was the contemporary of Jacob Van Artevelde, and so successfully maintained the eminence of his family throughout the régime of that renowned Ghenter that subsequent to Van Artevelde's assassination, in 1349, 1352 and 1353, he attained the high office of Schepen, or Magistrate, of the Parchons—one of the two districts or "colleges" comprising the municipal jurisdiction of Ghent. Between 1354 and 1356 he was engaged in a law-suit against one Jan van Hoebosch concerning the violent death of André de Meyere—a surname, like that of de Peyster, destined to reappear, centuries later, in New York, where Nicholas de Meyer became, next after the Lord of Philipse Manor, the richest man in the Colony.

Again, Captain Heinric de Peyster of Ghent had three sons, Heinric, Jr., Joeris and Jan, and the second of these married Katheline de Decker. Here we have another interesting surname, calling to mind New Netherland's brave and able Vice-Director, Johan de Decker, who, even after Stuyvesant had surrendered New Amsterdam to the English, hurried up the Hudson and sought to arouse the Dutch at Kingston and Albany to resist the invaders. His descendants still flourish on Staten Island, in New Jersey, and elsewhere throughout the country. Are they distant blood-kin to this faraway Katheline de Peyster of Ghent?

Jan de Peyster, another son of Captain Heinric, was even more conspicuous than his father, while some of the transactions in which he figured, gleaming from the old archives, throw a striking light upon the boisterous character of the times. He fought a duel with Simon de Scoemkere and was wounded. This was natural enough, but to us to-day it seems curious that the Schepens of Ghent, taking the matter under advisement in 1353-4, should have required Simon to pay the costs of medical attendance for the wounds inflicted on his adversary. Again, Jan de Peyster's daughter, Anne, having been abducted by Jahn Riquaert, to us it seems strange that such violence should call forth no more than a court decision, rendered May 25, 1361, requiring the payment by Riquaert of 500 livres as indemnity to the father.



# The Old World City of an American Family

Even more curious is the punishment administered, 10 August, 1365, to three murderers who had assassinated Jan de Peyster's son, Jan. In expiation of this crime they were condemned to go on a pilgrimage, and Jan de Peyster himself gave permission to the father of one of the assassins to make the pilgrimage in the place of his son. The eminence of Jan de Peyster is shown in the facts that by the municipality of Ghent he was sent to Brabant on an important mission in 1349, while in 1382 he was one of the five bold envoys to King Charles VI, despatched by the Ghent burghers after their defeat at Rosebecque.

It was at this time that Ghent became supreme in Flanders, exercising the sovereign authority of a principality. Under Jacob Van Artevelde, who possessed considerable diplomatic address, Ghent established an alliance for defence and offence with Bruges, which most of the other towns joined. Arrayed against them was the combined power of France and the Count of Flanders. At this juncture, however, Edward III of England fomented a Continental coalition against France, and Edward's allies urged him to gain the good-will of the Flemish. From Valenciennes, where the allied lords sat in consultation, the royal Plantagenet sent ambassadors to the proud communes. With much feasting and the bestowal of princely presents the envoys met the city dignitaries, and the English king and his armies were granted permission to pass through Flanders at their will.

One of the richest men of Flanders, the knightly Zeger, then dominant in the affairs of the town of Courtrai, was father-in-law of Van Artevelde, and, like the latter, favored the English. For this he was treacherously secured and slain by the Count of Flanders—an act which confirmed the Ghenters in their course. The name of this knight reminds us of that of an early settler of Fort Orange, Cornelis Segers, one of whose daughters, marrying Jacob Janse Schermerhorn, the rich Indian trader and magistrate of Albany, became the mother of the Schermerhorns in America.

A closer alliance was sought both by the English king and by the far-seeing leaders in Flanders. In 1339 Edward and his allies held a conference in Brussels, whither Jacob Van Artevelde repaired in state, accompanied by committees from the chief Flemish towns. The astute Flemings, according to Froissart, explained that the French king was their over-lord, and that if Edward of England would but assert his title to France, military allegiance would become not the pleasure merely but the duty of Flanders. The king desiring to consider this in council, a day was fixed when he should meet the embassies of the towns at Ghent and render his decision. We can imagine the stir at Ghent, the elaborate preparations for the royal visitor. Thither he repaired, attended by a brilliant train of great lords and lesser nobles—a pageant which mightily must have stimulated the civic pride and

# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

spirit of Ghent. Here Edward assumed the Arms and title of King of France, and the league with the Flemish was consummated.

Witnesses of this regal spectacle, some of the de Peysters of Ghent no doubt participated in the momentous deliberations, as they ever were conspicuous in the affairs of the town. At the end of the conference Edward returned to England, and the allied lords to their places, "but the Queen remained with her train at Ghent," says Froissart, "where she was often visited and comforted by Jacob Van Artevelde and other lords and ladies of Ghent." This English queen was Philippa of Hainault, and the de Peyster ladies undoubtedly were among the *grandes dames* of Ghent who "visited and comforted" her. The guest of Artevelde, she was entertained in the Oudeburg, the Count's Castle, the ruins of which stand in Ghent on the picturesque little Place Ste. Pharailde, where the visitor may still see a square keep of the Tenth Century and an old gateway built in 1180.


The league with England was of the greatest material benefit to the Flemish cities, and especially to Ghent. Flanders acquired a monopoly of the importation of English wool, and the famous looms in the great town of Ghent grew busier than ever. Under Artevelde, the confederated cities ruled themselves, made regulations for the whole of Flanders, and entered into treaties and formed alliances with other countries. Notwithstanding these diplomatic successes, however, and many successful military exploits, Ghent proved ungrateful, and her great leader fell, assassinated by some of his fellow-townsmen, 24 July, 1345.

The de Peysters flourished in these stirring times. In 1345, the year of Van Artevelde's death, Pierre de Peyster of Ghent was commissioned Captain of Archers. Between 1350 and 1360 Rassen or Race de Peyster appears in connection with property inherited from his father-in-law, Jacob Raes. Willem de Peyster held an annuity in 1350, and in 1354, with his wife, executed a quit-claim. In 1352 Baudouin de Peyster, son of Willem, held a fief dependant on the Abbey of St. Pierre. Lauwers de Peyster figured in a financial transaction in 1354. In 1359 Symoen de Peysters and his sister, Katheline, with the latter's husband, one de Pruer, renounced their claim to an inheritance. One hundred livres were owed, in 1360, to Joffrouwe (Lady or Dame) Soetine de Peyster. In 1370 Wouter de Peyster received a third part of the tithe paid to the famous St. Bavon's Abbey in St. Martens-Laethem, a village in the outskirts of Ghent, in return for which he was to pay for the parish priest. In 1377 the same Wouter was a contributor to maintain the Ghent military, while in 1394, he having died, his heirs had to pay for the parish priest of St. Martens-Laethem. In 1377 Willem de Peyster was Schepen of St. Martens-Laethem.

Most of these de Peysters lived to witness the rise of the notorious



# The Old World City of an American Family

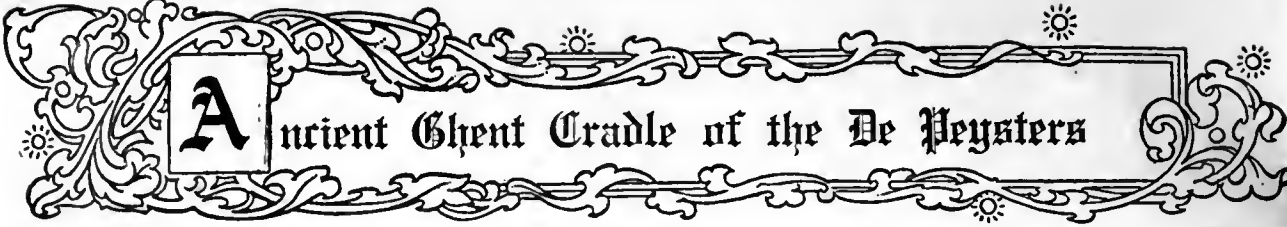


“White Hoods,” under Jan Hyoens, who led the Ghent guilds, in white headgear, against Bruges and forced a cessation of work on a canal, authorized by the Count of Flanders, which would have diverted commerce from Ghent. “By such unlucky accidents as the pioneers from Bruges wanting to dig on the lands of Ghenters, and the encroachments on the privileges of Ghent,” says Froissart, “were that cursed crew called White Hoods introduced, and they became by degrees more feared and renowned.” Mediaeval prototype of the lawless “White Caps” of our own times, the White Hoods and their captains imposed on Ghent a military despotism of the guilds-men maintained by fear and violence, which sometimes plundered and even assassinated the wealthy aristocrats of the city. At the same time, the White Hood leaders, at the head of the army of Ghenters, ably defended the rights of the town against foreign aggression, threw the shadow of the terror of Ghent on all the other cities, and performed exploits and prodigies that scarcely find a parallel save in the deeds of the mighty men of David and the Maccabees.


They stormed the gates of Bruges and forced her into a treaty of alliance giving Ghent the right, when she deemed it advisable, to summon Bruges to arms and lead her men in action. The Ghenters marched to the gates of other towns, and Damme, Courtrai, Gramont, and Ypres speedily joined the coalition. Hyoens having died, the heads of the Ghent guilds and captains of the guards of the gates elected four captains to succeed him, including the celebrated Peter Van den Bossche,—another surname destined to re-appear in New Amsterdam,—whose great ability gave him the pre-eminence.

Space forbids the tale of the fierce siege of Oudenarde by the men of Ghent; of the treaty, sued by the Flemish Count’s son-in-law, the young Duke of Burgundy, which the Ghenters granted on condition that the Count reside in their midst; of how the latter, visiting Ghent and requesting an end of the White Hoods, was confronted by them in the open market-square, and abruptly left the town; of how, when corn-boats for Ghent had been seized upon the Schelde and the mariners in charge sent into the town with their eyes put out, the infuriated White Hoods marched on Oudenarde and razed its gates and towers and walls furiously to the ground; of the guerilla warfare that followed, in which the nobles, after the style of Don Quixote, destroyed the wind-mills outside the walls of Ghent, while the Ghenters, more effective, sacked and put torch to the nobles’ houses till scarce one could be found in all the country-side; and of how the Count, gathering a mighty host, laid siege to the rebellious town.

“Notwithstanding the Earl of Flanders was before Ghent with so numerous an army,” writes Froissart, “he could not prevent the town from



# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Heysters



having two or three gates opened, by which means all sorts of provisions entered without danger." "For Ghent," he adds, "is very populous and full of determined men. They found, on numbering the inhabitants at this time, they had eighty thousand men, all fit for bearing arms, under sixty and above fifteen years." Though besieged, the Ghenters went and came. Six thousand marched to Alost, seized, pillaged, and burned it; stormed and took Dendremonde; sacked Gramont; and returned to their own gates with "a great booty." The approach of winter drove the Count from the Ghent walls, but in the spring his host again sat down before them.

While the White Hoods no doubt enjoyed a state of war, the grandees and merchants of Ghent, cut off from commerce, naturally were against it. In this emergency the astute Van den Bossche brought forth Philip Van Artevelde, son of the famous Jacob, and one day, in the forum of the marketplace, the military captains proposed him as Ruwart, or Governor, of Ghent. He was elected and ostentatiously installed in office, all the Schepens, Burgomasters, and heads of the guilds taking solemn oaths to obey him. This was in 1381, with the besiegers still clamoring at the gates. Again the Count was compelled to raise the siege, only to renew it with another spring, when his measures were more effective and the city became reduced to extreme straits by the cutting off of supplies.

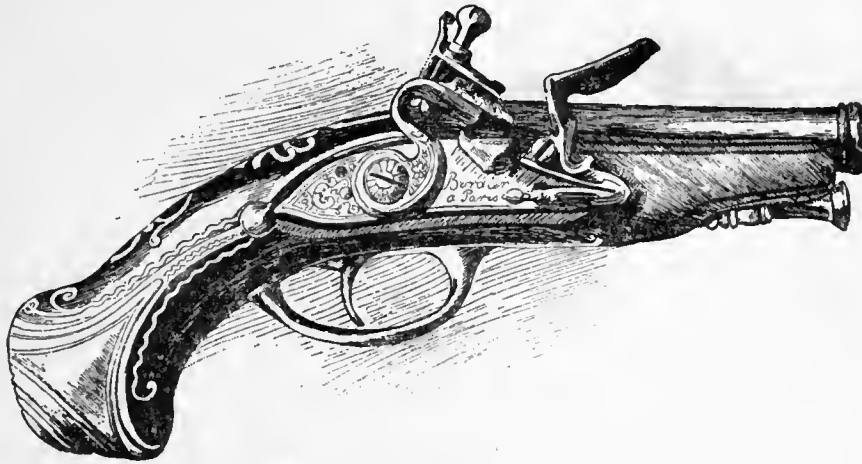
Their courage and daring, however, knew no bounds. Twelve thousand men, preferring death by fighting to starvation, made their way to Bruges, Louvain, and Liege, were generously fed, and formed an exultant procession back to famished Ghent, conveying six hundred carts heaped with corn and flour. As they approached, the lank populace swarmed outside the city, and, falling upon their knees, with uplifted hands and prayers of thanksgiving, conducted the relief to the market-place.

Such forays served but a moment's need, however, and after Easter, 1382, the Duke of Brabant having arranged a parley, Artevelde at the head of twelve Ghent deputies sought peace at Tournay. The Count, says Froissart, proudly declared that "the inhabitants of Ghent were not to expect peace from him unless all persons, from the age of fifteen to sixty, submitted to come out of the city, bare-headed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, on the road between Ghent and Bruges, where the Earl would wait for them and grant them pardon or put them to death, according to his pleasure."

Made desperate by this shameful proposal, a hero-band of five thousand Ghenters marched on Bruges, where the Count lay, and, after earnestly commending themselves to God by prayers and Masses, received the shock of the host, eight times their own number, which poured out of the Bruges gates, and with mighty strokes and the fierce cry of "Ghent! Ghent!" drove them

# The Old World City of an American Family

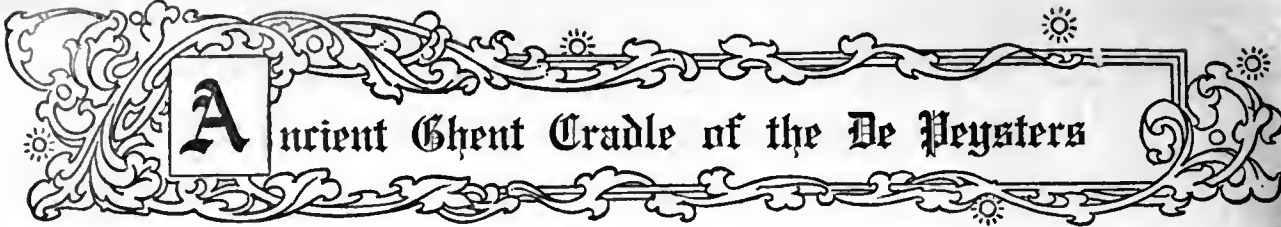
before them, a disorderly rout, and entered and seized the city. From town to town they marched victorious, their renown filling Europe, and putting a match to the murmuring unrest in a thousand communes. Thus out of the depths of despair Ghent rose at a bound to the glory of a great burgher republic, with the rich towns of Flanders as dependencies. "It is impossible," says Froissart, "to tell the vast quantities of valuables which came either by land or water from Bruges, Damme, and Sluys. The bread, which three weeks before was sold for an old groat, was now not worth more than four farthings.



Pistol presented by the Earl of Bellomont to his trusted friend and counselor, De Heer Abraham de Peyster

Wine, which was at twenty-four groats, was now sold for two. All things were now much cheaper at Ghent than at Tournay or at Valenciennes."

The proud Ghenters, in their career of conquest, even dared to invade French soil, and this, added to the French king's fear lest the plague of Flemish revolt infect the commons throughout France, enabled Burgundy, the Flemish Count's son-in-law, to induce his nephew, Charles VI of France, to declare war. The French entering Flanders and winning a minor victory or two, must have beat an ignominious retreat but for the folly of Artevelde in rushing into open battle. "Consider what a sad devilment it would have been," writes Froissart, "if the king of France, and the gallant chivalry with which he was accompanied, had been defeated in Flanders." Aroused by the example of the Flemish, "the peasants began to rebel at Rheims, at Chalons, in Champagne, and down the river Marne, and to menace those gentlemen, ladies, and children, who remained at home. At Orleans, Blois, Rouen, and in the Beauvoisis the devil had entered their heads to prompt them to murder everyone if God had not provided a remedy."



# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

The remedy was the temerity of Artevelde, at the head of fifty thousand Flemings, in engaging the whole French army at Rosebecque, near Ypres, 27 November, 1382, where Artevelde himself fell in the midst of a great rout of his men. As the Countship was merged into the House of Burgundy only a few months later, we may take as the termination of this first period the sending, following Rosebecque, of the Ghent embassy to the French king. Before Charles VI appeared five men of address, of the bravest of the citizens of Ghent, and one of these was Jan de Peyster.

Froissart, the stanch champion of the divine rights of kings and nobles, never ceasing to be astonished at the communes in presuming to assert rights of their own, exclaims, in his quaint chronicle, anent the unheard-of effrontery of these envoys: "They were as proud and hardened as if they had been the conquerors at the battle of Rosebecque. They declared, indeed, that they would willingly put themselves under the obedience of the king, and would remain part of the domain of France, under the jurisdiction of Paris; but that they would never acknowledge for their lord Earl Louis, because they could never love him for the great mischiefs he had done them. Several attempts were made to obtain a peace between the king and his council with these deputies; but, notwithstanding the interference of some wise prelates, they could not get from them any other answer. They declared to the prelates that if they were to live in such peril as would turn the town upside-down for three or four years, they would never alter their minds. They were told they might return when they pleased, upon which they departed from Tournay to Ghent, and things remained in a state of war."

The rule of Burgundy over Flanders had been foreshadowed when the year 1369 witnessed the marriage of Marguerite, sole child and heiress of Count Louis de Male, to Philip the Bold, of Burgundy—nuptials celebrated with regal pomp and magnificence in the ancient Church of St. Bavon, belonging to the famous Abbey of that name with which the de Peysters had to do. In fact, in the year after this wedding, as we have seen, Wouter de Peyster received a third part of the tithe of the Abbey, out of which he maintained the parish priest, as his heirs did after him. The Abbey had been the occasional residence of more than one Count of Flanders, was the lodging-place of Edward III and Queen Philippa, and the birthplace, in 1340, of John of Gaunt.

The death of Louis de Male, in January, 1384, elevated Marguerite to the Countessship, making the Duke, her husband, actual over-lord of the Flemish towns. A man of discretion, Philip the Bold, since he had gained no advantage over the Ghenters in the war they had maintained, by many daring strokes, after their defeat at Rosebecque, made with them, 18 December, 1385, a permanent peace, which was honorable to Ghent and the allies in that it



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confirmed them in their ancient rights and privileges. A Ghent captain prominent in furthering this treaty, Franz Ackerman, furnishes another surname afterward familiar in New York.

John without Fear, son of Philip the Bold, succeeded his parents, 1404-1419; after which came the long reign of his son, Philip the Good, 1419-1467. The latter finished the work of his father, building the dukedom of Burgundy into a principality more influential than France; espoused Isabella of Portugal, in 1430, in whose honor he created the famous Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece; and transmitted to his son, Charles the Bold, who was Duke from 1467 to 1477, a court as brilliant as any in Europe.

The de Peysters were conspicuous in Ghent throughout the entire century of the Burgundian dynasty. A fief of Notre Dame de Gand in 1396 was held by Jean de Peyster, who in 1416 owned an estate in the Zwartsuster Straat—the Black Sisters Street. His son, Willem, held the same fief in 1432, the year before the birth of Charles the Bold, and a parchment still exists which bears his signature and is sealed with the de Peyster seal. He was Provost of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1447, 1448, 1452, and 1453—dates pregnant with history. In 1445, two years prior to de Peyster's first deanship, Ghent had enjoyed the gorgeous pageant of the celebration of the feast of the Order of the Golden Fleece within her walls. Two years later Duke Philip, in a flattering speech before the Ghent leaders, proposed a tax on salt, and received the slap of a curt refusal. Willem de Peyster, at that moment head of one of the most aristocratic of the guilds, participated in this stout attitude, as also in the activities following this rupture of friendly relations. The Duke having attempted to influence the Ghent elections, things went from bad to worse until 1452, when, a crisis having been reached, Willem de Peyster was again made Dean of the Goldsmiths. It was then that the proud Sheriffs and Guild-Masters signed themselves "Seigneurs of Ghent" in a letter seeking alliance with Charles VII of France—a final provocation which brought an open clash with the Duke, in which the men of Ghent seized Poucque and Gaveren, besieged Oudenarde, and held their own in a merciless guerilla war until their defeat at length at Gaveren, in July, 1453.

As a result of this reverse, it now became the duty of a de Peyster, as Dean of one of the guilds, to participate prominently in a humiliating spectacle. With the Abbot of St. Bavon at their head, the deans and Ghent officials, barefooted, bareheaded, ungirdled, divested of their robes, clad in shirts and small clothes, and followed by two thousand citizens, moved shame-facedly out of their gates and on to meet the victorious Duke, before whom they prostrated themselves with the cry, "Mercy on the town of Ghent!" Wisely content with this outward form of submission, however, the wily Burgundian ventured upon a few restrictions only, while in the main confirming the ancient privileges of the town.

# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

Jean de Peyster, "the elder goldsmith," as he is designated, a son of Willem de Peyster, was Dean of the Goldsmiths' Guild in 1481 and 1485, and appears in 1495 in a transaction with the Church of St. Jacques concerning land he owned. He had sons, Pierre, Baldwin, and Jean, and five daughters, of whom one, Agnes, was a nun in the Little Convent. His brother, Baudouin de Peyster, succeeded their father, Willem, in the fief of St. Pierre in 1463, was in 1476 Schepen of the Parchons, and in 1477 and 1478 Dean of the Goldsmiths' Guild.

Like his father, Willem, he was elected Dean of his guild at a critical moment. In January, 1477, Charles the Bold had fallen on the battlefield of

Nancy, leaving his daughter, Mary, Duchess of Burgundy. She was detained in Ghent, where the States-General convened on the 3rd of February, and eight days later was compelled to sign "Le Grand Privilege," and to grant liberal charters to the provinces and towns. A century's slow work by the Burgundian princes in repressing liberty was thus undone in a stroke. The States-General further revealed its temper by seizing and imprisoning two influential lords who had been active under Duke Charles. Tried by an extraordinary court, condemned on the evidence of a letter



Seal of Jan de Peyster used in 1517

sent by them to Louis XI, offering to deliver Mary of Burgundy for marriage to the Dauphin of France, in spite of the prayers of the young Duchess, they were beheaded in the market-square of Ghent before the assembled citizens.


Through the succeeding period of Austrian and Spanish rule, the de Peysters of Ghent are far too numerous to be even so much as catalogued here. A bare enumeration, as, one after another, they arise and take shape out of the casual allusions in the Ghent archives, is like a ghostly procession of those troublous times. Some remained strongly Catholic; some became strongly Protestant; some evidently were neutral—as inoffensive as their day permitted, endeavoring to cling to the old scenes and familiar places of their race. The de Peysters, like the other great families, were rent asunder; Ghent became a house divided against itself.

As we have seen, Jan de Peyster, the elder, in 1481 and 1485 was Dean of the Guild of Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, of which same guild his son, Jan de Peyster, the younger, was Dean in 1498, 1502, and 1503. Another





# The Old World City of an American Family

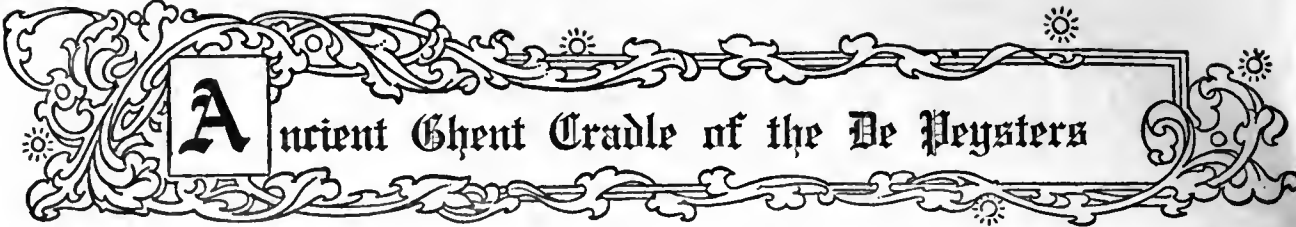


Jan de Peyster, nephew and cousin, respectively, of these, and son of the Baudouin de Peyster mentioned above, was Dean of the Guild of Carpenters from 1488 to 1491, as also in 1494, 1496, 1499, 1504, 1517, and 1521; was Schepen of the Parchons in 1481, 1489, 1495, 1497, 1500, 1525; and in 1498 was Electeur of the Prince, the highest office in the gift of Ghent. Still another Jan de Peyster, oil manufacturer, was Schepen of the Keure in 1488. With curious interest these contemporaries of Columbus must have heard the first rumors of that new world in the fabulous West, where scions of their name and blood were to play a stirring part in centuries to come.


Some of the years of office-holding, mentioned above, were eventful. The death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482 left her husband, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, guardian of their son, the little Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Fair. Philip and his sister, Margaret, were held at Ghent, and the Archduke compelled to approve a convention with France arranging a marriage of Margaret with the Dauphin. Not until July, 1485, when Maximilian had defeated the Ghenters in battle, was the young Duke restored to his father's custody. Jan de Peyster, Dean of the Carpenters' Guild, was one of the Ghent officials who were compelled at this time to see the old charters and privileges of the city taken from their chest and ruthlessly destroyed. A favorable time for revenge soon came, however, and in February, 1488, Ghent and Bruges broke into revolt, and, having lured Maximilian to the latter town, held him a prisoner for seven months. During this time, in April, 1488, the States-General met at Ghent, decreeing the old-time liberties of Flanders, which Maximilian, as the price of his freedom, swore to maintain. The part assigned to the de Peysters in these bold proceedings we cannot define, but, whatever it was, they played it, for one of them served as Dean of a guild and another as Schepen throughout this stirring year.

Jan de Peyster, the Electeur, had, with other children, Olivier, who in 1533 succeeded to the fief of the Church of Notre Dame—which his son, Jan, in turn inherited in 1546; Dominique, who, going abroad, passed out of his family's ken; and Lievin de Peyster, who in 1558 and 1559 was the King, and in 1560 and 1561 the Emperor of St. George's Guild of Archers—one of the two Arquebusiers' Guilds of Ghent, each boasting a "King" and an "Emperor," to which the burghers of the city belonged.

Inghelram de Peyster, brother of Jan, the Electeur, was a citizen of substance. His daughter, Marie, married Christophe Van der Haghen, and their monument still stands in the old Church of St. Michael. Two other daughters, Marguerite and Baudouine, were nuns, and the latter the Lady Superior, in the Convent of St. Elizabeth, Ghent. Four granddaughters of Inghelram were also nuns. A grandson, Christophe de Peyster, deserted Ghent for London.



## Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters



Othon or Oste de Peyster, in 1489 Dean of the Carpenters' Guild, was Procurator or Solicitor at the Court of Flanders on 2 August, 1546. He left seven children, with a widow, Catherine, who in 1571 donated an income to one of the churches in Ghent. Rogier Van der Beke—another surname destined subsequently to take root in New Amsterdam—died in 1556. His widow, Philippine, daughter of Philippe de Peyster of Ghent, besides a number of married sons, some one of whom may have been ancestor to the Vanderbeeks of New York, was the mother of a priest, Philippe Van der Beke, and of Gerard Van der Beke, a monk, who entered the Dominican monastery at Ghent in 1560—an event his mother celebrated by giving a dinner.

Lievin de Peyster, son of Daniel and grandson of Jan, in 1535 ceded to his brother, Jan, part of a fief held of the Lord of Vendome, and in 1563 bought a house in the Huvetterschouck, Ghent. Antoine de Peyster, son of Jan, bought a house in Ghent in 1610, and sold one, in the Longstone Street, in 1613. Martin and Gilles, sons of Laurent de Peyster, and Anna Danckaert, were among the Ghent shipping merchants, Gilles in 1565 selling a vessel to François Tobast, while Martin in 1567 deeded to his brother, Gilles, a merchant vessel for the trade of Curtrijcht.

There were, indeed, at this time, de Peysters here and de Peysters there, some of whom left distinguished descendants, like Sir Henri de Peyster, of the Eighteenth Century, and the Seigneur Pierre Francois de Peyster, son of Seigneur Louis, in 1741 Treasurer of the town of Oudenarde—which his ancestors, fighting among the Ghenters of an earlier day, had often besieged. In Hainault, too, we subsequently find Jean Baptiste de Pester, Lord of Locquerie, Warin, Maruais, and Ramiques; also Hyacinthe Julien Joseph, Count de Pestre de Bertinchamps; and Julien Ghislain de Pester, Count of Seneffe and Tournout, Baron de la Ferté de Pestre-en-Sologne, and Councillor to the King of France. But these and many others we must pass by, pausing only for a brief reference to one or two strong Protestant branches of the race.

The Dukes of Burgundy had now become Kings of Spain, and under the most illustrious of them, Charles V, who held the proud title of Emperor of the Romans, measures were introduced to suppress heresy in the Netherlands. The first important decree, in 1531, was followed by others more stringent until, under Philip II and his lieutenants, the forcible uprooting of Protestantism in Flanders assumed a fierce and lurid character.

Ghent, which soon became one of the centres of Calvinistic agitation, had on other grounds already fallen into disgrace with Charles V. In June, 1536, when money was demanded for the war with France, of all the Flemish cities Ghent alone dared refuse, alleging her ancient rights. A number of

# The Old World City of an American Family

her wealthy citizens were seized while on business in Brahant, yet still the town maintained an insolent independence, aggravated by the fact that, within her walls, the lower orders in the guilds had arisen against the aristocrats, and established a government of the Creesers, or "Screamers."

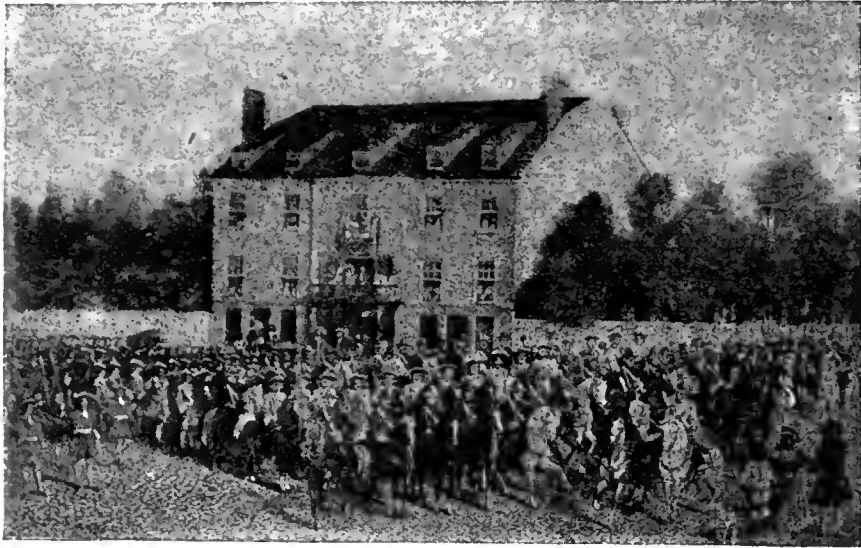
This state of anarchy collapsed upon the appearance of the Emperor, with an army, early in 1540; and on February 14 of that year Charles V entered Ghent, where he himself had been born in 1500, to measure out a fitting punishment. The leaders were brought to trial, and the whole town, found guilty of *lèse-majesté*, was shorn of its ancient rights. The guilds were reduced from fifty-three to twenty, while the City officials and guild-deans, bareheaded and draped in black, and accompanied by fifty Creesers with halters about their necks, moved in procession to the feet of the Emperor and begged him to be merciful to Ghent. It was at this time that Charles, climbing the church-tower of St. Jean to scan a site for a fortress that would hold Ghent in leash, selected the ancient Abbey of St. Bavon, which soon he dismantled and turned from its service of peace into that of war. Here, in 1567, the Counts Horn and Egmont were incarcerated by the Duke of Alva, with many a Protestant afterward; while the Spanish soldiers, it is said, even ravished many of the ancient tombs.

In 1497 Lievin de Peyster of Ghent sold a pond in Brabant, while in 1500 he bought property for his sons, Pierre and Jean. The latter, who died prior to 13 February, 1572, was the father of Maitre Martin de Peyster, who appears in the Ghent records in various connections between 1518 and 1555. The latter, in turn, was the father of two distinguished Protestants. One of these Maitre Martin de Peyster, was Professor and Rector Magnificus of the Reformed University in Ghent in 1581, and after the capture of the city by the Duke of Parma he probably removed to Amsterdam, Holland, where his widow and two sons were living in 1610. A brother of this Professor, Reynier de Peyster, married Anne de Cusere, daughter of Corneille de Cusere, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Royal High Council. He was accused of having embraced the "new religion," soon after the advent of the Duke of Alva, and on May 5, 1567, all his property was confiscated. Whether or not he fled the city, it is certain that he was present soon after the so-called Pacification of Ghent, in November, 1576, when the Protestant league was formed and the yoke of Spain thrown off, for in the spring of 1577 he appears in the Ghent records as the recipient of an inheritance from his wife's mother, while in July, 1577, he sold a house in the Rue Comte des Pierres, which had been his father's residence.

Throughout the Protestant control of Ghent, 1576-1586, he was conspicuous. In 1579 he was Schepen of the Keure, and the University of Ghent still preserves the seal he used. In 1584 he bought some meadow-land, and

# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

in July of that same year, when the Schepens of Ghent appointed Josse van Pottelsberghe commissioner to receive the confiscated goods of the inhabitants and convents friendly to the King of Spain, Reynier de Peyster was his security. He was captured and imprisoned in 1586, when the Duke of Parma took Ghent, but managed to escape. "In the present year, 1586, about the 19th of January," runs the item in the old Ghent record-book, "there broke



The Earl of Bellomont reviewing the New York City troops before the house of Colonel Abraham de Peyster


out of the Count's castle Antonius Heyman, Master Lucas Mayaert, besides Reynier de Peyster, who, as belonging to the Committee of Six, at the capture of the City had been imprisoned by His Highness. They effected their escape by having duplicate keys of the said prison procured." He died in Amsterdam long afterward, about 1627.

As above indicated, imprisonment of the person and confiscation of property were the order of the day as either party came into power, the refugee of one moment becoming the persecutor of the next. As coming under the ban on the one side or the other, all of the following appear in the Ghent archives of this period as having paid fines or other penalties: Lieutenant Josse de Peyster, Jacques de Peyster, Gilles de Peyster, Veuve de Peyster, Veuve Jacques de Peyster, Veuve Josse de Peyster, Lievin de Peyster, and Jean de Peyster.

Hugues de Peyster, living in Ghent, evidently at an advanced age, as late as 1530, was the great-great-grandfather of Johannes de Peyster,



# The Old World City of an American Family



who settled in New Amsterdam. By his second wife, Antoinette Poelvaech, who died prior to 21 March, 1525, Hugues had a son, Josse de Peyster, goldsmith, who in 1526 was heir to one-third of his mother's estate, and in 1529 deeded this inheritance to his father. Josse had sons, Josse, Jacques, and Jean or Jan, all men of substance in Ghent. They witnessed the humiliation of Ghent in 1540, and were all living during the decade of Protestant supremacy, 1576-1586. Jacques, who had a son, Denis, and a daughter, Barse, a nun, sold his residence in Ghent in 1563, and in 1578 received by deed from his brother, Jean, the house inherited by the latter from their mother.

The eldest of these brothers, Josse de Peyster, was the great-grandfather of Johannes of New Amsterdam. He may have been the Lieutenant Josse who paid a fine of 65 *livres tournois*. In 1552 he was guardian of the children of Othon de Peyster, and on 17 November of the same year he and his wife were petitioned to pardon two would-be kidnapers of one of their children. He was granted an income by Katherine Smeets in 1568; in 1574 bought a garden in the rear of his house on the Veltstraet, Ghent; and in 1585 appeared before the Schepens in a lawsuit of his wife's relatives. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thierry Danckaert, he had two daughters, one of whom entered an English convent at Bruges, and a son, Josse de Peyster, who was living in Ghent at least as late as 1596. The latter figures in the records in various property transactions, and was the father of at least six children by his wife, Jeanne Van de Voorde, daughter of Pierre Van de Voorde—another of the old Ghent surnames afterwards to become familiar in New Amsterdam.

All the six children were born in Ghent, and all found it convenient to remove out of Flanders. One of them, Josse, who gave an income to the Church of St. Bavon, Ghent, in 1594, was living at Amsterdam, Holland, from 1610 to 1612, and subsequently at Middlebourg. In 1621 his brothers and sisters gave him power of attorney to sell all the family real estate and incomes in Flanders. Another of the children, Lievin, was a merchant of Haarlem in 1627, and of Amsterdam in 1639. Another, Marie, married Jacques de Key of Haarlem. Another, Jonas, emigrated to London, where he was deacon of the Reformed Dutch Church in 1636. Another, Jacques, settled in Rouen, France, and his granddaughter, Catherine, later became the wife of his brother's grandson in New York, De Heer Abraham de Peyster.

This brother, Jan or Johannes de Peyster, grandfather of De Heer Abraham de Peyster of New York, and father of Johannes de Peyster of New Amsterdam, was born in Ghent, but married Jossine Martens, probably in Holland, where, in the city of Haarlem, he became a merchant, and in 1621 a burgher. For awhile he lived in Amsterdam, where one of his sons was born, but he resided in Haarlem prior to his death in 1648. One of his sons,

# Ancient Ghent Cradle of the De Peysters

Abraham, died near London in 1659. A daughter, Joanna, married Isaac Bruynsteen. A son, Isaac, remained in Holland, and corresponded with his brother, Johannes, in New Amsterdam, as Isaac's son, Johan, Schepen of Rotterdam, subsequently corresponded with his first cousins in New York, the sons of the Johannes who planted the race in the new world.

What here is set down has been pieced together out of scraps of documents from the Archives of Ghent. Not even for the de Peysters has the research been exhaustive, and yet, in telling their partial story, a dozen surnames of old New York have been exhumed. What histories, stranger than fiction, would a truly comprehensive study of the Ghent records disclose to the ten thousand descendants in America? And what would be the result of a like search of other mediæval towns? Their fame has haunted us with a far-away glamour, but who of us have dreamed of seeking in these treasure-houses for the old gold of our own family antiquity?



BOOK-PLATE OF JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER



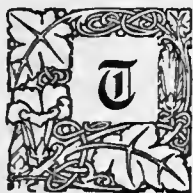
# The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson

The Southern Painter, Julio, and His Most Celebrated Work  
A Touching Scene Typical of the South in the Great Civil War

BY

MARY BOYD FLEMING

Wife of Walter L. Fleming, Professor of History in the Louisiana State University, and Daughter of Colonel D. F. Boyd, Through Whose Generosity the Painting Came into the Possession of the University



HE South has so far in her history produced few great artists. But among these few E. B. D. Fabrino Julio, the painter of "The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson," stands among the first. He is claimed by the South as one of her sons because he spent the latter and the more fruitful part of his life within her borders, devoting his whole time and attention to truly Southern subjects, and also because it was during this period of his life that his best pictures were produced.

Julio was born in 1843 on the Island of St. Helena, near the place where Napoleon Bonaparte spent his last days. But little is known of his personality or of his life at any period. He spent his time in hard, ceaseless work and left behind him many paintings and sketches to be his interpreter. Few details of his life have been recorded; even his full name is unknown.

But we do know that his father was a native of Italy and that his mother was from Scotland; and it was probably from his Italian father that he inherited his artistic temperament and talent as a painter, while from his Scotch mother came that great perseverance which spurred him ever onward, ardently ambitious, ever dissatisfied with his work, untiring, despite his lack of health, in his efforts to attain the goal of his ideal.

Julio's parents were persons of some means, and they did not spare expense in giving their son the best educational advantages. At an early age he was sent to Paris, where he received a good literary training, and where he also studied under a number of the foremost painters. Becoming interested in America, he left France and came to the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War, settling at first in the North.

But the northern climate proved too severe for one of so weak a constitution, and after a short time Julio removed to the South. He believed that the climate would be better suited to his tastes and his health, and that the South would furnish favorable scenes for his landscape painting, in which branch of his art he had become deeply interested. He went, accordingly, to Louisiana, and opened a studio in New Orleans.

Here his chief work was in portrait painting, but his ambition to excel in landscapes remained strong within him, and he frequently visited the plantations near the city to study and paint the typical Louisiana scenes.

## Julio's Typical Canvas of the Civil War

Julio much admired the Louisiana landscapes painted by Clagne, who still in these subjects stands without a rival, and whose work Julio himself was never able to equal.

Still ambitious and still dissatisfied with his work, as are all true artists, Julio went to Paris in 1872, for further study. There he spent two years of hard work in the studio of Léon Bonnat. He then returned to New Orleans and opened an art school.

He devoted himself to his work in New Orleans until 1879, when he had become so enfeebled from the ravages of consumption that he was forced to give up everything except the effort to regain health. He went to Georgia, hoping that the climate and the complete change and rest would benefit him, but it was of no avail. He died in Georgia on the fifteenth of September, 1879, at the age of thirty-six.

Despite his short life and his struggle against disease, he produced a large number of pictures—portraits, landscapes, and representations of historic events. But his best known painting, and the one which alone would have made him famous, is "The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson."

The two great Generals are shown in earnest conference on the eve of the Battle of Chancellorsville. Lee is mounted on his famous charger, "Traveler," and Jackson is on "Old Sorrel," while in the background are several staff officers and orderlies. The likenesses of both the Generals are admirable, and the work as a whole has great merit.

The picture was painted in New Orleans in 1871 and was so favorably received that the artist made a copy of it. The purchaser of one of the pictures is unknown. The other was bought by a number of persons, who agreed to pay for it the sum of two thousand dollars, and to present it to the Louisiana State University. The amount of the purchase was, however, not paid by these subscribers, and, rather than have the picture thus lost, Colonel D. F. Boyd paid the two thousand dollars and gave the painting to the University, of which he was the President, and in whose Assembly Hall it now hangs.

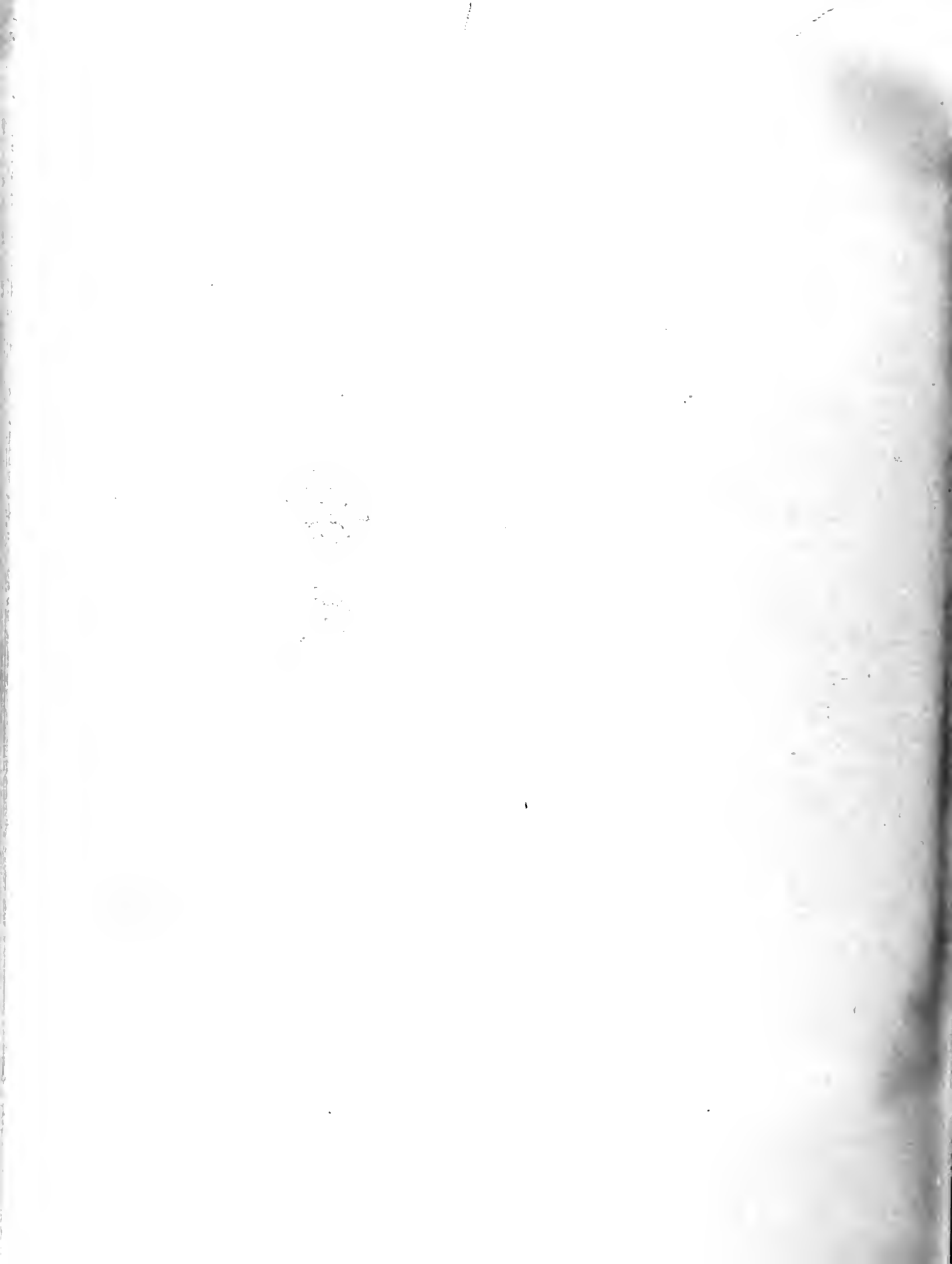
Among Julio's finest Louisiana pictures are "Harvest Scenes" and "Ker-nochan's Plantation." The former was exhibited at the Centennial of 1876 and received much praise. It shows the cutting of the sugar-cane on a Louisiana plantation. Another of his most celebrated paintings is called "Diana,"—a striking and graceful figure. The least successful element in Julio's work was his coloring. He possessed originality and skill and his drawing was excellent. Many of his crayon sketches are especially fine. Whether his fame will endure most as a painter of one phase of typical American scenes or as the portrayer of historic events it is not possible to predict. But "The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson" must always find place in the annals of American Art both for its execution and the historic importance of its subject.





THE LAST MEETING OF LEE AND JACKSON

Reproduction of the famous painting by E. B. D. Fabrice Julio, the French-born artist of Louisiana, from the original in the Assembly Hall of the Louisiana State University; General Lee on his renowned charger, "Traveler," and General Jackson on "Old Sorrel"





## The Ancestry of President Taft

The Making of an American President as Revealed in the Generating Streams that Converge in One Strong and Intensely American Personality

BY

MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN

Genealogical Editor of The Journal of American History, Author of "The Ancestry of William Howard Taft," "Lincoln's Ancestry," etc.



BEFORE all else, the President is an American—American in his personal ideals, his tastes, his habits, and American in his public policies. This is what we expect of our public officials, and yet there is satisfaction in knowing that the intense Americanism of William Howard Taft is not the development of political circumstance, but is an inborn reality. His blood calls him to patriotism and to the American Ideal. The men and women who were his progenitors have been the strong and faithful souls whose life and toil and energy brought civilization to the land and nursed the seed through its hazardous beginnings to maturity—the splendid maturity, fresh and vigorous, of America to-day.

The name was Taffe in the Colony days, and this was doubtless a simplification from Taaffe. The Taaffe family was an ancient one in Wales and in Worcestershire, near the Welsh border. The Taaffe records in Ireland go back as far as the reign of Edward I. In 1284, Nicholas Taaffe made a deed at Clontarf, in which he bestowed his lands at Killergy in Ireland as a gift to "God, the Blessed Mary, and the Knights Templar in Ireland." He died 30 October, 1288. One of the sons of Nicholas Taaffe was John, Archbishop of Armagh, and another son was Richard. The latter was seated at Ballybraggan and Castle Lumpnagh, and was Sheriff of Louth in 1315. He was the founder of the Taaffe family of Ballybraggan and of other branches in Ireland. One of this line, Sir Nicholas Taaffe, was Sheriff of Louth in 1441, and a descendant of his was Christopher Taaffe, son of John of Ballybraggan. Christopher lived in the reign of Elizabeth, and had a son, John.

The Taaffe Arms borne of right by the descendants of Nicholas Taaffe, who died in 1288, are blazoned: Gules, a cross argent fretty. The Taaffes of Ballybraggan, as his descendants, bore the same Arms, with Crest and Motto. Crest: An arm in armor embowed, holding in the hand a sword, all proper, pommel and hilt or. Motto: In hoc signo spes mea—"In this sign (the Cross) my hope." The Taaffes of County Sligo and County Mayo bear the same Coat-Armor. They descend from Patrick Taaffe, second son of

# The Families Behind William Howard Taft

Christopher of Ballybraggan, and brother of the John Taaffe, who forfeited the estates in 1641. Sir John Taaffe, of the Ballybraggan line, was created Viscount in 1628. He bore the family Arms, Crest, and Motto, with Supporters: Dexter, a horse argent, semée of estoiles sable; sinister, a wyvern, wings expanded proper. The famous Austrian statesman, Count Eduard von Taaffe, was of Irish descent. He was born at Prague in 1833, and became Premier of Austria. He may have been connected with the Christopher Taaffe (son of James Taaffe of Grayfield, County Mayo), who was a Knight of Saint Louis, and a Colonel of Foot in Dillon's Regiment in the service of France in 1725. He bore the Arms, Crest, and Motto as above. They were also borne by the Earls of Carlingford, whose family name was Taaffe. The fourth Earl, Theobald, died without issue and the Earldom became extinct in 1738. One branch of the Taaffes of Ireland was represented in the middle of the Nineteenth Century by Edmond Christopher FitzHenry Taaffe of Woodfield, County Mayo. He was born in 1804 and was Deputy-Lieutenant for the Counties of Mayo, Galway, and Sligo. He descended from the Taaffes of Ballybraggan.

Robert Taft, or Taffe, was born in 1640. The date of his coming to America is unknown, but it is believed that he was the Immigrant-Anccestor. He was living in Braintree, Massachusetts, before 15 May, 1667, when



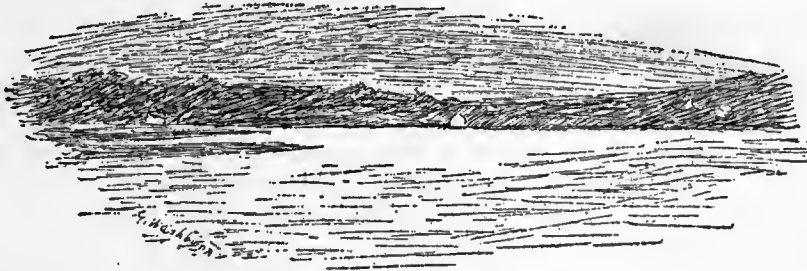
SITE OF ROBERT TAFT'S HOMESTEAD

Mendon was incorporated from a part of Braintree, and was one of the founders of Mendon, as were several other ancestors of President Taft. In 1679 he sold his land in Braintree to Caleb Hobart. At Mendon he was a man of influence in the conduct of affairs. An indication of this is the title of respect given to him in the early records, for to be called "Mr." was always a distinction among our democratic forebears. He served on the first Board of Selectmen in 1680, and in the same year was a member of the committee appointed to build a house for the minister. This office in the good old New England days, when the minister was the great man of the community, was one of trust and dignity, and in Robert Taft's case it was bestowed upon him also because of his technical fitness, his trade being that of a housewright. In the necessities

# Heredity in the Making of the President

of the times all a man's abilities were, perforce, pressed into service, and he who understood the carpenter's craft was a most useful citizen. So Robert Taft made not only houses, but, with his sons, built the first bridge across Mendon River. He was a man of property for those early, simpler days, buying much land. The site of his homestead, facing "Taft's Pond," is still in the possession of his descendants. Robert Taft died 8 February, 1725. His wife, Sarah, died the same year.

Captain Joseph Taft, Robert's son, was born in Mendon in 1680. He removed to Uxbridge, and was there appointed "tything-man" at the first town



TAFT'S POND, MENDON

meeting. He died at Uxbridge 25 July, 1727. His wife was Elizabeth Emerson, the daughter of James and Sarah Emerson. Her father was the son of the Reverend Joseph Emerson, the first minister of Mendon. He, in turn, was the son of Thomas Emerson, who came to Ipswich, Massachusetts, from Sedgefield, County Durham, England. From Thomas Emerson descended Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Emersons were an ancient family of Durham and Ralf Emerson of Foxton in that County was granted Coat-Armor in 1535. It is this Coat-of-Arms which is emblazoned on the gravestone of Nathaniel Emerson, son of Thomas, the Immigrant. The Arms are: Per fesse indented vert and or, on a bend engrailed azure three lions passant of the first, bezanté. Crest: A demi-lion rampant vert and bezanté, holding a battle axe, shaft gules and head argent.


Captain Peter Taft, the son of Captain Joseph and Elizabeth (Emerson) Taft, was born in Uxbridge in 1715. He married Elizabeth Cheney, the daughter of Josiah and Hannah Cheney. She was born in Medfield in 1707. Josiah Cheney was the son of Joseph Cheney and Hannah, the daughter of John and Margaret Thurston; and Joseph Cheney was the son of William Cheney, the Immigrant. The Arms attributed to him



SILVER DRINKING CUP OF THOMAS EMERSON



# The Families Behind William Howard Taft

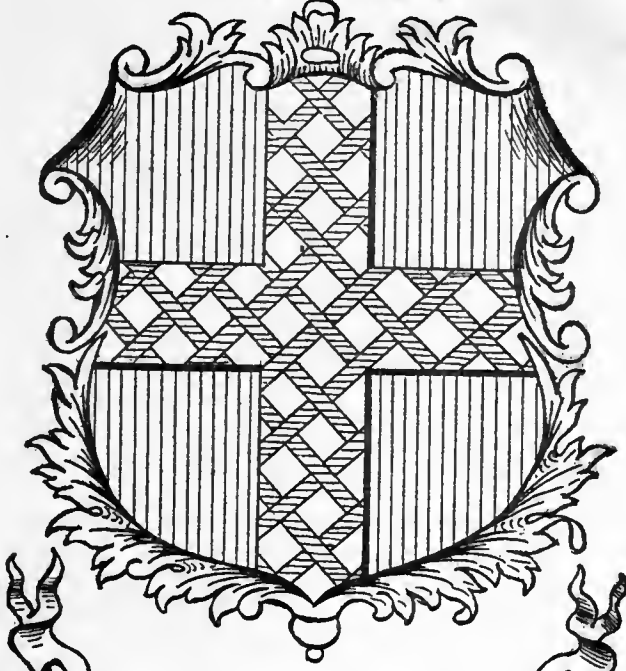


are: Azure, a cross flory argent. In 1639 William was living in Roxbury, where he held various public offices. He was a school director, a member of the Board of Assessors, Constable, and Selectman. He died in 1667. Margaret was the name of William Cheney's wife. Hers was one of those tragic little stories, coming down to us from the gloom of the early Puritan times, whose haunting shadows of terror and massacre, witchcraft and unloving asceticism, however alien to the cheerful self-denial of the Gospels, "la chastité qui rit" of the Saints, should not make us forget to render our just tribute of respect to the courage, the perseverance, and the humble recognition of God's Rights, which makes all true Americans proud of their Puritan ancestors. She had married William Cheney in England, and whether its first cause was the hardness of life in the bleak wilderness, or just a woman's heart-sickness for her home in England, we cannot know; but she became afflicted with a curious, hopeless melancholy, which lasted for more than ten years. In his will William Cheney speaks of his "deare and afflicted wife." We are glad to know that the poor soul finally found a way to happiness, for on 24 May, 1673, "Margaret Cheney widow" "gave thanks to God for loosing her chain."

Aaron Taft was the son of Captain Peter and Elizabeth (Cheney) Taft. It would be interesting to know why Princeton College was selected for his education, rather than the nearby Harvard. His stay at Princeton was but a short one, as he was needed at home, and one can pity the ambitious boy called from his studies to assist in the conduct of the farm. His spirit did not, however, lose its ardor, for, as he left the grave joys of a scholar for the homely duties of a farmer, so at his Country's call did he leave his plow. In the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War" appears the following record, which is believed to apply to this Aaron Taft: "Taft, Aaron, Uxbridge. Sergeant, Capt. Joseph Chapin's co. of Minute-men, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, 15 days." Aaron Taft removed in 1799, from Uxbridge, and settled in Townshend, Windham County, Vermont. As he was the last of William Howard Taft's ancestors in Uxbridge, it is, perhaps, appropriate to speak here of an interesting episode connected with one of the Taft farms in North Uxbridge. This was owned by Samuel Taft in 1789, and here Washington stayed on his journey from Boston to Hartford, from which latter city he wrote to his host the following letter, charming in its kindly feeling and modest sincerity.

"Hartford, November 8, 1789.

"Sir.—Being informed that you have given my name to one of your sons, and called another after Mrs. Washington's family, and being moreover very much pleased with the modest and innocent looks of your two daugh-




Taaffe

Arms of Nicholas Taaffe, Thirteenth Century





# The Families Behind William Howard Taft



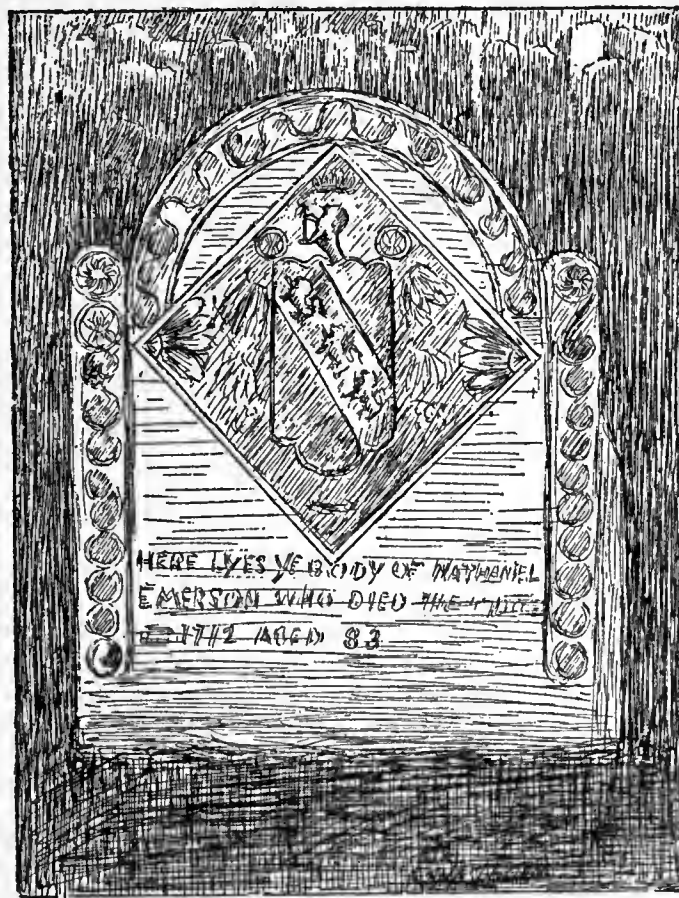
ters, Patty and Polly, I do for these reasons send each of these girls a piece of chintz; and to Patty, who bears the name of Mrs. Washington, and who waited upon us more than Polly did, I send five guineas, with which she may buy herself any little ornaments she may want, or she may dispose of them in any other manner more agreeable to herself. As I do not give these things with a view to have it talked of, or even to its being known, the less there is said about the matter the better you will please me; but, that I may be sure the chintz and money have got safe to hand, let Patty, who I dare say, is equal to it, write me a line informing me thereof, directed to the President of the United States at New York. I wish you and your family well, and am your humble servant.

“George Washington.”

Aaron Taft died in Townshend, Vermont, in 1808. His wife was Rhoda Rawson, the daughter of Abner Rawson and Mary Allen. She was a descendant of Secretary Edward Rawson, and her ancestry is most interesting. It is through the Rawson strain that the President derives his “Mayflower” line, as will appear. Briefly, the Rawson pedigree is as follows. In the Fifteenth Century there lived in London a merchant, Richard Rawson, who was Alderman of Farringdon Extra in 1475, and the next year Sheriff of London. He died in 1483 and was buried in the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene. His wife, Isabella Craford, died in 1497. One of their sons was Christopher Rawson, also a London merchant, who died in 1518, and was buried in Allhallow’s Barking, Great Tower Street. He is believed to have been the great-great-great-grandfather of Edward Rawson, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1604 Edward Rawson of Colnbrook, Langley Marsh, Buckinghamshire, made his will. His wife was Bridget (Warde?), and they had a son, David Rawson, a merchant tailor of London, whose will was made in 1616. He married Margaret Wilson, the line of whose ancestry will appear below. David and Margaret (Wilson) Rawson were the parents of Edward Rawson, the Secretary. Born in 1615, he came to Massachusetts in 1636 or 1637, settled at Newbury, and became one of the most eminent men of the Colony. He was Town Clerk, Selectman, Commissioner, Deputy to the General Court, Clerk of the House, and, in 1650, was chosen Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He held this high office until 1686. Rawson’s Lane in Boston, where Edward Rawson lived, is the present Bromfield Street.


He married Rachel, the daughter of Richard Perne of Gillingham, Dorsetshire, and one of their sons was the Reverend Grindall Rawson. He was born in Boston in 1659, and graduated from Harvard in 1678, one of his class-mates being Cotton Mather. He became the minister at Mendon, where he died, after a ministry of thirty-four years, in 1715. He married Susanna,





GRAVESTONE OF NATHANIEL EMERSON, EMBLAZONING THE EMERSON COAT-ARMOR

These arms were granted in 1535 to an ancestor of William Howard Taft and Ralph Waldo Emerson



# The Families Behind William Howard Taft

daughter of the Reverend John and Sarah (Hooker) Wilson, and their son, Edmund Rawson, settled in Uxbridge. By his wife, Elizabeth Howard of Bridgewater, he had a son, Abner Rawson, born in 1721, who married Mary Allen. Rhoda Rawson, the daughter of Abner and Mary, born in 1749, married Aaron Taft, as stated above.

The "Mayflower" ancestry comes in through the marriage of Edmund Rawson to Elizabeth Howard. She was the daughter of John Howard, or Hayward, and Sarah Mitchell. John Howard was the son of Thomas Howard. Sarah Mitchell was the daughter of Experience Mitchell and Jane Cooke, and Jane Cooke was the daughter of Francis Cooke of the "Mayflower" and his wife, Hester Mayhew, whom he married in Leyden. Curiously enough, President Taft has four Howard or Hayward lines. One is that of his grandmother, Sylvia Howard, and two others are brought through his mother's ancestry. The two last are as follows:

Louisa Maria Torrey, the mother of the President, was the daughter of Samuel Davenport Torrey, who was the son of William Torrey and Anna Davenport. Anna Davenport was the daughter of Seth Davenport (son of Samuel), and Chloe Daniels. Chloe Daniels was the daughter of David Daniels (son of Eleazer), and Huldah Taft. She was the daughter of Israel Taft (son of Robert of the First Generation), and Mercy Aldrich. Mercy was the daughter of Jacob Aldrich, Junior, and Margery Hayward, the daughter of Samuel Hayward and Mehitable Tompkins. The latter was the daughter of John and Sarah (Woodman) Tompkins. Samuel Hayward was the son of William Hayward, who came over in 1635 on the *Ann and Elizabeth*, married Margery, and settled in Braintree, where he died in 1659. Jacob Aldrich, Senior, father of Jacob Aldrich, Junior, married Huldah Thayer. She was the daughter of Ferdinand Thayer and Huldah Hayward, and the latter was the daughter of William Hayward, who came over in 1635. Jacob Aldrich, Senior, was the son of George Aldrich, the Immigrant Ancestor.

The fourth Howard line of President Taft (through his grandmother, Sylvia Howard), comes down also from William, the Immigrant of 1635, and his son, Samuel, mentioned above. Samuel's son, Benjamin Hayward, born in 1689, married Anna, or Hannah, and their son, Benjamin, Junior, married Mary, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Rockwood) Wheaton. Levi Howard, or Hayward, was the son of Benjamin, Junior. He was born in 1752, married in 1776 Bethiah Chapin, and lived in Jamaica, Vermont. His daughter, Sylvia Howard, became the wife of Peter Rawson Taft, grandfather of the President.

To return to the Taft lineage. Judge Peter Rawson Taft, the son of Aaron Taft and Rhoda Rawson, was born in Uxbridge in 1785. As a child, he was taken with his parents to Townshend, Vermont. He fulfilled the fine



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

President of the United States of America. Behind him stretches a line of strong, truly American manhood and womanhood whose ideals and achievements have borne fruit in the broad, efficient Americanism of a statesman who has won the highest honor in the gift of the nation.

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# Heredity in the Making of the President

old New England tradition by teaching for a time, and later entered the legal profession. He became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, the Probate Court, and the County Court of Windham County, Vermont, was a County Commissioner, and for many years served in the Vermont Legislature. In 1841, however, he left Vermont and made a new home in Cincinnati, Ohio. Here he died in 1867. His wife, as stated above, was Sylvia Howard, and their son was Alphonso Taft. He was born at Townshend in 1810, graduated from Yale in 1833, and after two years of teaching studied law in the Yale Law School, being admitted to the Connecticut Bar in 1838. The following year he removed to Cincinnati and there entered upon a brilliant legal career. He was appointed Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in 1865, and was elected to this office for two more terms. He entered Grant's Cabinet as Secretary of War in 1876, and the next year became Attorney General. President Arthur appointed him our Minister Plenipotentiary to Austria in 1882, and two years later he was sent to the Court of Russia. Judge Taft died in San Diego, California, in 1891, at the age of eighty. His first wife was Fanny, the daughter of Judge Charles Phelps of Townshend, Vermont. The only surviving child of this marriage is Charles Phelps Taft. Judge Taft married, second, Louisa Maria Torrey, the daughter of Samuel Davenport Torrey of Millbury, Massachusetts, and their children were: Samuel Davenport Taft, who died in infancy; William Howard Taft; Henry Waters Taft, born in Cincinnati in 1859, a graduate from Yale in 1883, and a prominent lawyer of New York City; Horace Dutton Taft, born in Cincinnati in 1861, graduated from Yale in 1883, was admitted to the Bar, but left the legal profession to become a teacher, taught Latin at Yale for three years, and is now the head of the Taft School for Boys at Watertown, Connecticut; and Fanny Louise Taft, born in Cincinnati in 1865, who married Doctor William A. Edwards, and resides in Los Angeles, California.

Of the public life of William Howard Taft, it is unnecessary to speak here. The brilliant events and important achievements of his career are familiar to all his countrymen. His life has become an integral part of our national history and the chronicle of American civilization from henceforth would be incomplete without the record of his impress thereon.

He was born in Cincinnati on 15 September, 1857. He received his early education in the Public Schools of Cincinnati, graduating from the Woodward High School in 1874. In 1878 he graduated from Yale, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The same year he entered the Law School of Cincinnati, received in 1880 the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and was at once admitted to the Ohio Bar. From that time William Howard Taft has been almost continuously engaged in civic service in various capacities. His splendid judicial career, his remarkable success in diplomatic undertakings of the most difficult and delicate character, are matters of common

# The Families Behind William Howard Taft

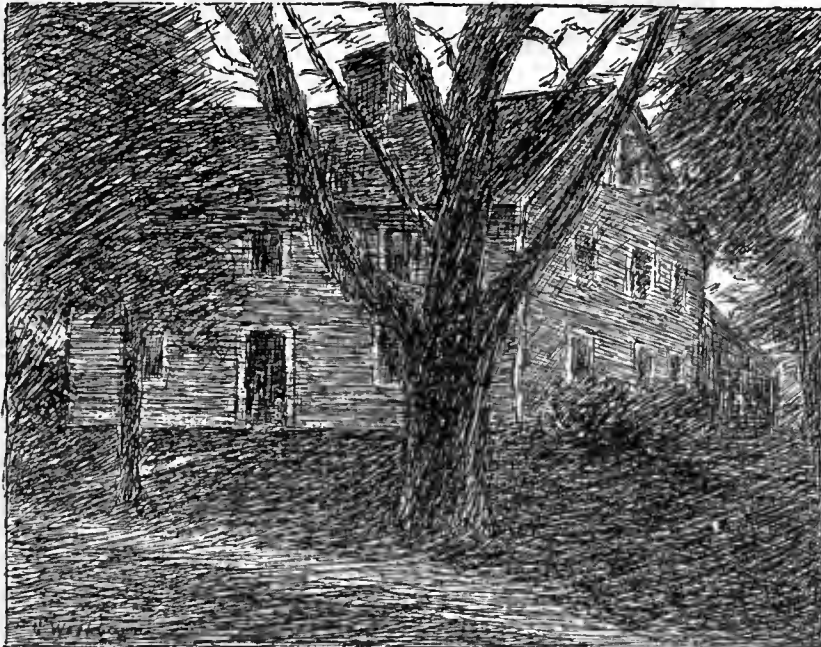
knowledge and common admiration and respect among all Americans of whatever political convictions.

William Howard Taft married, in 1886, Helen, the daughter of the Honorable John W. Herron, of Cincinnati, District Attorney and State Senator. They have three children: Robert Alphonso Taft, born 8 September, 1889, who graduated from Yale University in 1911; Helen Herron Taft, born 1 August, 1891, who has been a student at Bryn Mawr College; and Charles Phelps Taft, born 20 September, 1897.

In the account, above, of the Rawson family, mention is made of the marriage of David Rawson to Margaret Wilson, they being the parents of Secretary Rawson. She was the daughter of the Reverend Doctor William Wilson, Prebendary of St. Paul's, of Rochester, and of Windsor. Doctor Wilson married Isabel, the daughter of John Woodhal and Elizabeth Grindall. Elizabeth Grindall was the daughter of William Grindall of Hensingham, St. Bees Parish, Cumberland, and she was the sister of Edmund Grindall, the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Queen Elizabeth appointed to succeed Parker. Another daughter of William Grindall was an ancestress of William Howard Taft, as will appear in the account of his Hooker lineage.

Beside Margaret, Doctor Wilson's daughter, who married David Rawson, the Prebendary had a son, Reverend John Wilson, who was one of the most intellectual and scholarly men of the Puritan Colonies. He was born at Windsor in 1588, and was educated at Eton and at Cambridge, where he entered King's College in 1602, and from Christ's College received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1605-6, and that of Master of Arts in 1609. He became a minister of the Establishment, was Chaplain to several families, and officiated at Burnstead, Stoke, Clare, and Candish, in County Suffolk. Later he was installed as the regular minister at Sudbury, Suffolk, and there he remained for ten or twelve years. In 1630 he came to Massachusetts, on the *Arabella*, and though he went back to England for a short time he returned to the Colony and became the first minister of the first church of Boston. He died on 7 August, 1677. His wife's name was Elizabeth, and they had a son, the Reverend John Wilson, Junior, who was born in 1621, came to America with his father on the latter's second voyage, graduated from Harvard in 1642, and, after officiating for some time at Dorchester, became the minister of Medfield. He died in 1691. His wife was Sarah, the daughter of the celebrated Thomas Hooker, the first minister of Hartford, Connecticut, and they had a daughter, Susanna Wilson, who married, in 1683, the Reverend Grindall Rawson. The great-granddaughter of Grindall and Susanna (Wilson) Rawson, Rhoda Rawson, married Aaron Taft, and became the great-grandmother of William Howard Taft.

The Coat-of-Arms, said to have been used on a seal by Reverend John



THE OLD TORREY HOUSE AT MENDON

The home of William Torrey, who married Anna, daughter of Seth Davenport and Chloe Daniels. Here was born their son, Samuel Davenport Torrey, April 14, 1789, a West India merchant of Boston, who became the grandfather of President Taft



## The Families Behind William Howard Taft

Wilson, the first minister of Boston, is blazoned: Per pale argent and azure, three lion's gambes erased, fesseways, in pale, counterchanged. Crest: A lion's head erased argent, guttée de sang. Motto: Res non verba.

His Hooker ancestry is one of the most interesting lines in the President's pedigree. The wife of Reverend John Wilson, Junior, as stated above, was Sarah Hooker, and their daughter, Susanna, married Grindall Rawson. Sarah was the daughter of Thomas Hooker and his wife, Susanna. The Reverend Thomas Hooker was one of the most remarkable men of his time. He was born at Marfield, Leicestershire, about 1586, and was educated at Market Bosworth Grammar School, and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. From Emmanuel he received in 1608 the degree of Bachelor of Arts, that of Master of Arts in 1611, and he became a Fellow of the College. He entered the ministry of the Established Church, but his non-conformity with some of its doctrines brought him into difficulties with the authorities. In 1630 he left England. He went to Holland, but did not remain there long, and after a brief return to England, he set sail for America, where he arrived at Boston, 4 September, 1633. He settled in Cambridge, whose association of name with his old University days must often have recalled to him bright dreamings of youth and awakened deep emotions of homesickness for the motherland. But dreams and longings but fired anew his strong purpose to do his work in the wilderness which was now his home. And he did his work forcefully. Few of the personalities of the men of those times were able to so impress themselves on the minds and opinions of their contemporaries. In 1636 he became the first minister of Hartford, Connecticut, and there he died on 7 July, 1647.

Thomas Hooker's ancestry has not been proven beyond a doubt, but it is believed, and with good reason, apparently, that he descended from an ancient family of Hooker, which, curiously enough, formerly bore the name interchangeably with Vowell. They bore Arms: Or, a fesse vair between two lions passant guardant sable. Crest: 'A hind passant or, in the mouth a branch, leaved vert, flowered argent. The first known of the line was Jenaph Vowell of Pembroke. His son, Jago Vowell, married Alice, daughter and heiress of Richard Hooker of Hurst Castle, County Southampton. From the time of this marriage the two names were used, the Hooker being frequently Hoker. The next in the line was John, whose son, John, married Margery, daughter and heiress of Roger Bolter of Boltercourt. Their son was John, of Exeter, Devonshire, "Gentleman." He represented Exeter in Parliament, and died in 1493. His first wife was Agnes, daughter and heiress of Richard Drewell of Exeter, and their son was Robert, whose will was made in 1534 and proven before the Mayor of Exeter in 1538. He married first, Margaret Duke, second, Agnes Cole, and third, Agnes Dobell, and by one of these marriages he had a son, John. This John Vowell or Hoker was Chamberlain of Exeter in 1565, and died in 1601. He was buried in the Church of Saint Mary





## Heredity in the Making of the President

Major in Exeter. By his second wife, Anastasia, daughter of Edward Bridgman of Exeter, he had a son, Thomas Hooker, who is believed to have been the father of the Reverend Thomas Hooker.

A Hooker strain, which may be allied to that of Reverend Thomas Hooker, comes into President Taft's ancestry through the second of his Grindall lines. This Grindall line was as follows. William Grindall of Hensingham, the descent from whose daughter, Elizabeth, through the Wilsons, has been shown, had also another daughter, whose name is unknown. She married John Hooker and their daughter, Mary Hooker, married Richard Greene. They had a daughter, Rachel Greene, who became the wife of Richard Perne. Rachel Perne, daughter of Richard and Rachel (Greene) Perne, married Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

William Howard Taft's mother was Louisa Maria Torrey. She was born in Boston on 11 September, 1827, and on 26 December, 1853, became the wife of the Honorable Alphonso Taft. Her father was Samuel Davenport Torrey, born in Mendon, Massachusetts, in 1789. He became a West India merchant in Boston, but retired from business in 1831 and settled at Millbury, Massachusetts. There he died in 1877. His first wife, Delia Chapin, died in 1821. He married, second, Susan Holman Waters, daughter of Asa Waters and granddaughter of Colonel Jonathan Holman, who raised and commanded a regiment in the Revolution. Samuel Davenport Torrey was the son of William Torrey and Anna Davenport, the daughter of Seth Davenport and Chloe Daniels. Anna Davenport's ancestry, which brings in one of the President's Howard lines, has already been outlined. William Torrey was the son of Joseph Torrey, whose father was William. This William, Senior, was the son of Angell Torrey, born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, but who removed to Mendon, the home of so many of the President's ancestors. Angell Torrey was the son of the Immigrant-Ancestor of the Torreys in America, Captain William Torrey. The latter was baptized in Combe St. Nicholas, Somersetshire, 21 December, 1608. In 1640 he emigrated to Massachusetts and settled at Weymouth. He was a magistrate, Clerk of the House of Deputies for many years, and a Captain in the Militia. William Torrey was a true New England colonist of the finest type. Amidst the strenuous happenings and duties of pioneer life, he found time for the avocations of a scholar. He was a student of Latin and a writer. An essay of his, called "The Futurities," has come down to us. He died in 1690. He was married twice, his first wife being named Agnes, and the name of the second wife unknown. Captain Torrey was the son of Philip and Alice Torrey. Philip made his will in 1621, the year of his death, and his wife made her will in 1634. Philip was the son of William Torrey, who, in turn, was son of another Philip, by the latter's first wife, Jane. This Philip, Senior, made his will in 1604. He was the son of William and Margaret Torrey. This first-known

# The Families Behind William Howard Taft

Torrey ancestor, William, died in 1557 at Combe St. Nicholas, Somersetshire.

The ancestry of William Howard Taft is, as has been set forth, strongly American—American in that his forefathers and foremothers were among those who first brought to the New World Anglo-Saxon civilization, and American in that they have helped to propagate and nurse and develop the ideals which have made our Nation what it is, from those early days when they cleared the forest for homes, through the Colonial era of “plain living and high thinking,” and the storm of our fight for liberty, down to the present, when their offspring, a President of the United States of America, stands forth to the world as a witness to America’s faith in her ideals, America’s hope for their glorious fulfilment, and America’s love for peace and freedom and righteousness.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

The Beginnings of a System of Mail Delivery in America & Its Development to the Period of the Revolutionary War & Taverns as Primitive Post-Offices & The Picturesque Post Riders

BY

W. HARRISON BAYLES

Author of "The Old Post Road," and "Old Taverns of New York"



IN early Colonial times letters to friends in America from England or from ports along the Atlantic coast were put in the care of sea captains, and those expecting them went on board ship at its arrival to receive them. Letters not called for were taken to a tavern near the wharf and laid on a table where all could see them. Here, persons from the interior or from neighboring settlements not only received their own, but seeing letters addressed to their neighbors, would carry them away and either deliver them in person or leave them with someone who could do so. In this way, by a slow and not very sure process, many of them would reach their destination.

This custom grew and was extended to the sending of letters from one part of the Colony to another or to neighboring Colonies. A letter left at the tavern would be taken up by a chance traveler or placed in his hands by the landlord, and carried to a tavern on his route nearest to the residence of the person addressed, with the expectation that it would be called for or delivered to him. Thus the inn-keeper became a sort of



THE TAP ROOM OF THE WAYSIDE INN, SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

postmaster, and anyone wishing to send a message to a friend or relative at some distant point, would naturally intrust it to him to be put in the hands of some traveler going in the right direction. This dependence on some



# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

chance traveler or friend was the only way by which correspondence of a private nature could be maintained in these early days between persons living at a distance from each other in the English colonies.

The first record of any regulation for the care and delivery of letters was that made by the General Court of Massachusetts November 5th, 1639, when it ordered "that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks, his house in Boston is the place appointed for all letters from beyond seas or are to be sent thither." He was allowed to charge one penny for each letter. We have no information as to how well or how long Fairbanks continued to act. The remuneration was small and he may have neglected the office, or there may have been no successor willing to accept it; at any rate, thirty-eight years after no particular person seems to have had the care of these letters, for in December, 1677, several merchants of Boston petitioned the General Court to appoint some reliable person to take in and convey letters according to their directions, declaring that they had heard many complaints from merchants and others that letters were thrown on the exchange so that anyone might take them up, frequently resulting in the loss of letters of great importance. Their petition was granted and John Hayward was appointed to that service.

November 19th, 1685, Edmund Randolph was appointed by the authorities in England deputy postmaster of New England, but no record appears of any action being taken by him, and we are inclined to believe that he did nothing in the matter, for in June, 1686, in answer to a petition of John Hayward, the General Court continued him as postmaster "till this Court take other order," and directed that all masters of ships or other vessels should, upon their arrival, send their letters that come in the bag to him, except as they shall take care to deliver them with their own hands. Randolph apparently continued to hold his commission as postmaster of New England, but when the accession of William and Mary to the throne dissolved his appointment, the General Court of Massachusetts June 11th, 1689, appointed Richard Wilkins to act as postmaster. In the meantime the Governor of New York had on April 4th, 1687, appointed William Bogardus to be postmaster of the Province of New York.

The first attempt to establish an inland post in the English Colonies was made by Colonel Francis Lovelace, Governor of New York, who, impressed with the necessity of an overland mail between New York and Boston in case of sudden danger or misfortune, issued a proclamation on the 10th of December, 1672, stating that a sworn messenger would be dispatched on the first day of January, 1673, and on the first Monday of each following month, to carry letters and small packets to Boston. In his letter to Governor Winthrop, which the post carried out on his first trip, he gives his plan and asks for suggestions. He states that he has selected an active, stout, and

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

indefatigable man as a post rider, to whom he has allowed an annual fixed salary, which, with the receipts from letters and small packages, may afford him a handsome livelihood. The rider was to change horses at Hartford, where there should always be a fresh one. Each first Monday of every month he was to set out from New York, and be back again before the end of it. The letter bags for the different towns were to be sealed until delivered; only way letters were to be in an open bag.

Lovelace begged Winthrop for assistance in furtherance of so good a work, and requested him to direct the post rider to whom to apply on his arrival at Boston and to give him what letters he could for that place. He also requested Governor Winthrop to "discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a Post, which in process of tyme would be the King's best highway." Lovelace could not establish a regular post route as proposed without the acquiescence and support of other Governors, and it does not appear that they were sufficiently impressed with its importance.

William Penn, who was always ready to do what he could to advance the welfare and prosperity of his Colony, issued an order in July, 1683, for the establishment of a post route, and granted to Henry Waldy authority to open



A COLONIAL POSTMAN.

an office, and to supply travelers with horses from Philadelphia to New Castle and to the Falls of the Delaware. The charge for carrying a letter from the Falls of the Delaware to Philadelphia was three pence—to Chester five pence—to New Castle seven pence, to Maryland nine pence. The post went once a week, and was carefully published on the meeting-house door and other public places.

The connection of carrying the mail and supplying travelers with horses was copied after the English custom, which had prevailed up to this time and which made the posts so intimately connected with the history of travel. On all the post routes in England those intrusted with the transmission of letters were obliged to have in readiness horses for the purpose and were given a



## Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

monopoly of the business of furnishing horses to travelers at their own profit. The postmaster naturally came into this privilege from the very purpose for which the posts were first instituted.

When Colonel Thomas Dongan was Governor of the Duke's Province of New York, claiming that the grant to the Duke of York of the profits of the English post office included the Colonies, he wrote to Sir John Werden, his secretary, proposing to establish post offices in the seaports along the coast from Carolina to Nova Scotia for the Duke's benefit. In reply he was instructed, in August, 1684, to offer the privilege for a term of years (three to five) to any one who would farm it for the Duke, but we can find no evidence of anything being done in the matter. When, the next year, Dongan visited Governor Treat at Milford to settle the boundary of New York and Connecticut, he conferred with him about establishing a regular post between New York and the neighboring Colonies as far eastward as Boston, and on his return he accordingly ordained in the New York Council "that for the better correspondence between the Colonies of America a post office be established," and fixed rates, but his efforts produced no beneficial results.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England, in 1687 wrote to John Allyn, one of the Governor's Council at Hartford, in regard to setting up a post between Boston and the farthest settlements of Connecticut. He stated that he had spoken with Perry of his going once a month in winter as far as Fairfield and Stamford, if not farther, and that his design was to have him go oftener in the spring. Allyn, in his reply, agreed with the Governor and said that he believed that Perry would undertake the work. As he did not think that the charges on letters would be sufficient to satisfy the post he recommended a trial of one year at a salary. On two former occasions Perry had been sent by the Governor to the Connecticut Government with letters on public business, so that he was known to both Andros and Allyn. No immediate action was taken. When finally Perry was sent out, Andros had become Governor of both New England and New York, and Perry's route was extended so that he carried the mail into the city of New York, which was within Andros' jurisdiction. We find no records to show how often trips were made. The times were unsettled and suspicion of "Papist plots" and intrigue was in the air. Four Cambridge students who came into the city with Perry on one of his trips created such a commotion that the drums beat an alarm and four hundred soldiers turned out to protect the city from an imaginary plot of the Papists. The students were arrested but found to be honest men.

When Leisler learned that Andros was about to be sent from Boston, where he had been put under arrest on receipt of the news of the accession to the throne of William and Mary, to prevent letters from disaffected persons from reaching Boston, he caused the arrest of John Perry, the post rider, at

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

a place in Westchester County where he usually stopped for letters. The mail was opened and the letters examined. The post rider was thrown into prison, where he was detained for many months. Thus ended the attempt of Governor Andros to establish an inland post.

Although so little attention was given to the delivery of private letters, it was quite necessary that proper provision should be made for the transmission and delivery of letters and messages on public business, and so we find that each one of the colonies made some provision for that service. As early as 1633, in the Plymouth Colony, Joshua Prat was chosen constable and was sworn to faithfulness. His duty required him to carry all messages and letters on official business to places within the colony or to neighboring colonies. In 1643 John Holmes, the messenger, rendered a bill to the Plymouth Colony in which he charged one pound for going to Taunton, and ten shillings each trip for going to Sandwich and to Scituate.

At a General Court held at New Haven in May, 1653, "it was ordered that twelve horses shall be kept in the five towns that are upon the maine, viz: four at New Haven, two at Milford, two at Guilford, two at Stamford and two at Brandford; with sufficient furniture for travell" and to be always in readiness for public service. The rate to be paid to the owners of the horses is specified from town to town, or at the rate of



WAYSIDE INN, SUDBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

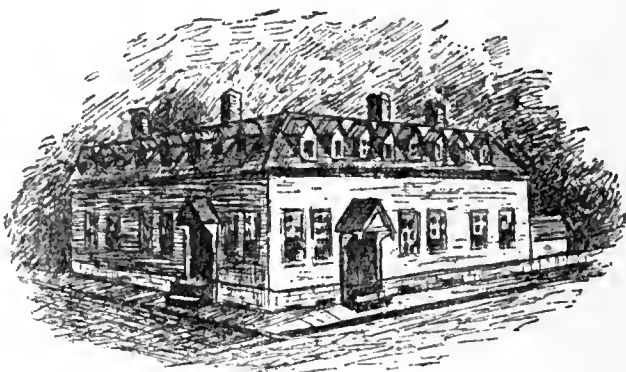
four pence per mile; the hazard of the horse to be upon the owner, but the cost of hiring men to bring the horses back again, to be at the public charge. This act was repealed at the Court held August 3d, 1653, was revived in June, 1654, and was repealed in the following month. The occasion for these orders was the hostile attitude of the Dutch of New Netherland, which the peace made by England and Holland in 1654 brought to an end.

Massachusetts passed a law regulating the allowance to messengers on public business and fixed the rates that innkeepers should charge them when on the road. Connecticut also regulated the allowance to messengers for their services and for their horses. In Virginia the law required that all

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

letters superscribed for the "publique service" should be conveyed from plantation to plantation to the place and person directed under penalty of one hog-head of tobacco for each default; also that "when there is any person in the family where the letters come as can write, such person is required to endorse the day and hour he received them, that the neglect or contempt of any person stopping them may be the better known and punished accordingly." Maryland directed that in the case of public State papers, the sheriff of one county should carry them to the sheriff of the next, and so on to their destination.

In the settlements on the Delaware, every constable to whom a letter on public affairs should come, was required to convey it to the next constable on its way, and after this territory was granted to William Penn, a law was passed at Philadelphia in 1683 requiring that every justice of the peace, sheriff or constable, to whose hands or knowledge any letter or letters shall come, directed to or from the Governor, shall dispatch them within three hours at the furthest to the next sheriff or constable, and so forward as the letters direct, under penalty of twenty shillings for every hour's delay; and in such cases the justices of the peace, sheriffs or constables were empowered to impress either man or horse for the service, "allowing for a horse or man two pence by the mile to be paid out of the public stock."



THE RALEIGH TAVERN, VIRGINIA

In February, 1692, Thomas Neale obtained a grant from the Crown, authorizing him to set up posts in North America, and by letters patent, an exclusive privilege was secured by him for twenty-one years. He nominated as his representative in America, Andrew Hamilton, who was duly appointed Postmaster General for the Colonies, April 4th, 1692.

Hamilton was in England in the interest of East Jersey and was about to return as Governor of that province, having been appointed March 25th, 1692. On his return to America he obtained the consent of nearly all the Colonies through their legislatures or courts in accordance with the grant, and when he visited England again, in 1698, he made a report of progress made.

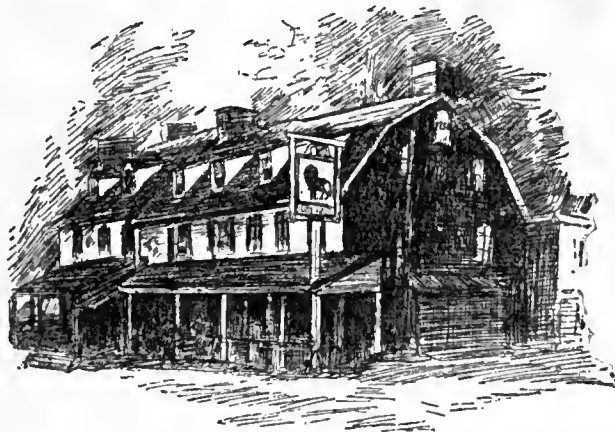
At this time a post once a week had been established from Boston to New York and from New York to New Castle on the Delaware. Hamilton was



# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

to receive a salary of two hundred pounds per annum. He made a journey to Boston and to Maryland and Virginia and for his expenses made a charge of one hundred and sixteen pounds, eighteen shillings. To William Sharpas, who was made postmaster at New York, was paid a salary of twenty pounds per annum and to him was given an allowance of one hundred and ten pounds per annum for carrying the mail half way to Boston, reduced in 1696 to ninety pounds, and sixty pounds for carrying the mail from New York to Philadelphia. The charge for a single letter from Philadelphia to New York was four pence, half penny, to Connecticut nine pence, to Rhode Island twelve pence, and to Boston fifteen pence.


The Post Office received some assistance from the colony of New York by a grant in 1695 of fifty pounds for its maintenance within the province, and from Pennsylvania by an appropriation in 1697 of twenty pounds per annum for three years. New Hampshire appropriated for its support twenty pounds per annum for three years, and Massachusetts followed her example by granting, in June, 1694, a payment of twenty-five pounds per annum for two years.



THE RED LION, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, BUILT IN 1750

About the year 1700, Neale having shortly before his death assigned his interest as security for his debts, the posts came into the hands of Andrew Hamilton and an Englishman of the name of West. Hamilton died at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, on the 26th of April, 1703. At the time of his death he held the office of Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, the duties of which he assumed November 1st, 1701, in addition to the Governorship of East and West Jersey. After the death of Hamilton his widow for three or four years carried on the posts at her own charge.

Mrs. Hamilton and West made application to have their patents extended for a further period of twenty-one years and asked that it might be enlarged, so as to allow them to set up packet boats between England and America. To this the Postmasters General in England were opposed, and recommended that the patent should be purchased by the Crown. In the year 1707, the patent was surrendered, and the posts in America became vested in the



# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

Crown. At the time of the transfer John Hamilton, son of Andrew, was appointed to the office of Deputy Postmaster General, which he held until 1722, when he resigned. It is said that the posts of North America had then become self-supporting. The Postmasters General in England, on the 10th of August of that year, wrote:—"We have now put the Post Office in North America and the West Indies upon such a foot that for the future, if it produce no profit for the revenue, it will no longer be a charge to it, but we have good reason to hope there will be some return rather, from thence."

In September, 1692, Sir Edmund Andros, who, when Governor of New England and New York in 1688, had endeavored to establish posts in the Colonies under his government, arrived in Virginia with a commission as Governor of that Colony. Neale's patent was soon after laid before the Virginia Assembly and in accordance with this grant a law was enacted for establishing a post office in the Colony and rates were fixed similar to those made in the other Colonies.

Neale had, no doubt, been informed and was aware of the difficulties which would have to be overcome in starting a post route through a thinly settled country, and he made an extra effort to accomplish it, allowing from his own purse a salary of one hundred pounds per annum to Peter Heyman, who was appointed postmaster for Maryland and Virginia. Peter Heyman was a worthy citizen of Hampton, the grandson of Sir Peter Heyman, of Sommerfield, in the county of Kent, England. He was appointed not long before 1699, by the Commissioners of Customs, Collector of the Southern District of James River. Early in the year 1700 a pirate ship, which had made several captures, appeared on the coast and the small man-of-war, *Shoreham*, taking on board Governor Nicholson, Peter Heyman, and other volunteers, made sail in pursuit. She got between the capes and the pirate and an action ensued on the 29th of April, which resulted in the capture of the pirate ship and in the death of Peter Heyman, who was killed during the fight, standing next the Governor, on the quarterdeck. Governor Nicholson erected a monument to his memory.

The Colony of Maryland does not appear to have done anything to encourage a post under Neale's patent. Governor Nicholson, in May, 1695, issued a proclamation stating that the Burgesses and Delegates had thought fit, for promoting the Post Office, "to appoint and settle some person of trust and integrity to keep going betwixt the river Potomock in Maryland and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania in the nature of a Post, for the quick and speedy dispatch of letters," and that they had entered into an agreement with one John Perry, "who has undertaken the said imploy." He therefore thinks fit, for the information of the inhabitants of the province to publish and make known that the post will go eight times a year between Potomac and Phila-

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

delphia. Beginning at Newton's Point on Wicocomaco River in Potomac, he states the stations and the routes to Philadelphia and says:—"If further occasion require he is to goe to New York, Virginia or elsewhere as by me he shall be directed, for which the Assembly of this Province have agreed to Allow the Sume of fifty pounds Sterling Yearly."

It appears that John Perry was sent with a letter to Governor Fletcher, of New York, in October, 1695, in February, 1695-6, and again in April, 1696. As he was employed to carry a general mail, there does not seem to be any reason to doubt that, on his way to New York with the Governor's letters, he carried the general mail over the proposed route to Philadelphia, and took up the mail for Maryland on his return trips. In March, 1698, he was continued in his employment for the ensuing year, but before the new year he died. The Governor, having occasion to send to the Governor of New York and twice to Virginia, employed one Joseph Mann, "for which services by him performed and more of the like nature to be done," it was recommended that he be allowed twenty-five pounds, the half of what Perry was to have. The house, however, voted that he should have only twenty pounds.

It pleases us to believe that John Perry was the same who carried official letters from Boston to Hartford for Governor Andros in 1686 and



THE "GENERAL WAYNE," BALTIMORE

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

1687, and the public mail between Boston and New York in 1688. It was while Perry was doing the work in a satisfactory manner, as we have supposed, that Jonathan Dickinson wrote to William Smith from Philadelphia in February, 1697:—"If any occasion presents write me by way of New England. We have a Post go there. In 14 days we have an answer from Boston; once a week from New York; once in three weeks from Maryland, and once a month from Virginia." The only explanation we can make of this is that Peter Heyman and John Perry must have been working together in carrying the mail through between Philadelphia and Virginia. The post to Maryland and Virginia probably did not continue after Perry's death, for Lord Cornbury in 1704, in writing to the Government at home, states that if he has any letters to send to either Virginia or Maryland he must either send an express or else by some traveler going thither. An express to Virginia took three weeks.

In 1710 an act of Parliament consolidated the postal service in all Her Majesty's dominions into one establishment, to take effect from and after the first day of June, 1711. Rates of postage were fixed, but did not differ materially from those which had formerly prevailed. The postage on a single letter from one office to another within sixty miles was four pence; over sixty, but within one hundred miles, six pence; from New York to Boston, one shilling; double letters were twice as much, triple letters three times as much, and an ounce four times as much.

The act was not received in the Colonies with any great satisfaction. Being avowedly a revenue law, the Colonists claimed that Parliament had no right to lay such a tax upon them without the consent of their representatives.

In Virginia a bill was prepared and passed both the Council and House of Burgesses, which, Governor Spotswood writes, "Tho' it acknowledges the Act of Parliament to be in force here does effectually prevent its being ever put



OLD INN ON THE VIRGINIA POST ROAD

## The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

in Execution." It practically exempted all merchants' letters. The act nevertheless was enforced.

We have the authority of Governor Spotswood that in the fall of 1717 the Postmaster General of America, thinking himself obliged to endeavor to set up posts through Virginia and Maryland in the same manner as in the northern plantations, pursuant to the act of Parliament of 1710, gave out commissions and a post was established once a fortnight, from Williamsburg to Philadelphia. Thus we see that after an interval of about twenty years, during which we can find no evidence that there was any regular post—or even any at all—it was again revived. In 1727 a post from Philadelphia to Annapolis was opened to go once a fortnight in summer and once a month in winter via New Castle to the western shore, and back by the eastern shore, but it probably was not maintained very long.



THE LONG FERRY TAVERN ON THE RARITAN

Alexander Spotswood of Virginia became Postmaster General of North America in 1730 and soon took measures to establish posts to the south of Philadelphia. He wrote to Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania in July, 1730, that he was making preparations for settling a regular post to reach as far southward as through the Colony of Virginia. Spotswood was a capable man. He seems to have met with some success, for Andrew Bradford, postmaster of Philadelphia, states in the Weekly Mercury of July 20, 1732, that Governor Spotswood of Virginia, since he had become Postmaster General, had actively endeavored to extend postal communications southward, that Williamsburg was already connected, Endenton shortly would be, and next Charleston. To facilitate the work a distributing office had been established at Newport, six miles below the falls of Rappahannock in Virginia. The arrangement was that mail sent out from Philadelphia on Thursday morning should reach Annapolis on Monday at 6 p. m., and Williamsburg on the next Thursday at 6 p. m., and the post was to be back in Philadelphia on the Wednesday following at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, thus taking nearly two weeks for the round trip.

Even this moderate speed could not be kept up. In 1738 a new plan seems to have been adopted, and Henry Pratt was made riding postmaster for all the stages between Philadelphia and Newport in Virginia. He was to



## Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

set out in the beginning of each month, and to return in twenty-four days. It was announced that to him all merchants may confide their letters and other business, he having given security to the Postmaster General.

Up to the year 1754 the mail from New York to Philadelphia and from New York to Boston went once a week in summer and once a fortnight in winter. During the most of this time the post set out from Philadelphia on Thursday, leaving letters at Burlington and Perth Amboy, the only offices in New Jersey for many years, and arrived in New York on Saturday night. The Boston post was due about the same time. The post left New York for Philadelphia and Boston in summer on Monday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and in winter, when it went but once a fortnight, on Tuesday at 9 o'clock in the morning. The post from Boston to New York left at the same time.

For about forty years after the establishment of the posts, the regular route of the post rider from New York to Philadelphia was by way of Long Island and Staten Island to Perth Amboy. In the early part of this period the road leading from the Brooklyn ferry to the ferry at the Narrows was no doubt little if any used by wheeled vehicles, and was, in all probability, for at least a part of the way, only a path for man and horse. The ferry at the Narrows was called the Lower Ferry; another, some distance north, was called the Upper or Stilwell's Ferry. Either of these could be used by the post rider. The road through Staten Island, over which he traveled after crossing the Narrows was in about the same condition as that on Long Island, but these roads improved as the country became more thickly settled and wheeled vehicles came more into use. After traversing Staten Island, another ferry had to be crossed to reach Perth Amboy, one of the two post towns of New Jersey. From Perth Amboy the post rider crossed the long ferry over the Raritan, which at this place was quite wide and took the road laid out by Governor Lawrie to Burlington, on which a half-way house had been set up at Cranberry.

Not being stimulated by the rush and hustle of modern business methods, the post rider no doubt allowed the inclemencies of the weather and difficulties on the road to delay him. We find frequent allusion to such delays of the post in the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia in the early part of the eighteenth century. A Philadelphia paper in 1772 announces that the New York post is three days behind time and not yet arrived. The New York Gazette of December 14th, 1747, states that "The Philadelphia Post not coming in last week at the appointed time, and the weather setting in very cold, has occasioned both the Boston and Philadelphia Post to set out a week sooner than they designed to perform their stages but once a fortnight," and on December 21, 1747, just a week later, "Monday, 2 o'clock P. M.—The Philadelphia Post not come in; the Severity of the Weather 'tis thought has ren-

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

dered some of the Ferries difficult to Pass. Large quantities of Ice begin to appear."

Duncan Campbell, postmaster at Boston, died about 1701 and was succeeded by his son, John Campbell, who in 1704 started the Boston News Letter, the first successful newspaper in America. His office as postmaster gave him superior facilities for the circulation of his paper and this assistance was so great that, afterwards, in the early history of the country, we find the office of postmaster and newspaper printing were commonly united.

The post route from Boston to New York was through Providence, New London, Saybrook and New Haven. Hartford was not on the route. There must have been some desire to have the post go to that town, for, in October, 1708, John Campbell wrote to the General Assembly of Connecticut, in session at New Haven,



OLD INN, WEST BROOKFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

praying for an allowance for services from the Colony and proposing to establish a regular post between Saybrook and Hartford, but no agreement was concluded. A few years after this he announced in his paper of December 13-20, 1714, that the western post between Boston and New York would go once a fortnight alternately by way of Saybrook and by way of Hartford. This is the first record we can find of the post going by way of Hartford, or of any mail route between Boston and Hartford. The road between these places was a difficult one. In the year 1700, it was reported to the General Court of Massachusetts that this road, especially between Worcester and Brookfield, was much encumbered with fallen trees and that there were rocky marshes and other impassable obstructions hazarding life and limb of both man and horse.

Madam Sarah Knight, who traveled from Boston to New York and back in 1704, gives us a quaint, curious and interesting account of her trials and adventures. She traveled part of the way through Massachusetts and through Rhode Island with the post, and his pace and manner of crossing swift and deep streams, sometimes after dark, greatly taxed her strength and nearly frightened her to death, although she seems to have been a woman of considerable courage. She found out that it was customary, when traveling with the post, for those using him as a guide and companion to pay his score at the inns at which they stopped. At one place they were very hungry



## Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

and anticipated a good meal, but when the dish was set before them, the odor and appearance was such that they could not eat, and she says that she had to pay six pence apiece for the dinner which was "only a smell."

It was on Monday, October 2d, that Madam Knight set out for New Haven. Her kinsman, Captain Robert Luist, waited on her as far as Dedham, where she expected to meet the post. For some reason she did not meet him and had to go on about twelve miles farther, with a guide, to the place where it was his custom to lodge.

About 8 o'clock next morning they set out, and traveled until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at the post's second stage, where the western post met him and exchanged letters. This was the post rider from New London. With him Madam Knight continued her journey. She calls him her third guide, and says that he rode very hard. Having crossed Providence Ferry she says, "We came to a River which they Generally Ride thro, But I dare not venture; so the Post got a Ladd and Cannoo to carry me to tother side, and hee rid thro and led my hors." The post carried a horn to announce his approach to the stations on the road as is indicated by the following extract: "I on a sudden was Rous'd from these pleasing Imaginations, by the Post's sounding his horn, which assured mee hee was arrived at the Stage where we were to Lodg; and that musick was then most musickall and agreeable to mee."

At 4 o'clock, the next morning, they set out for Kingston, with a French doctor in their company. He and the post rode very furiously, so that Madam Knight could not keep up with them; now and then they stopped till they saw her coming. About one o'clock in the afternoon they came to the Paukatag River, the boundary of Rhode Island and Connecticut. The water was high, and Madam Knight reluctantly let the post go on without her.

The post appears to have been at liberty to do whatever he might choose outside of his regular duty of carrying the mail, and was allowed to accept commissions for the transaction of all kinds of business. The New York newspapers notify the public at different times where the post can be found, apparently for the purpose of increasing their outside business.

Rip Van Dam, in 1711, went to great trouble to get a pacer from Rhode Island for his friend, Jonathan Dickinson, of Philadelphia. The horse was brought to New York by boat, but from New York to Philadelphia, it is related, he was sent by the post. If Rip VanDam's pacer could be sent by the post, we leave the reader to imagine the limit to the nature of his commissions.

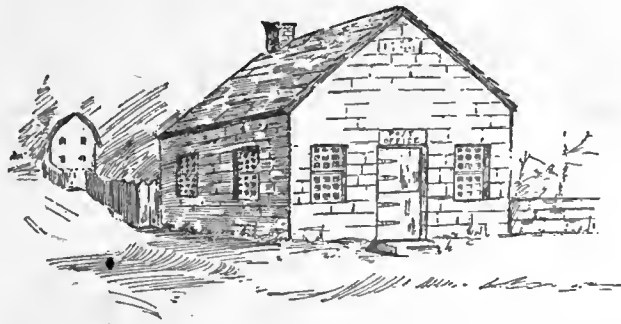
The lack of system is indicated by the statement of Benjamin Franklin that he had to bribe the post rider to carry his paper, Andrew Bradford, who was then postmaster at Philadelphia, and the publisher of the only other newspaper, having forbidden him to do so. Franklin, even before he received the appointment of postmaster, succeeded in counteracting the schemes of Brad-



# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

ford, for he states in his paper of January 28th, 1735, that by the indulgence of the Honorable Colonel Spotswood, Postmaster General, he was allowed to send the Gazette by the post, *postage free*, to all parts of the post road from Virginia to New England.

In 1735, there were not more than twenty post offices in all the American Colonies, and these were on the main road running from the northeast to the southwest; it thus followed that letters came to them for persons living long distances away, and it was often weeks, sometimes months, before they were sent for or reached those to whom they were addressed. A Philadelphia paper, in December, 1733, stated that "there are a number of letters in the post office at Perth Amboy for persons living in the counties of Somerset, Monmouth and Essex,"



POST OFFICE AT TRENTON BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

and directed the inhabitants of these counties to apply for their letters to sundry individuals named in the advertisement.

It is announced in the New York Gazette, of September 23, 1734, that "a postoffice is now settled at Trent Town," and it was about this time that the post route was changed to the old Dutch road leading from Elizabethtown through New Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton and down the west bank of the Delaware to Philadelphia. This was the oldest and best road, the one generally preferred by travelers, and passed through a fine section of country, which just before the Revolution was called the garden of America.

Governor Boone, while residing at Perth Amboy, made an effort to have the post route restored as it formerly was, and Benjamin Franklin was called upon for a report as to the cause of the change, which he made to Henry Potts, Secretary to the Postmaster General in England, dated April 23, 1761, in which he stated that, although the change was made about thirty years ago, and some years before he had any concern in the office, the matter was much talked of at the time, and that he well remembered the reasons that were given for the change, which were that the ferry over the Delaware was a mile and a half wide and often in winter so incumbered with ice as to cause great delay; that the road from Burlington to Amboy was for fifty miles of heavy, loose sand, making it very fatiguing for horses; that being through a barren country it was not well inhabited nor the inns well supplied with pro-

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

visions; and being less traveled than formerly, there was not the same care taken to provide suitable accommodations for travelers; "so that no gentleman passing between New York and Philadelphia, tho' desirous of riding post, could well travel with him;" that the bridges were neglected and out of repair, so that, in rainy seasons, crossing the brooks and branches of rivers



THE CITY TAVERN, TRENTON

became dangerous and caused delay; that the ferry over to Amboy was nearly two miles wide and often so rough from high winds, or so incumbered with ice as to be impassable for many hours, and after the post had reached Amboy he had still three large ferries to cross,

that from Amboy to Staten Island, that from Staten Island to Long Island, three miles wide, and that from Long Island to New York, in all which places the ferrymen were very dilatory and backward in carrying the post in bad weather, availing themselves of every excuse, as by law they received no

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*Earliest Information transmitted to the South, by Express.*

AN OLD BUSINESS CARD.—WHEN THE POST WENT BY  
STAGE-COACH

ferryage from him. On the other hand it was claimed that on the new route the roads were over better ground and kept in better repair; there were good accommodations at the inns; the Delaware was crossed at Trenton and the

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

Raritan at New Brunswick, where they were narrow and the latter fordable at low water; and the people of Elizabethtown Point had voluntarily undertaken to have a stout boat always ready to carry the post and his company directly to New York, by which the last three ferries on the old route were avoided.

Benjamin Franklin had been postmaster at Philadelphia since 1737, an office, which, although the salary was small, aided him greatly, he said, in increasing the value of his newspaper, adding both to its circulation and to its advertisements. In 1753, having for some time previous been employed as comptroller in regulating the offices and bringing the officers to account, he was appointed, jointly with William Hunter, by a commission from the Postmaster General in England, Postmaster General for America to succeed Elias Huske, of Boston. They were to receive six hundred pounds, if they could make that sum out of the profits of the office. They made a variety of improvements, some of which were expensive, which brought the office in their debt to a considerable amount, which by good management was afterwards repaid.

At this time Alexander Colden was postmaster at New York and the post office was at his residence in Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green. It was open every day for the reception and delivery of letters from eight to two o'clock in the morning and from two to four o'clock in the afternoon, Sundays and Saturday afternoon excepted. On Saturday night the mail was due from Philadelphia and Boston. This was designated *post night*, and the office was kept open after its arrival until ten o'clock, for the delivery of letters. All letters for persons living in town remaining uncalled for, were on Monday morning sent out by penny post, provided for that purpose.

In 1754 an attempt was made to send the mail between New York and Philadelphia three times a week, and in October of this year notice was given by order of the Post-



POST NIGHT

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

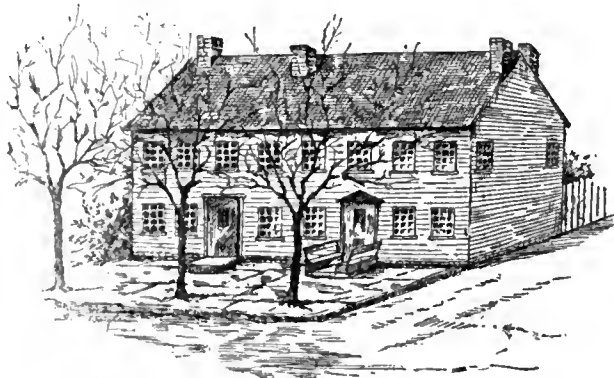
master General that until Christmas a post would set out every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, precisely at eight o'clock in the morning from Philadelphia to New York and from New York to Philadelphia, and would come in at each one of these places every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday about five o'clock in the afternoon. This arrangement would give the post riders thirty-three hours to cover the distance between the two cities; but they seem to have had difficulty in accomplishing this, for the next month William Franklin, Comptroller, announced that, on account of the mail being frequently delayed in crossing New York bay, it was necessary to change to trips twice a week.

The plan thus established of exchanging mails twice a week between New York and Philadelphia continued for ten years. Kingston, on the old Dutch road, at the crossing of the Millstone, was the half-way station at which the riders met, each rider delivering to the other the mail he had carried out and returning with that which he had received.

According to rates established in 1765 the postage on a single letter, that is, a single sheet, not over sixty miles, was four pence—from sixty to one hundred miles, six pence—from one hundred to two hundred miles, eight pence—from two hundred to three hundred miles, ten pence—and for any greater distance two pence additional.

Newspapers were not admitted to the mails, but the riders carried them

by private arrangements with the printers, and they were delivered to subscribers by special riders at rates agreed upon. The riders carrying the mails could only reach those living on the post roads; to those living at a distance from the mail route, newspapers and letters were carried by riders who received subscriptions



"THE SIGN OF THE MERMAID"  
The old Van Tilburgh tavern, Kingston, New Jersey

for the newspapers, at rates increasing in proportion to the distance from the office of publication, and transacted any business intrusted to them on their routes.

Hugh Finlay, between the 13th of September, 1773, and the 26th of June, 1774, as Surveyor of the post roads, traveled between Falmouth and Savannah. The record of that part of the route lying between New York and

Roads South Westward, with the Rates of the Postage of Letters, in New-York Money, to each Place. Note, Double Letters are twice, treble Letters thrice as much as the Price here mentioned; larger Letters are by the Ounce, every Ounce 12 dw. equal to four single Letters.

Roads South Westward, FROM New-York to	Po.	Roads Westward not Post Roads.
Newark	9	FROM Philadelphia
Elizabeth Town	6 is 15	to Schuylkill
Woodbridge	10 25	Black Horse
Brunswick	10 35	Prince of Wales
Prince Town	17 52	Ruck
Trenton	13 65	Sorrel Horse
Bristol	10 75	Plough
Frankford	15 90	Unicorn
Philadelphia	5 95	Blue Ball
Darby	7 102	Admiral Warren
Chester	9 111	White Horse
Brandewine	14 125	Downing's
New-Castle	6 131	The Ship
Elk River	17 148	The Wiggon
North-East	7 155	
Sufquahanna	9 164	Roads Westward from Philadelphia continued.
Gunpowder Ferry	25 189	MILLERS'S
Patapisc Ferry	20 209	Moulton's
Annapolis	30 239	The Hat
Mount Pleasant	13 252	D. of Cumberland
Upper Marlbro'	9 261	Red Lyon
Piscataway	15 276	Conestoga Creek
Port Tobacco	15 291	Lancashire Court H.
Hole's Ferry	15 301	Scott's
Port Royal	15 316	Bailey's
Snead's Tavern	15 328	Hughes's
Tod's Bridge	20 348	Sample's
Clayburn's Do.	24 372	Sweetatra
Freneau's	12 384	Taylor's
Williamsburgh	16 400	Harris's Ferry
Hogg Island	7 407	Hendrick's
Isle of Wight C.H.	18 425	Chalmer's
Nantemond	20 445	Carlisle
Bennet's Creek	30 475	Sheppensburgh
Edenton	30 505	B. Chamber's
Bell's Ferry	8 513	Fort Loudoun
Bath Town	45 558	Fort Littleton
Neufe River	35 590	Junietta
Whitlock River	20 610	Bedford
New River Ferry	30 640	Fort of Alegana
Cape-Fear River	45 685	Stony Creek
Lockwood's	15 700	E.Side Laurel Hill
Shallet River	8 708	Fort Ligonier
E. End Long Bay	22 730	Pittsburg
West End of Do.	25 755	
George Town	30 785	Roads Northward, not Post Roads.
Santee Ferry	12 797	FROM Philadelphia
Sawee Ferry	20 817	to R. Hood's
Charles-Town	30 847	

Fac-simile of page 165 from "Gaine's Universal Register, or American and British Kalendar, for the Year 1775 New York—Printed by H. Gaine, Bookseller and Stationer"—The first column giving the list of post-stations on the Old Post Road from New York to Charleston, South Carolina, with distances and rate of postage—The second column giving stopping places, with distances, on roads not post roads, the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg

Middleton's	1	5
Plymouth Meeting	9	14
Bardonia	4	18
Perkloting Creek	6	24
Schrack's	2	26
Widow Lloyd's	4	30
Pate's	8	38
Dury's	9	47
Reading	9	56
Parvin's	6	
D. Levan's	12	18
County Line	4	22
Traxler's	4	26
Cedar Creek	6	32
West Branch Dela.	3	35
Bethlehem	5	40
Easton	10	50
Sink Spring	4	
Cockling Creek	3	7
Main Branch of do.	1	8
J. Kiffinger's	3	11
Cocolico Creek	1	12
Dunker's T. Mill	7	19
Biar's Mill	5	24
Benjamin Landis's	3	27
Three Tons	3	30
Lncahire	2	32
Reynolds	4	
Cockling Creek	1	5
Conrad Wifer's	8	13
Benjamin Specker's	3	16
F. Hatheroad's	4	20
J. Garable's	3	23
Galbraith's	13	41
Harris's by S.	3	44
Harris's Ferry	6	50
<b>FROM Philadelphia</b>		
to B. Davis's	15	
Baptist Meeting	7	23
House Keeper's	2	25
Swamp Meeting	43	38
St. Waggoher	9	47
Bethlehem	6	53
<b>Road to Albany.</b>		
<b>FROM Springfield</b>		
to Westfield	7	
Bounds of ditto	5	12
Blanford	8	20
Green Woods	12	32
No. 1	7	39
Sheffield	4	43
Sheffield Bounds	3	46
Noble Town	11	57
Bounds of ditto	4	61
Stone-House	6	67
Kinderhook	10	77
Half-Way House	10	87
Albany	7	94
<b>Another Road to Hartford.</b>		
<b>FROM New-Haven</b>		
to Wallingford	13	
Meriden	7	20
Kenington	6	26
Great Swamp	3	29
Weathersfield	7	36
Hartford	3	39
<b>Another Road to Springfield.</b>		
<b>FROM Hartford</b>		
to Windsor	8	
Suffield	10	18
Springfield	10	28
<b>Middle Road to Boston.</b>		
<b>FROM Hartford</b>		
to E. Hartford	2	
Bolton	9	11
Coventry	7	18
Mansfield	8	26
Ashford Entrance	4	30
Ditto Bounds	9	39
Pomfret Entrance	2	41
Ditto Bounds	4	45
Champion Entran.	6	51
Ditto Bounds	1	52
Douglas	3	55
Uxbridge	4	64
Minden	7	71
Halliston	6	77
Medway	6	83
Medfield	4	87
Dedham	6	93
Ames's	3	96
Boston	11	207
<b>Road to Canada.</b>		
<b>FROM New-York</b>		
to Kingsbridge	15	
Concklin's	12	27
Bernard's	12	39
Peck's Kill	13	49
Roger's Highl.	0	58
Fish Kill	11	69
Poughkeepsie	14	83
Statisborough	11	94
Rynbeck	6	100
Schmerhorn's	10	110
Livington's Man.	14	124
Claverack	7	131
Kenderhook	14	145

Fac-simile of page 166 from "Gaine's Register." The first column giving stations on roads from Philadelphia to Reading, Easton, Lancaster, and Harris's Ferry (Harrisburg)—From Springfield to Albany—New Haven to Hartford—Hartford to Boston—New York to Canada by way of Albany—None being regular post roads except the last mentioned, the regular post to Boston traveling by the southern route, through Providence, and not by the "Middle road to Boston," through Hartford.

Half Way House	10 155		
Albany	10 165		
Saratoga	16 201	156	
Fort Edward	20 221		
Lake George	14 235		
Ticonderoga	30 265		
Crown Point	15 280		
Will's-borough	20 300		
Fort St. John's, N. End			
L. Champlain	68 368	158	
Le Prairie	15 383		
Montreal	6 389	15	
Trois Rivieres	90 479	154	
Quebec	80 559		
<b>Thursday's Post Road to Hartford and Boston, and Post Stages.</b>			
<b>FROM New York to Kingsbridge</b>			
E. Chester, Butler	6 21	8d	
N. Rochelle, Badow	4 25		
Rye, Wright	5 30		
Horseneck, Knap	6 36	10	
Stanford, Quintard	7 43		
Norwalk, Quins	10 53		
Fairfield, Furr's	11 65		
Stratford, Benja.	8 73		
Milford, Bryan's	4 77		
N. Haven, Beer's	10 87		
Wallingford,		152	
Johanson's	13 100		
Durham	7 107		
M. Town, Shaylor	6 113		
Weathersfield,			
Kilhouru	11 124		
Hartford, Bull or			
Butler	3 127		
Windor	8 135		
Enfield	8 143		
Springfield	10 153		
Kingston	15 168	154	
Western	9 177		
Brookfield	6 183		
Spencer	8 191		
Leicester	6 197		
Worcester	6 203	156	
Shrewsbury	5 208		
Marlborough	10 218		
Sudbury	11 229		
Watertown	10 239		
Boston	10 249		
<b>Old Post Road to Boston.</b>			
<b>FROM New-York to</b>			
New-Haven	95	10	
Branford	10 105	152	
Cullford	12 117		
Killingworth	10 127		
Saybrook	10 137		
Chaplin's	12 149		
New-London*	6 155		
Col. William's	8 163		
Westerly	11 174		
Hill's	11 185		
Tower Hill	11 192	155	
Newport	10 205		
Britol	10 216		
Warwick	12 228		
Providence	10 238		
Attlebury	14 252		
Wrentham	10 262		
Dedham	14 276		
Boston	10 286		
Lynn	9 295		
Salem	8 303	158	
Ipfwick	14 317		
Newbury	12 329		
Hampon Falls	7 336		
Portsmouth	15 350		
Old York	9 360		
Wells	12 372		
Kennebunk	9 381		
Sawto	9 390		
Scarborough	10 400		
Falmouth	12 412		
North Yarmouth	10 422		
Richmond	15 437		
Fort Western	13 450		
Fort Halifax	17 486		
Norridewalk	27 513	154	
G. Carrying Place	30 543		
Quebec about	50 593		
<b>Road to Providence.</b>			
<b>FROM New-London</b>			
to Norwich	14		
Newent	8 22		
Plainfield	4 26		
Volentown	4 30		
Coventry	9 39		
Seltnate	5 44		
Ditto	8 52		
Providence	9 61		
<b>Road to Crown-Point,</b>			
<b>by No. 4.</b>			
<b>FROM Boston to</b>			
Waltham	10		
Sudbury	11 21		
Marlborough	11 32		
Shrewsbury	10 42		
Holden	6 48		
Ditto	4 52		

Fac-simile of page 167 from "Gaine's Register"—Printed on the eve of the Revolutionary War—Continuing the stages on the post road from Albany to Quebec by Lake Champlain—The "Thursday's Post," New York to Boston, via Hartford—The "Old Post Road to Boston" by way of Providence, and continuing on from Boston, through Maine, to Quebec—The road from Boston to Crown Point through Rutland, now in Vermont

Rutland	5	57
West Wing	6	63
Peterham	14	75
Roxbury Canada	9	84
Winchester	11	95
Keen	14	109
Walpole	20	129
No. Four	10	139
Crown Point	79	217

Road to North Hampton,  
and Albany.

FROM Rutland to		
W. Wing	7	
Hardwich	10	17
Greenwich	6	23
Pelham	6	29
Amherst	5	34
Hadley	5	39
North Hampton	3	42
Hatfield	5	47
Deerfield	14	61
Charlton	18	79
Hoosack	18	97
Albany	40	137

Road to Plymouth and  
Cape Cod.

FROM Boston to		
Milton	7	
Franklin	3	10
Weymouth	7	17
Hingham	3	20
Hanover	4	24
Pembroke	6	30
Duxbury	3	33
Kingdon	5	38
Plymouth	4	42
Ditto	12	54
Sandwich	7	61
Branstable	11	72
Yarmouth	4	76
Harwick	9	84
Eastham	12	96
Billingsgate	5	102
Truro	10	112
Province Town	8	120

Post's Circuit Road on  
Long Island.

FROM New York to		
Jamaica	12	
Cape Flat	13	25
Huntington	15	40
Blindbury's	15	55

Satancket	10	65
Wading River	16	81
River Head	11	92
Hubbard's, South	10	102
Shelter Island Fer.	12	114
Hogg Neck	4	118
Sagg Harbour Fer.	4	122
East Hampton	7	129
South Hampton	14	143
Homan's Tavern	16	159
Smith's	9	168
Dunbar's	9	177
Avery's Tavern	9	186
Morris's	6	192
Udell's	17	209
Waters's	13	222
Hampstead Town	7	229
Jamaica	10	239
New York	12	251

Post Stages from New-  
York to Albany, West  
Side of Hudson's River.

FROM Powles-Hook to Hackinsack, (Dum- meres)		
Hopper's	10	26
Slus's	14	40
Yeoman's	15	55
Mandevell's	14	69
Merrit's	10	79
Devoc's	14	93
Bogard's	12	105
Snyder's	12	117
Brand's	8	125
Hornbeck's	14	139
W. Vernon's, Alb.	24	159

Distance to Mississippi.


FROM Louisburgh to Quebec 360		
Trois Rivieres	80	440
Montreal	90	530
La Galette	120	650
Fort Frontenac	90	740
Oswego, across the East End L. Ontario	60	800
Niagara Falls	160	960
A Store House	20	980
Lake Erie	10	990
Fort Prequeliege	100	1090
Brazz River	15	1095
Pittsburgh	180	1275
Ohio Falls	600	1805
Mississippi	1300	2115
Mouth of do.	920	3045

Fac-simile of Page 168 from "Gaine's Register," showing stopping places in 1775 on the road from Rutland, through Amherst and Deerfield, to Albany—On the Cape Cod road from Boston, through Plymouth, to Province Town—On the road along the South Shore of Long Island, returning by the North Shore—From New York to Albany along the west shore of the Hudson River—From Quebec by Oswego and Pittsburgh, Ohio, the Mississippi, and south to New Orleans





## The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider



Philadelphia appears to have been lost, but his journal covering the remainder gives us a fair account of the condition of the postal service at this time. He found that it was the custom on every stage of the route for the post riders to execute commissions on the road for their own benefit and profit. It was reported that Peter Mumford, the rider between Boston and Newport, was making one hundred pounds sterling yearly over and above his wages from the post office. He considered the postage on all way letters as his perquisite, and it was said that he carried more letters for his own profit than were sent to the office at Boston from all the other offices on his route. He transacted a great deal of business on the road, carried goods of all kinds, bought and sold on commission, and, in short, carried the mail to help him defray his expenses. Mr. Vernon, the postmaster at Newport, stated that there were two post offices at Newport, the King's and Mumford's, and that the revenue of the latter was the greater. It was common, according to his testimony, for people who expected letters by post, finding none at the post office, to go to Mumford for them, feeling confident that he had them. He said further: "It is next to impossible to put a stop to this practice in the present universal opposition to everything connected with Great Britain. Were any Deputy Post Master to do his duty and make a stir in such matters, he would draw on him the odium of his neighbors and be marked as the friend of slavery and oppression and a declared enemy to America."

Benjamin Mumford carried the mail between Newport and Saybrook. The rider between Saybrook and New York was Ebenezer Herd, a man seventy-two years old, but still strong and robust, who had been in the service forty-six years, long enough for one generation of the people along his route to pass away and be replaced by another. It was said that he had acquired an estate in riding, and, no doubt, was looked upon as a trustworthy agent in all matters intrusted to him. He pocketed all postage on way letters and did much business on the road on commission, received orders for goods, carried money back and forth, took care of returning horses, and, in short, refused no business, however it might affect his speed as post.

Between Saybrook and New Haven, Finlay says, "Many people asked me if I had not met the Post driving some oxen; it seems he had agreed to bring some along with him." The postmaster of New Haven stated that the rider comes loaded with bundles, packages, canisters, etc.—the portmanteaus containing the mail seldom being locked; the rider stuffs them with bundles of shoes, stockings, money or anything he may get to carry, which bears them and rubs the letters to pieces. In considering a way to remedy these abuses, Finlay says: "If an information were lodged (but an informer would get tarred and feathered), no jury would find the fact; it is deemed necessary to hinder all acts of Parliament from taking effect in America. They are, they say, to be governed by laws of their own forming, and no others."

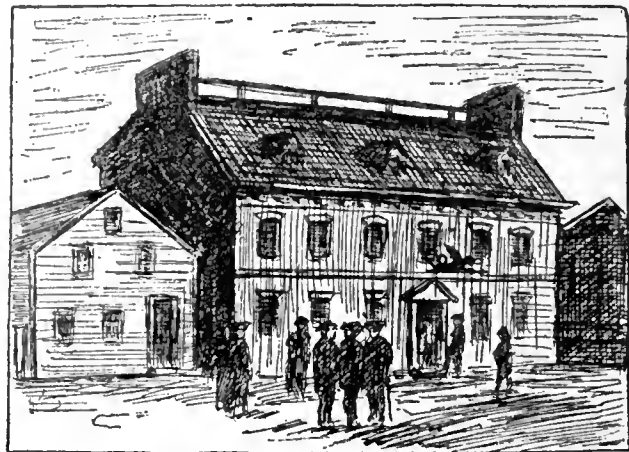
# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

In 1773 there was a mail between New York and Boston twice a week; one was sent out from New York on Monday through New London and Providence, by the lower road, and one on Thursday, by the upper road through Hartford and Springfield. There was a mail to Philadelphia from New York three times a week, and one to Albany, including the Canadian mail, once a week. In 1772, "for the commercial interest of the inhabitants of both sides of Hudson River," the Albany post was ordered to ride alternately on each side of the river, one week on the east side and the next week on the west side. Just previous to this order in this same year a weekly post had been established between New York and Quebec by way of Albany. Previous to this time post riders had made a business of carrying letters, newspapers, etc., between New York and Albany, but had done so on their own account. The general post office was at New York.

Throughout the South the same practice as at the North prevailed, of making private arrangements with the riders, rather than sending letters by the regular mail. At Charleston, after the arrival of a packet boat, it was customary for the rider to set out for Savannah and St. Augustine and return. This trip he was expected to make twelve times a year, carrying the letters from the post office, and doing what he could on his own account.


Finlay went by sea from New York to Charleston, and, coming north, he declares the road from Charleston to Wilmington the most tedious and disagreeable of any

on the continent of North America. He says: "It is through a poor, sandy, barren, gloomy country, without accommodations for travelers. Death is painted in the countenances of those you meet, that, indeed, happens but seldom on the road. Neither man nor beast can stand a long journey, thro' so bad a country, where there's much fatigue and no refreshment; what must it be in their violent heats, when I found it so bad in the month of January?"




THE "GREEN DRAGON," BOSTON

Even at this time the mails had not acquired regularity in the South, for he says: "It is impossible to do anything to Purpose towards establishing a



## The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider




regular Post in the Southern district, on an advantageous footing to the Revenue, until the mails are conveyed weekly without stops or delays all through Virginia, and so on South along thro' North Carolina, all the way to Charles Town." It was said to require ten weeks to get an answer by the post between Charleston and New York and that no one in either of these places would think of writing by post, preferring to intrust their letters to some sailing master. There was no confidence in the post, and it was firmly believed at Charleston that letters sent by it to the North were seldom delivered, owing to mismanagement at the junction of the Northern and Southern districts; so that the post produced no revenue and was of but little use to the public.

The practice of sending letters by sea whenever it could be done was general, and the belief that it was safer, was not the only cause. Masters of sailing vessels were required by law to deliver to the post office letters which they brought into port, but they avoided this law by claiming that every letter which they carried concerned their cargo, each letter accompanying a package of freight, and, therefore, should go with the goods.

The survey of the post roads by Finlay was evidently not made in a spirit friendly to Franklin, who at the time was, jointly with John Foxcroft, Postmaster General in North America. Franklin was in England in the interest of the American Colonies. In a letter written in London February 4th, 1772, to John Foxcroft, he refers to his having "become a little obnoxious to the Ministry," and it is likely that Finlay was sent out to prepare the way for a change. Franklin was dismissed from his office on the 31st of January, 1774, and on the 25th of the following February Hugh Finlay was appointed in his place.

The dismissal of Franklin was considered in the Colonies equivalent to the seizure of the American post office, and it was no longer thought to be safe to trust to the mails the letters of patriotic Americans. So general were other arrangements made for carrying letters that the American post office never again contributed anything to the British Treasury. A project was immediately started, which was laid before the public in the newspapers during the year 1774, to establish a *new* American post office. It was proposed to form a joint stock company, the subscribers in each colony to appoint a committee of seven, who should have power to appoint postmasters and regulate mails and postage. These committees were to be authorized to appoint a postmaster-general, who should adjust the accounts, divide surplus of receipts over expenses and assess deficiencies on the committee of each colony in proportion to the amount of subscriptions. William Goddard, who had been postmaster at Providence, Rhode Island, where he published the Providence Gazette, and who afterwards published a newspaper in Philadelphia and then in Baltimore, if not the author of this project, was very active in its favor,

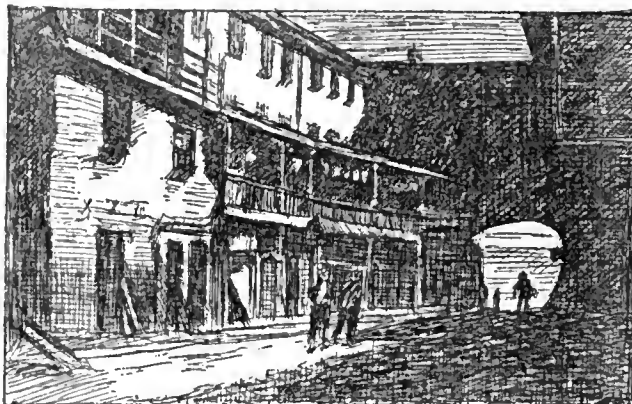


# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

and traveled through the colonies advocating its adoption. He met with only partial success.

During the year 1774 Committees of Correspondence and Observation were appointed by the people of the towns throughout the Colonies, and news and important information and messages were not intrusted to the mail, but forwarded by express riders from committee to committee of the different towns. The original dispatch giving the news of the battle of Lexington, which occurred on the 19th of April, 1775, forwarded from Watertown, Massachusetts, was carried by express riders and reached the chambers of the New York Committee of Correspondence at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d. Here the dispatch was endorsed, acknowledging receipt, and forwarded to New Brunswick, with directions to the rider to stop at Elizabethtown and acquaint the committee there with its contents. It reached New Brunswick at two o'clock, Princeton at six and Trenton at nine o'clock the next morning. We are not informed, but we feel very certain that the bearer of this important message did not enter Philadelphia on a walk, and when he drew rein in front of the City Tavern at five o'clock on the afternoon of April 24th, there was considerable excitement even in this unusually quiet Quaker City. The rider carrying the message reached Williamsburg, Virginia, on the night of April 28th, and on the next day Alexander Purdie published an extra of his Gazette, which was excitedly read by the people of the city. In his comments on the situation his closing words were: "The sword is now drawn and God knows when it will be sheathed."

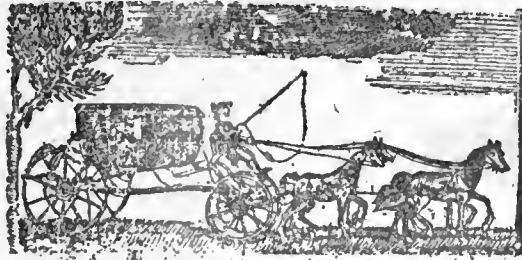
On the outbreak of war the different Colonies took charge of the mail, each in its own territory, and, as a rule retained in service the postmasters and post riders who had served under the Crown, until the Continental Congress made arrangements for its regulation. A Committee of Correspondence in Salem, Massachusetts, as early as March, 1774, received a communication from a similar body in Boston on the subject of establishing post offices independent of Parliament, and after the Battle of Lexington the provincial Con-



YARD OF THE BLACK HORSE INN, PHILADELPHIA

# The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider

gress of Massachusetts, on May 25th, 1775, took the post office in their own hands. In June the General Assembly of Rhode Island voted and resolved that they would join the other Colonies in establishing post offices and post riders, and that the Colony would, for the present, defray the expense of post



## PHILADELPHIA & NEW-YORK

STAGE-COACHES,  
To ply constantly in the Summer and Winter, and to begin  
on Tuesday the 13th of April, 1773.

THE first sets off from John Little's at the Indian Queen Tavern, at or before sun rising on every Tuesday and Friday to Princetown, where the New-York coach meets and exchanges passengers,—and returns to Philadelphia, the next days. The New-York coach (of consequence) sets out from Capt. Ellsworths, at Powles Hook Ferry, opposite New-York, and returns on the same days the Philadelphia coach does;—so as to perform the whole journey in two days from either city to the other; at the moderate fare of 4 Dollars to each passenger, one half to be paid at entering their names. Outside passengers to pay 10 Shillings currency.—Baggage of one stone weight to each passenger allowed, and to pay Two Pence per pound over;

The PUBLIC may depend on the strictest care and punctuality in the persons concerned in this arduous undertaking, being the first attempt of the kind in America. The carriages are in compleat order, and 4 sets of excellent horses with sober and good coachmen are provided by the Public's obliged servants. CHARLES BESSNOT, & Co. ( b e ; m.

Fac-simile of an advertisement in the Pennsylvania Journal of May 12, 1773, showing the original inauguration of stage-coach service in America, which soon displaced the post rider.

riders through the Colony upon the usual post roads. Offices were established, postmasters appointed and rates fixed. Peter Mumford was appointed post rider from Newport to Providence, and Benjamin Mumford from Newport to New London. They had been post riders on these same routes under the former management, and they were ordered to neither receive nor deliver any letters from any post office heretofore established in the Colony. It was ordered that all letters which the post rider may receive directed from the town of Boston shall be first postpaid and submitted to the examination of the

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

Commander-in-Chief of the American forces at Cambridge, or of a committee that may be appointed by the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay, before they are permitted to go into Boston, and that all letters coming out of Boston be submitted to the like examination. The Connecticut Legislature passed a resolution at its April term, in session at Hartford, empowering Thaddeus Burr, of Fairfield, Charles Church Chandler, of Woodstock, and Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, to employ four new riders at the expense of the Colony, and appointed them a committee to forward, at the public expense, all such extraordinary and important intelligence as should to them appear proper and necessary, which was to continue in force until the General Assembly in May, and no longer. Soon after this a plan was adopted for the establishment and regulation of post offices and post riders. The offices on the southern road were kept by Winsley Hobby at Middleton, Elias Beers at New Haven, and Thaddeus Burr at Fairfield, connecting with the office in New York, kept by John Holt, the printer.




YARD OF THE PLOW, PHILADELPHIA

The excitement throughout the whole land was intense, and the old post office soon ceased to do any business, as regulations for the establishment of new posts, independent of the old management became general. A new post



## The Period of the Picturesque Post Rider



was set up between New York and Philadelphia, with John Holt, the proprietor of the New York Journal, in charge of the office in New York. In May, he made the announcement in his paper that "till a constitutional post office is settled by the Continental Congress, letters will be received at, and carefully forwarded both eastward and westward from John Holt's Printing Office in Water street, near the Coffee House, by riders of character and property, whose ability and faithfulness may be depended on. The posts at present set out every Thursday morning eastward and westward from New York." The next week he had made arrangements to send out mails to Philadelphia twice a week, leaving about eight o'clock in the morning of every Monday and Thursday, exchanging at Princeton with the rider from Philadelphia, the riders then returning to New York and to Mr. Bradford's at the Coffee House in Philadelphia. On July 26th, 1775, Benjamin Franklin was appointed by the Continental Congress, Postmaster General of the United Colonies of North America, and the posts, which at that time had no head, again came under his direction. Under the new system Ebenezer Hazard became the first postmaster of New York City. William Goddard, who had been active for more than a year in endeavors to establish what he styled a "Constitutional Post," was rewarded by an appointment from Franklin to the position of Surveyor of the post roads and Comptroller of the post office.

Foreseeing the necessity of prompt delivery of important news or messages, on January 10th, 1776, a letter from the Provincial Congress of New York, inclosing resolutions of the Continental Congress and of the Congress of New York, relative to establishing posts at proper distances, to carry intelligence to the different parts of the Colony or elsewhere, as occasion may require, and for erecting beacons at proper distances, which the Congress of New York recommended to the Congress of New Jersey, was laid before the Committee of Safety, then in session at Princeton, when they resolved, "That a man and horse be kept in constant readiness by each of the several Committees of Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, New Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton, whose business shall be to forward all expresses to and from the Continental Congress, and that the aforesaid Town Committee shall on every intelligence of any invasion or alarm send expresses to the neighboring Town Committees, who are desired to provide expresses to forward the same from town to town to the Town Committees and such officers of the militia as they may think proper to notify thereof, throughout the Colony, with as much expedition as may be in their power."

The arrival of the British troops in the vicinity of New York created some anxiety as to keeping open communication and providing for the quick passage of troops over the roads. On August 7th, 1776, Richard Stockton, delegate from New Jersey in the Continental Congress, sent to the New Jersey State Convention at Burlington certain resolutions of Congress requesting

# Postal Service in the Thirteen Colonies

the Convention to make such provisions as would be effectual in keeping open the communication between New York and New Jersey by the ferries over the Passaic and Hackensack rivers, promising to reimburse the State for expenses incurred. On the 9th of August an ordinance was passed taking the ferries out of the hands of the owners or tenants and placing them in the hands of Commissioners, who were, by this ordinance directed to provide four scows for the ferry over each river, with sufficient hands to work them, and also to provide ropes to be stretched across the river, and all such articles as they should judge expedient for the service.

In August, 1776, Congress resolved that the communication of intelligence, with frequency and dispatch, from one part of the country to another was essential to its safety; that, therefore, there be employed on the public post roads a rider for every twenty or thirty miles, whose business it shall be to proceed through his stage three times in every week, setting out immediately on receipt of the mail, and traveling with it night and day, without stopping until he shall have delivered it to the next rider; and that the Postmaster General be directed, either by the use of way bills or such other means as he shall find most effectual, to prevent delays or to discover where they happen, in order that dilatory riders may be discharged.

Congress also, in November, 1776, resolved that for obtaining early and frequent intelligence from the camps, the Postmaster General do immediately employ additional riders between Philadelphia and the headquarters of the armies, and that he endeavor to procure sober, diligent and trusty persons for the service, and to guard against robberies of the mails or losses of their contents; also that all ferry keepers be enjoined to expedite as much as they are able the passage of post riders and other persons charged with letters, dispatches or messages from or to Congress.

Notwithstanding these preparations and precautions, the irregularity of the posts was the cause of much complaint. Officers of the army often rode express, as the bearers of important dispatches, from one division of the army to another, or to and from Congress.







# Ancestral Foundations in American History

BY  
FRANCES M. SMITH

Associate Editor of *The Journal of American History*; Author of "Colonial Families of America."

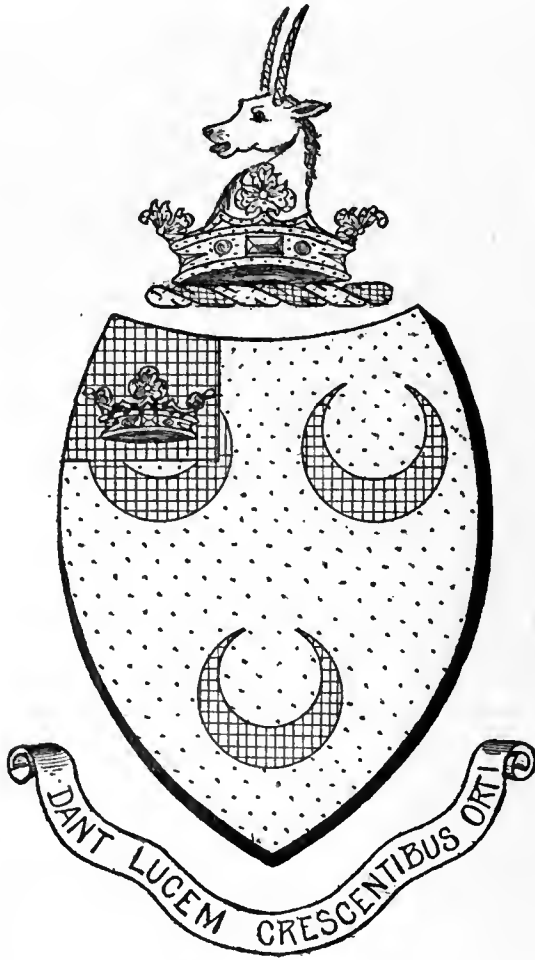


THE genealogical instinct lies, as a fundamental motive, in human nature. The desire to know whence we came, whether the principle of heredity is involved in our tastes, our talents, and our achievements, and the satisfaction felt in the possession of an honorable ancestry are common to us all. The instinct is never more dominant than amongst liberty-loving peoples. The Anglo-Saxon has come down through history, fighting for his rights, and boasting of his blood. Our ancestors crossed the seas for liberty of conscience, yet were most scrupulous in recognizing social rank based upon genealogical distinctions. Nor were our Revolutionary fathers who fought for political liberty indifferent to the claims of social precedence. The great Washington, whose family Coat-of-Arms was the model for our American Flag, said:

"It is far from my design to intimate any opinion that Heraldry, Coat-Armor, etc., might not be rendered conducive to public and private use with us, or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress and the States, all of which have established some kind of Armorial devices to authenticate their official instruments."


The French Revolution, making the possession of "gentle" ancestry a crime which only the guillotine could expiate, brought in another view. This conception was unnatural, however, and it has largely passed away.

This movement has been greatly accelerated by the fact that we have entered in our National history upon a stage of reminiscence. Our institutions have been founded, baptized in blood, tested, and formally established. We have triumphed and become a Nation—one of the greatest of the earth. Every people that has reached a fixed status of dignity and power delights to look back upon its formative era, where a glamor of romance transfigures all. We, too, have begun to look backward. The historian and the historical novelist are now pointing to our Colonial period as a fateful time of travail, wherein great things were conceived, brought forth, and nourished. "There were giants in those days." As our eyes open to this view, suddenly it dawns upon us that the romance is actual history and that the giants and heroes are our own flesh and blood. A magic spell is cast upon us. The call of the blood, the lure of the past, beckons us to find for ourselves what manner of men and women were our progenitors, how illustrious the good name they have left, how bright the heritage of glory.—The Editor.



Hodges





## Hodges Foundations in American History



ONE of the earliest American Colonists of the family was William Hodges. He was born in Kent, England, and he came to Kent County, Maryland. He bought an estate there in 1665, and gave to it the name of "Liberty Hall." He had three sons, Robert, William, and John Hodges. Robert's wife was named Tamer, and one of their children was Captain James Hodges, who was a soldier of the Revolution. He married Sarah Granger. Their son, James, married Mary

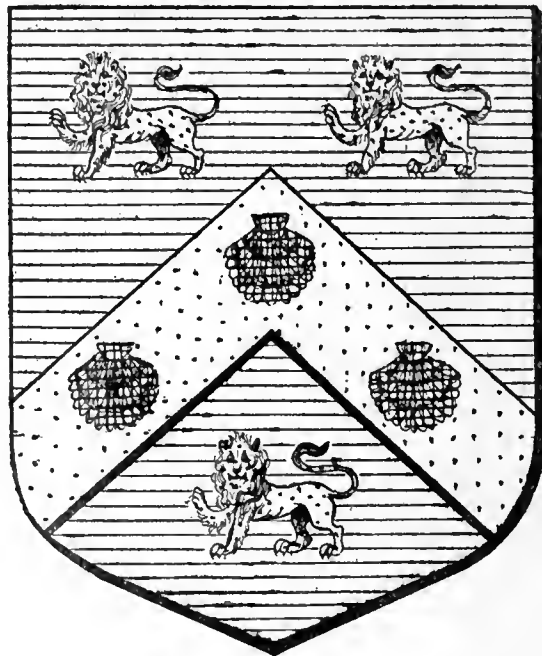
Claypoole. The Hodges have always been very decidedly among the "First Families of Virginia." Probably the first American representative of the family was Paul Hodge, who was living in Virginia in 1609. Thirteen years later, John Hodges was a Sheriff and Alderman, and "Colonel of the Archers," while William Hodges was "Captain of the Archers." Records of the Court of Prince William County, Virginia, under date of 5 June, 1780, contain the following: "To John Hodges, gent., is due 2,000 acres under the king's proclamation for services of a certain Francis Eppes, during the last French wars, who was a lieutenant in the Second Virginia Regiment, and which said Eppes hath assigned to said Hodges." Earlier than this, in 1742, John Hodge of Augusta County was a member of the Virginia militia.

Other items of the family chronicle in Virginia are as follows: Thomas Hodges owned three shares in the Virginia Company, which he willed to Walter Eldred. In 1696 Thomas Hodges of Norfolk was a Burgess. Robert Hodge of Lower Norfolk made his will in 1681. In it he mentioned his wife, Alice, and his father-in-law, Colonel Lemuel Mason. Robert Hodge of King George County married Harriet Ashton, 25 June, 1790. Andrew Hodge was one of the Virginians who went to Kentucky with Daniel Boone. His brother, Hamilton Hodge, married Isabel McIntyre.

A large proportion of New Englanders of the Hodge or Hodges name descend from John Hodge or his brother, Charles. They were first at Lyme, Connecticut. Charles removed to New Haven in 1686. In 1666 John was living at Windsor, Connecticut, when he married Susanna Denslow. They had eleven children, one of whom, Joseph Hodge, married Anne Trumbull.

One Pennsylvania branch of the family was founded by William, Andrew and Hugh Hodge, brothers, born in Ireland, who settled in Philadelphia.

The Coat-Armor illustrated is that of the Hodge family of Melcombe Regis, Dorsetshire. It is ascribed to William Hodges of "Liberty Hall," Kent County, Maryland. It is blazoned: Or, three crescents sable, on a canton of the second a ducal coronet of the first. Crest: Out of a ducal coronet or an antelope's head argent, horned and tufted or. Motto: Dant lucem crescentibus orti.

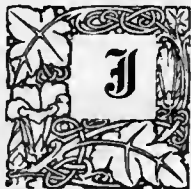


James





## James Foundations in American History



JAMES as a surname is found in early times in Wales. In Pembrokeshire there is a tradition that an estate there was held by thirteen successive proprietors, all bearing the name of William James. There was in England a baronetcy in a James family, whose name, however, was originally Van Haestrecht. This was the designation of an ancient lordship near Utrecht in Holland. Jacob Van Haestrecht was probably living in the Fifteenth Century. He had a son, Roger Van Haestrecht, who left Holland and settled in England, in County Kent, during the reign of Henry VIII. There he was known as Roger Jacob, or Roger, son of Jacob,—probably, among his countrymen in Holland, as Roger Jacobse, or Roger Jacobsen, as that was the Dutch custom. Jacobsen, used with Roger Van Haestrecht's name in England, soon became James, English for Jacob. The baronetcy extinct in 1741.

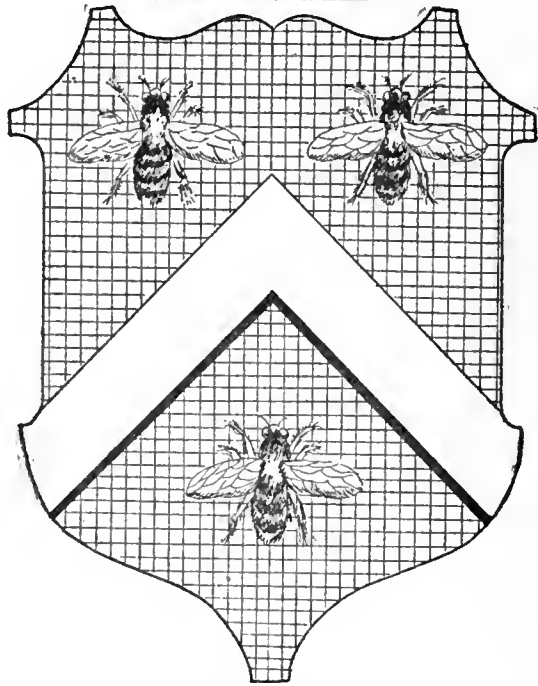
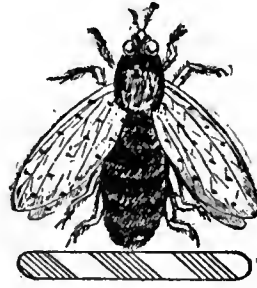
An early American ancestor of the James family came on the *Diligent* in 1638, with his wife and two servants. He settled in Hingham, Massachusetts. Another Francis James of Hingham was a freeman in 1684. His wife's name was Elizabeth. An early New Hampshire ancestor was Stephen James. He was born in Boston in 1755, and removed to Northwood, New Hampshire. He married Rebecca Tuttle.

Abel James, born in Wales, came to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century. He married Rebecca, the daughter of Thomas Chalkley, a noted member of the Society of Friends. A son of Abel and Rebecca James was Chalkley James. He married in 1787 Sarah Huston.

One of this Pennsylvania James family settled in New Jersey. Marriage connections in New Jersey were with Hollidays, Stiles, Cranes and Alwards. There was a branch of the James line early in Virginia, and Virginia alliances were with such well-known families as the Strothers, Conways and the Dulings of Westmoreland County, Virginia.


One of the first steamboat owners on the Ohio River was Levi James, born in Loudon County, Virginia, 1776. His father was Joseph James, born on the ocean in 1745, a soldier in the War of the Revolution. The name is found in Maryland also, and John James was a Maryland patriot—a Lieutenant in the Continental Army. By 1800 the family was living in a large number of Maryland Counties.

The James Coat-of-Arms of the illustration was granted in 1479. It is blazoned: Azure, on a chevron between three lions passant guardant or as many escallops sable. Crest: A demi-lion rampant or, holding an escallop sable. The motto of one branch of the family of Wales is: Duw a Digion—God and enough. Other James mottoes are: Fide et constantia: Pro Deo, patriae, et rege; Malgré le tort; J'aime à jamais.

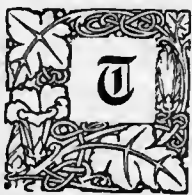


Sewall





## Sewall Foundations in American History



THE family was located in Warwickshire and in the Isle of Wight. The Coat-Armor of the Sewalls of Warwickshire, is that herewith reproduced, and are ascribed to Henry Sewall of Boston, 1634. It is blazoned: Arms: Sable, a chevron between three bees argent. Crest: A bee or.

This Henry Sewall was a founder of Newbury, Massachusetts. His son, Samuel, born in England, became Chief Justice of Massachusetts and Assistant Governor.

He was one of the judges at the witchcraft trials in Salem, and a few years afterwards, being convinced that the condemnations at these trials were the result of a tragic and terrible delusion, he made a public confession.

Joseph Sewall, son of Judge Samuel, was a preacher of such fervor and eloquence that he was known as the "Weeping Prophet." He, like his father, was a Harvard graduate, and was offered the presidency of the College, which honor, however, he declined. He became the minister of the historic Old South Church in Boston. A nephew of Judge Samuel, Stephen Sewall, held the office of Chief Justice of the Colony, and another Samuel Sewall, born in 1759, became Chief Justice of the State of Massachusetts in 1813.

The family has been one of the most distinguished in Virginia and North Carolina since the earliest times. The Southern branch usually spells the name Sewell or Seawell. The ancestors of Molly Elliot Seawell, the author, gave their name, in 1627, to Seawell's Point, Virginia. It was there that the Jamestown Exposition was held in 1907.

James Seawell was a member of the Legislature from Franklin County, North Carolina, in 1801 and 1802, and from Moore County in 1812 and 1813. Another James Seawell represented Cumberland County in the Legislature in 1833 and 1834; and Gideon Seawell was sent from Moore County in 1826 and 1827. Judge Henry Seawell of Wake County was a Judge of the Superior Court and a member of the Court of Conference, which was then the Supreme Court. He was the son of Joseph and Martha Seawell. His mother was the sister of Nathaniel Macon, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

There was a Quaker branch of the family, for a history of the Society of Friends was written in 1717 by William Sewel, who was a Friend, and living at that time in Amsterdam. This history is mentioned by Charles Lamb in his "Essays of Elia," under the title, "A Quaker Meeting."


The Coat-of-Arms of the Sewells of the Isle of Wight is ascribed to Henry Sewell, who was living in Maryland in 1661. The Arms are the same as those here shown and described above, but the Crest differs and there is a Motto. Crest: A dexter arm embowed in armor proper, garnished or, holding an acorn of the first. Motto: Frangas non flectes.



Fisher







## Fisher Foundations in American History



ONE branch of the Fishers is said to descend from Alfred the Great. Another claims as ancestor Eustace de Monte Alto, "the great Norman hunter," who was a knight in the train of William at the Norman Conquest. William bestowed upon him the Manor of Montault in England, where his descendants still reside. The great castle is called Montalt, Mold, or Mould Castle. Another corruption of the original name of Monte Alto is Maud and the name of Maud is often bestowed upon both masculine and feminine members of the Fisher family, in recognition of their descent from Monte Alto, the Norman knight.

One American line descends from a Saxon ancestor, Joseph Fisher, born in Saxony in 1734. He settled in New Jersey and fought in the War for Independence. John Fisher came over with William Penn. His son, George, settled at Middletown, Pennsylvania.

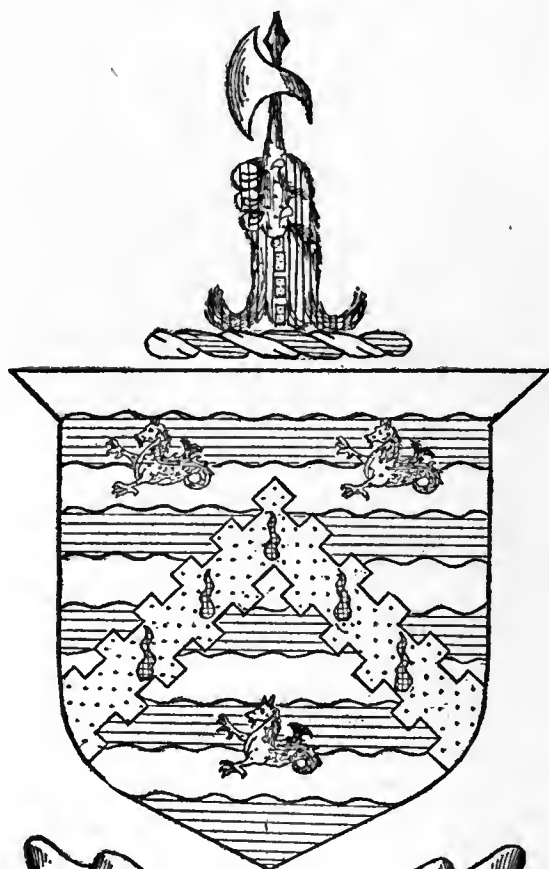
The first survey and chart of Delaware Bay was made by Joshua Fisher, about 1750. Another Joshua Fisher, of Medford, Massachusetts, made his will in 1674. In it he bequeathed to "John Ffisher, son of my son, John Ffisher, £5. To Vigilance Ffisher, my grandchild, son of my son, Joshua Ffisher, 40 sh." The executors of the will were named as "my beloved cosen daniel fisher and Joshua, my grande child."

Captain Daniel Fisher of Dorchester, Massachusetts, gave shelter to Goffe and Whalley, two of the judges who had condemned Charles I to death, and who afterwards fled to Massachusetts for safety. They lived in a house in the forest near to Captain Fisher's house.

A founder of the Maine Fisher family was Captain Samuel, born in 1722, and in 1745 living at North Yarmouth. He was the great-grandson of Lieutenant Joshua Fisher, and the latter the grandson of Sir Anthony Fisher. A son of Captain Samuel was Corporal Onesiphorus, and his grandson was another Captain Samuel.

Thomas Fisher of Delaware was a volunteer in the Revolution. He fought also in the War of 1812 and rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. Other soldiers of the family who served in the Revolution were Lieutenant Hendrick of New Jersey, Captain Samuel of Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Isaac of Massachusetts, and Colonel Frederick and Lieutenant-Colonel John of New York.


The Fisher Arms here shown are blazoned: Azure, a dolphin embowed, naiant, or. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was beheaded by Henry VIII for denying the latter's spiritual supremacy, bore similar Arms. They were: Azure, a dolphin between three ears of wheat or. His Motto was: Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum—"I will make you to become fishers of men."



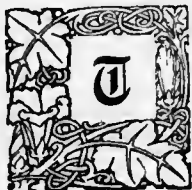
NIL DESPERANDUM

Tucker





## Tucker Foundations in American History



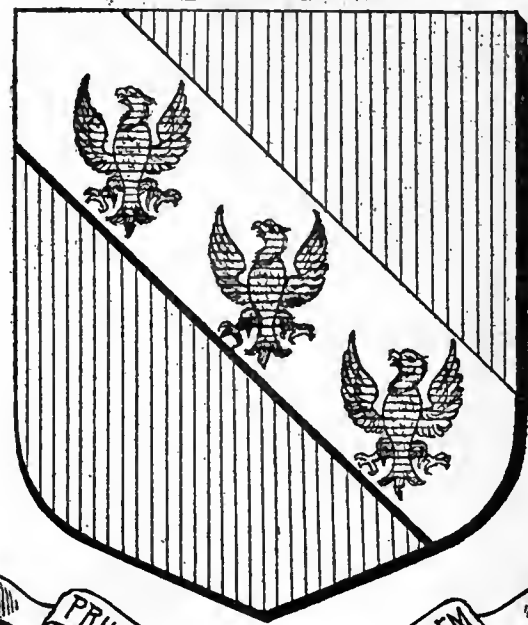
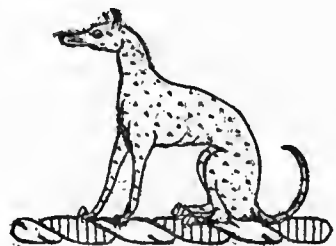
THE family has been prominent in a number of English shires—Devonshire, Kent, and Somersetshire, among them—and in Wales. Betchworth Castle in Somersetshire, now a picturesque ruin, was one home of the family.

Morris Tucker of Salisbury, Massachusetts, married Elizabeth Stevens, 14 October, 1661. His second wife was Elizabeth Gill. His grandson, Captain Moses Tucker, was the founder of the New Hampshire branch of the family.

He married Joanna Dow of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and died in 1769. He lived both at Kingston and New Ipswich, New Hampshire. Of his son, Moses, Junior, it is told that "on the alarm of the battle of Concord, he marched from New Ipswich to Cambridge, before daylight, April 20, 1775." Robert Tucker was another New England pioneer. In 1662 he was living at Milton, Massachusetts. He was born in England at Milton, Kent. He married Elizabeth Allen. Their son, Manasseh Tucker, married Waitstill, the daughter of Roger Sumner. With Samuel Miller, John Wadsworth and Moses Belcher, in 1711, Manasseh Tucker bought about three thousand acres in the town of Boston, called the Blue Hill lands. Moses Belcher deeded to the others his interest, and a part of this land was annexed to Milton.

Daniel Tucker settled in Virginia in 1616. The Coat-Armor granted in 1558 to the Devonshire Tuckers is ascribed to him. It is blazoned: Barry wavy of ten argent and azure, on a chevron embattled and counter-embattled or between three sea-horses naiant of the first, five gouttes de poix. Crest: A lion's gamb erased gules, charged with three billets in pale or, and holding a battle-axe or, head azure. These Arms are similar to those ascribed to Robert Tucker of Milton, Massachusetts, here illustrated. They are: Barry wavy of ten argent and azure, on a chevron embattled, between three sea-horses naiant or, five gouttes de poix. Crest: A lion's gamb erased and erect gules, charged with three billets in pale or, clutching a battle-axe argent, handle or. Motto: Nil desperandum.


St. George Tucker, the founder of the branch of Williamsburg, Virginia, was born in the West Indies. In 1771 he came to Virginia to enter William and Mary College, and after graduating he practiced law, becoming Judge of the General Court in 1787, and of the United States Circuit Court in 1813. He served in the Revolution with the rank of Colonel. His first wife was Frances, daughter of Theoderic Bland and widow of John Randolph. He married, second, Lelia, daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith, and widow of George Carter. In St. Peter's Church, at St. George, Bermuda, are emblazoned the Tucker Arms. These are: Azure, a chevron or between three sea-horses of the second. Crest: A lion's gamb erased gules, holding a battle axe, the head argent and handle or. Motto: Suspice teucro.



PRIUS MORI QUAM FALLERE FIDEM

Strother





## Strother Foundations in American History



THE family is very ancient. Records go back to the Tenth Century in Northumberland, and the family was also in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, at an early period. It is believed that the name of Strode is allied to Strother, for an Adam del Strode is mentioned in early Strother records. Strode was a manor in Devonshire. Alan del Strode, Lord of Lyham, was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1354 and Warden of the Border. His son, Alan, was also High Sheriff and was Warden of the Castle of Roxburgh. This Alan's son, William del Strode, lived at Castle Strode in Glendale.

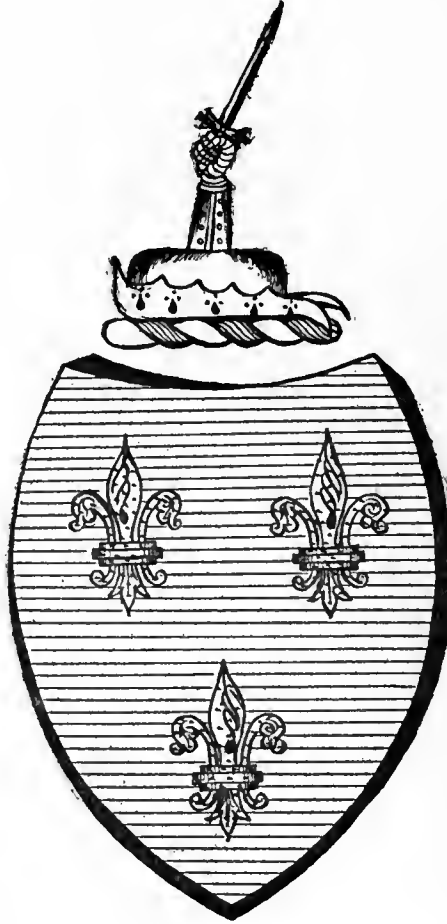
The Virginia pioneer was William Strother, believed to have come from Northumberland, and about 1673 living on the Rappahannock River. His will was proved in Richmond County, 1702. His wife was Dorothy, and they had sons, William, James, Jeremiah, Robert, Benjamin, and Joseph. William, Junior, lived in the present King George County. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Francis Thornton. Of their four sons, William married Margaret Watts. He bore the rank of Captain, and was a Sheriff and a Justice. He lived in Stafford County, though he owned four hundred acres in Prince William County. One of his daughters, Agatha, married John Madison, of the family of President Madison. Jane Strother, another daughter, married Thomas Lewis, son of John Lewis, a Virginia pioneer. Still another daughter, Margaret, married Gabriel Jones, and another became the wife of Captain John Frog and the mother of a brave soldier—John Frog.

Gabriel Jones, who married Margaret Strother, was born in 1724, and was the son of John Jones of County Montgomery, Wales, who came to Virginia in 1720. Gabriel Jones was King's Attorney for Augusta County, and a member of the House of Burgesses. His book-plate emblazons Arms: Argent, a lion rampant vert, vulned in the breast gules. Crest: The sun in splendor or. Margaret Strother's first husband was George Morton.

The children of Gabriel and Margaret (Strother) Jones were: Margaret, who married Colonel John Harvie; Elizabeth, who married John Lewis of Fredericksburg; a daughter, who married John Hawkins of Kentucky; William Strothers Jones, who married Frances Thornton, widow of Doctor Horace Buckner of Culpeper.

President Zachary Taylor was of Strother lineage. He was the son of Colonel Richard Taylor and Sarah Strother. She was a descendant in the fifth generation of William Strother, the Colonist. French Strother, a grandson of Jeremiah, son of William, was a member of the Virginia Conventions.

The Arms used by the descendants of William Strother, the Virginia Colonist, are blazoned: Gules, on a bend argent three eagles displayed azure. Crest: A greyhound séjant or. Motto: Prius mori quam fallere fidem.

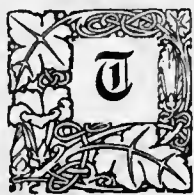


Montgomery





## Montgomery Foundations in American History



THE family is one of the most aristocratic in Great Britain and has held high place in the American Colonies and the American Nation. Roger de Montgomerie was a Norman noble, living in 912. In the next century another Roger de Montgomerie accompanied William the Conqueror to England. He was created Earl of Arundel and of Shrewsbury, and was lord of many manors. In the time of William Rufus, Pembroke Castle was built by Arnulph de Montgomerie.

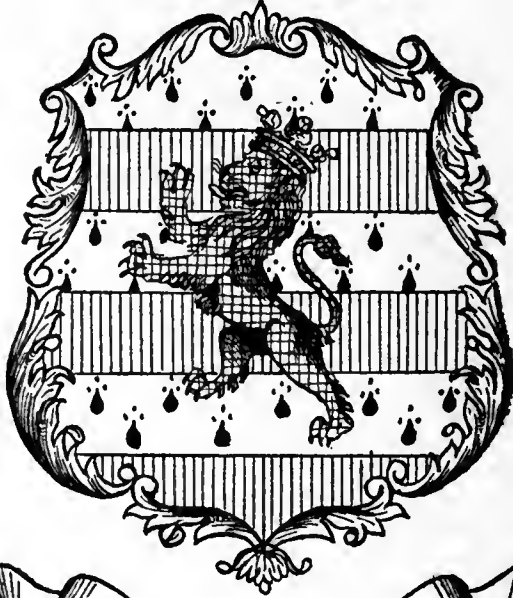
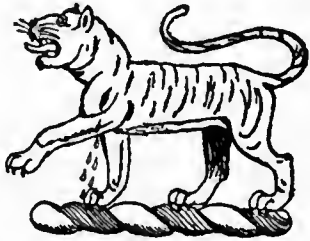
Walter de Montgomerie was the first Earl of Eglinton.

About the period of the Revolution, William and Joseph, sons of Joseph Montgomery, came to this country. They were of Scotch descent, but born in Ireland. Joseph, settled in Virginia, entered the patriot army, but at the close of the war returned to Great Britain. His brother, William, also returned, but came again to Virginia in 1805, and located in Ohio County. One of his sons, William, Junior, born in 1792, removed in 1817 to Washington County, Pennsylvania. His wife was Elizabeth Kelly.

Another Immigrant-Ancestor was John Montgomery. He was born in Ireland, came to Pennsylvania, and became a member of the Continental Congress. He was a Captain in the Revolution. In 1767 he was Treasurer of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and twenty years afterwards a Burgess of Carlisle in that County. His son, John, became Mayor of Baltimore, a member of Congress, and Attorney-General of Maryland. Other members of the Pennsylvania family who served in the War of the Revolution were Ensigns William and Samuel and Lieutenants Hugh and James and Chaplain Joseph. Lieutenant James and Colonel John of Virginia, Chaplain Joseph of Delaware, Lieutenant Michael of New York, and Lieutenant Nathaniel of Massachusetts, were all Montgomery representatives in the War. General Richard Montgomery was born at Swords, County Dublin, in Ireland, 2 December, 1736. He commanded the expedition against Canada, captured Montreal, and was killed leading the assault on Quebec, 31 December, 1775.

John Montgomery, "Captain General and Governor in chief of the Province of New York and the Province of New Jersey and territories depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same," gave a charter to the city of New York in 1730, which remained in force until 1830.

The Coat-of-Arms said to have been borne by Hugh Montgomery of Londonderry, New Hampshire, 1719, that is shown with this sketch, and is blazoned as follows. Arms: Azure, three fleurs-de-lis or, Crest: Out of a cap of maintenance an arm in armor, erect, holding a sword. The Arms ascribed to the Montgomerys of Pennsylvania are those of the family of Lainshaw, Scotland. Those assigned to Hugh Montgomery of New Jersey, 1680, are the Arms of Montgomery of Brigend, Scotland.




AVISE LA FIN

Smith







## Smith Foundations in American History




ALBERT Chesterton says of the Smith cognomen: "The name is unpoetical, although the fact is poetical, and it must be an heroic matter for a man to live up to it. It can claim half the glory of that 'arma virumque' which all epics acclaimed. The sword and the steam-hammer, the arraying of armies, and the whole legend of arms—all these things are written, briefly indeed, but quite legibly, on the visiting card of Mr. Smith. It would be natural if a certain hauteur, a certain carriage of the head, a certain curl of the lip distinguished every one whose name was Smith. Whoever else are parvenus, the Smiths are not."

The first New England forefather of the family was probably John Smith, born in England in 1614. He came over in 1630 and was a founder of Barnstable and Sandwich, Massachusetts. His wife was Susannah Hinckley, sister of Governor Hinckley. The record of their formal betrothal is found in an old journal, dated 1642. "John Smith and Susannah contracted at Sister Hinckley's house." Another Immigrant-Ancestor was Nehemiah Smith, from Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire. He came to Norwich, Connecticut, in 1636. Nehemiah Smith's nephew, Edward, was the first Custom House official in the Connecticut Colony.

Among early Smiths in New England was Matthew, who was in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1637. He came from Kent. With him in Charlestown were his wife, Jane, and four children. Samuel Smith was in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1634; and John Smith, who came from Hertfordshire, was in Milford, Connecticut, in 1640. The famous Smith estate, known as St. George Manor, on Long Island, comprising nearly ten thousand acres, was granted by the Crown to William Smith in the Seventeenth Century. In 1907 it was sold by his descendants for half a million dollars. Coveted Mayflower ancestry may be claimed by one line of Smiths which traces back to Isaac Allerton. The families of Hawks and Cushman come into this line. Judge Thomas Smith of Pennsylvania was born in Scotland. One of his clients was George Washington. His brother, William Smith, was the first Provost of the College, now the University, of Pennsylvania. This brother built a stately mansion at the Falls of Schuylkill, and on the massive gate-post was emblazoned his Coat-of-Arms.

The last Chief Justice of New Jersey under the royal government was Frederick Smyth. A hatchment inscribed with his name is among the treasures preserved in the old, historic Christ Church of Philadelphia. It is inscribed: "Frederick Smyth, died 5th May, 1806, aged 65 years. Be Virtuous and Be Happy."



# Smith Foundations in American History

Sir Thomas Smith was the Treasurer of the first Virginia Colony. Some Welsh Smiths settled in Maryland, removing later to North Carolina, where they received grants of large estates which still remain in the possession of the family.

The name of Smith was borne by many soldiers of the Revolution. A few of these were Lieutenant Silvanus and Captain William of Massachusetts; Major David of Connecticut; Captain Israel of New York, and Lieutenant Samuel of Pennsylvania. Major Simeon Smith was among the foremost who flew to Stonington, upon the bombardment of that town, and there fought with indomitable courage. The Reverend Cotton Mather Smith of Sharon, Connecticut, was Chaplain to the Fourth Connecticut Regiment. A graphic scene in the Sharon Meeting-House is described by his wife: "Before the close of the last hymn a messenger, with jingling spurs, strode down the aisle and up the high pulpit stairs, and spoke to my husband, who proclaimed in clear, ringing tones that 'the die has been cast. Blood has been shed, and there is no longer any choice between war and slavery.'"

James Smith of Pennsylvania was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was born in Ireland. He raised the first Company of Volunteers in Pennsylvania, and it was he who seconded the resolution offered by Doctor Rush in favor of a Declaration of Independence. Colonel William Stephens Smith was a gallant soldier, an aide to Washington, and, in 1784, Secretary of the American Legation in London. He married Abigail, the daughter of John Adams, his sister, Sarah, having become the wife of Charles, the son of John Adams. Colonel Smith was the son of John and Mary (Stephens) Smith, and he is buried at Sherburne, New York.

The family has had many Governors. Benjamin, aide to Washington, was Governor of North Carolina. William, born in 1796, was Governor of Virginia, and James, born in 1809, was Governor of Rhode Island. Another James was Governor of Georgia.

Thomas Smith, grandson of Sir George Smith of Exeter, England, was born in 1648. He was the first to introduce the culture of rice in the Carolinas, and was the Governor of South Carolina.

The Coat-Armor borne by him is blazoned: Sable, a fesse cotised between three martlets or. Crest: A greyhound séjant gules, collared and lined argent. Motto: Semper fidelis.

The Arms illustrated are ascribed to Nehemiah Smith of Norwich, Connecticut. They were granted in 1571 to John Smith, the Mayor of Newcastle, mentioned above, the Crest being added in 1624. They are: Barry of six, ermine and gules, a lion rampant, ducally crowned, sable. Crest: A tiger passant argent, wounded on the shoulder gules. Motto: Avise la fin.

Descendants of Robert Smith of Lancaster County, Virginia, bear Arms: Sable, a fesse dancetté between three lions rampant, each supporting a garb, all or.



# Historical Research Work for Our Schools

BY

BURTON HIRAM ALLBEE

Associate Editor of The Journal of American History; Secretary and a Founder of the Bergen County, New Jersey, Historical Society; Member of The New Jersey Historical Society and The National Geographic Society; Editor of Volume Five of Hemenway's Gazetteer of Vermont



E wish to call particular attention to the following article by Mr. Allbee. If every child in a community could be enthused with a determination to seek out its history, and to learn all he could of the men and women who made that history, not only would the wonderful chronicle of our country's settlement and development to nationhood become a vivid reality to the children who are the American citizens of tomorrow, but a vast store-house of historical knowledge would accrue to every community.

There is no stronger incentive for developing the inborn love of the land of our birth into the vivifying and beneficent flame of patriotism than the study of our country's history. Let a child know that his great-grandfather carried a musket in the Revolution, or be shown the faint, faded signature of a still earlier ancestor in the family Bible, or the carefully preserved discharge of a soldier of the War of 1812, and he will bring to his history lesson a fresh and enthusiastic point of view. Genealogy is but history brought down to the individual; and study of the great events and crises through which America has passed is illumined by the knowledge that we are part of that splendid history through our ancestors.—*The Editor.*



PASSING years and the loss of much valuable historical material through failure to collect and preserve it before it was destroyed, have demonstrated the necessity of inaugurating some plan which will insure its safety. Historical Societies know how difficult it is to obtain the data they want. Aged people are dead and their diaries, letters and documents are scattered to the winds, or destroyed. The facts and traditions with which they were familiar have died with them, and only fragments are now obtainable. Much of the information of the past is irrevocably lost.

Historical societies of various sorts have been organized throughout the country, and most of them are composed of enthusiastic individuals,



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## istorical Research Work for Our Schools

determined to do what they can to preserve the records of the past, believing they are performing important public service in so doing. But they are seriously handicapped in these laudable efforts by the conditions which surround historical work. They are probably unable for one reason or another to employ trained workers to collect and compile the material. Few, perhaps, realize what is valuable in work of this character. Many have much valuable material and do not know it. And so, in one way and another, even those most earnest in their efforts, are prevented from going into the detailed work so essential in historic research.

The problem presented is difficult. It has been carefully considered by a great many earnest workers, often without result. Others have obtained encouraging results as a reward for their efforts and can point to much effective work already done.

The Bergen County Historical Society, an organization founded nine years ago in Bergen County, New Jersey, encountered the same problem as the others in its efforts to gather up the county's two hundred and seventy years of history. The records were lost, or incomplete. Old people had died rendering extinct families which had been important factors in the progress of the county since its foundation. There seemed no way to get at the facts of family history, excepting to accept the more or less desultory records which have escaped the ravages of time.

An experiment was tried by the executive committee which demonstrated that every community is equipped with a body of workers and searchers incomparable in their earnestness and efficiency. To Dr. T. N. Glover, now of Brooklyn, N. Y., an enthusiast in historical work, is due the inspiration for something very practical and very efficient in historical research. He set the children to work. That was all, but the experiment undertaken under his guidance demonstrated that here was a body of searchers, enthusiastic, determined and thorough.

His plan was to interest the children in the High schools and in the Eighth grades of the Grammar schools. As the system is constituted in New Jersey, that would be children of twelve to fourteen years of age and upward. The research was made a part of their history period and extended over the term. At the end the pupils wrote essays embodying what they had discovered. Three prizes were awarded for the three best essays and the essays themselves became the property of the Society.

Bergen County is rich in Revolutionary history. Washington was in the county a number of times during the Revolution and in November, 1776, had his headquarters for seven days in one house, now standing. The facts fired the children's imagination and their work was enthusiastic. It gave their school history a touch of reality. It localized what the histories said



## Interest Pupils in Their Own Genealogies

and made the characters seem like actual persons. The teachers bore ample testimony to the vitalizing influence of the work.

All history is but the sum of the units composing it. Each child in the public school has a historic heritage which influences him unconsciously in what he does or says and has determined his environment. Once impress this fact upon the children and they become interested. They comprehend their relations to the past and are anxious to know more about it. They can study the history of their own family and discover what their ancestors did in establishing the country. It is not essential that these ancestors fought in any of the wars. The pioneer who established a home in the early days performed his part in the founding and developing of a mighty nation.

Let the children gather up the history of their own families. Trace them back to their origin. Learn all they can about their founders. Look up what they did and how they did it. Arouse their pride in their ancestry and they will collect a mass of valuable information regarding families which can be obtained in no other way.

The Atlantic Coast, the Lake region, the Mississippi Valley, the South and the Pacific Coast have each their individual histories and developed in their own way. California, for example, has no Revolutionary history, but it has the romance of Spanish missions and the glamor of a wonderful development following the discovery of gold. The history of the Mississippi River goes back to DeSoto. And so each section of the country has its own history and its own romance, developing along local lines and offering rich resources for the worker who takes sufficient interest to search for the facts.

In the experiment mentioned the children obtained their first impression from books. Then they went over the Society's records, following this by the examination of the public records, and supplemented it all with family records, diaries and letters. They worked always under the guidance of their teachers, and the essays in which they embodied the results of their researches were marvels of accurate information. Further, they added to the knowledge of the public in collecting and compiling the historic data which had been buried for generations.

Another purpose was served, quite unexpected in its manifestation and its results. The teachers were interested, too, and they taught history with a keener zest and with a deeper understanding of the relations between the present and the past.

Here, then, is a solution of the problem of saving the fast disappearing records of the early day. Set the children to work. Perhaps you cannot interest every one, or develop a group of trained searchers everywhere, but you will obtain much valuable information respecting families and places and you will be able to put this in proper shape for preservation and use.

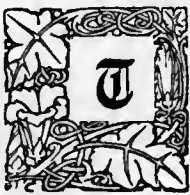


SMITH





## The Editor



THE present year, the Quinquennial Anniversary of The Journal of American History, forms a landmark in the building of a great national magazine of civilization. The Journal of American History has grown into a Public Institution. It has become a vital force in America. It is the permanent repository for the records of the achievements of the American people—a constant and ever-increasing incentive to patriotism. The ideal which it has conceived, and brought forth, and developed, has drawn the commendation of the English-speaking world.

For some time Mr. Francis Trevelyan Miller, who from its foundation has been Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of American History, has planned to turn over the direction of the next epoch of this Magazine's development to the present Editor-in-Chief, who is to build the Journal into a great Public Service Institution along the lines frequently set forth in these pages. The monumental work, "The Photographic History of the Civil War," has required most of Mr. Miller's time during the past year, and the contemplated literary organization of other historical work demands his entire attention. These projects to a large degree are the direct outgrowth of The Journal of American History. In the pages of The Journal first appeared the invaluable war photographs on which the "Photographic History" is based, and it was, in fact, this publicity which drew attention to their value in such wise as to pave the way for the most unique history of a great war which has ever been written.

As the present Editor-in-Chief is responsible for the current issue of The Journal of American History, it is only in deference to Mr. Miller's urgent solicitation that the following words from him are here given:

"It is with pleasure that I present Mr. Allaben to my friends. His ethical ideals and his practical business instincts especially fit him for the work that he is now undertaking, which I believe should become the most notable of modern times. Mr. Allaben, one of the leading historical-genealogists in America, is highly esteemed throughout this country and abroad for the high standard that he has established in this important line of scholarship. I believe that his new labors will make him beloved by those who have the honor of gathering about these pages. Let all Americans who have the love of their country and its traditions at heart join hand in hand with Mr. Allaben in the magnificent task that is before him."



## A Double Number of the Journal



ALMOST from its inception, the subscribers to the Journal of American History have had one cause for complaint—frequent failure to receive each number promptly at the beginning of the quarter. The burden of improving The Journal in many ways, which the present management has undertaken, has been so heavy during the past summer months that it has not been possible to overcome the inherited backwardness and issue the current number on schedule time. The fourth number of this year, a beautiful magazine, will appear in November, however, and the first number of 1912 before the end of December, so that those receiving a subscription as a Christmas Gift, as so many do through the kindness of our staunch supporters, will obtain the January issue at the holidays. From that time forward, each number is to appear on or just before the first day of each quarter. How welcome this reform will be to our readers, we may judge from many letters.

Nor will its appearance in advance of the New Year be the only, nor yet the most striking peculiarity of the January number. That issue will be a magnificent double number—two beautiful magazines for the price of one; and, if our plans are realized—that is to say, if our readers again patriotically support us as heretofore, by a renewal of their subscriptions for 1912—double numbers will be the rule throughout the coming year.

A vast amount of the most valuable and interesting historical material has been contributed from every section of the United States, accumulating more rapidly than we have been able to publish it. The double numbers will enable much more of this to be placed on permanent record.

Again, we have found our space too limited to give proper attention to important historical anniversaries. For example, the second section of the first double number will be especially devoted to the history of the State of Vermont, where more than fifty towns have just been celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their incorporation. States and cities in every part of the country will be treated in the same way, enlarging the scope and the interest of the Journal.

The prompt bringing out of the next issue, followed by a double January Number to be mailed before Christmas, is a large task to handle in the midst of the busy period of renewal of subscriptions for 1912. The burden of this can be lightened materially, however, if a considerable number of our readers, with sufficient confidence in us, will anticipate the end of the year and send in their renewals for 1912 at once. Will you do this? Meanwhile we enter into covenant to make the year 1912 the most magnificent in the history of the Journal of American History.







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MULTNOMAH FALLS

This wonderful cascade of the Columbia River is nearly nine hundred feet high  
Used by Permission of George M. Welster, owner of the copyright









LOOKING UP THE COLUMBIA RIVER FROM MEMALOOSE ISLAND

It was down this stream—formerly called "Oregon, or River of the West"—that Lewis and Clark came in 1805  
Copyright, 1904, by Kiser Photograph Company, Portland, Oregon



# The Journal of American History

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NUMBER IV  
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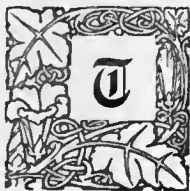
## The Winning of Oregon

*A Great Western Commonwealth Celebrating this Year Its First Permanent Settlement at Astoria & Pioneers of Civilization & A Bead-Roll of Heroic Names & The Call from a Modern Macedonia & Oregon Under Joint Dominion of America and Great Britain, Later a Provisional Government, Then the Territorial Regime, and in 1859 Admission to American Statehood*

BY

ROBERT H. BLOSSOM

Member of the Oregon Historical Society



HE naming of the State is veiled in obscurity. Naturally we look to a country's explorers for an answer. As early as 1535 the Spaniards, starting from Mexico, made frequent northward explorations along the Pacific Coast. Their object was to discover a passage connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Unable to discover this opening, the search was abandoned for over two hundred years. In 1775 a Spanish navigator, Heceta, saw the mouth of the Columbia River, but he failed to enter the stream because of the strong tides or current. The early Spanish records do not disclose that any name was given to the river and country discovered.

The first mention of the name, Oregon, appears in a book of travels published in 1768 by Jonathan Carver of Connecticut. Carver left Boston in 1766 destined for the region of the Upper Mississippi, now comprising the



## How Oregon Was Won to the United States

States of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Carver states that he obtained the name of Oregon from the Indians there. He says: "From these nations, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers of the Continent of North America, viz.: the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Bourbon (flowing into Hudson's Bay), and the Oregon, or River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west."

In his History of the United States, John Fiske says that Oregon "may perhaps be the Algonquin 'Wau-re-gan,' 'beautiful water.'" The Algonquin or Algonkin were one of the North American Indian tribes. Various names have been suggested as to the name's derivation, but this one seems the most plausible because of the similarity in sound and Carver's report.

On May 11, 1792, Captain Robert Gray of Boston discovered the mouth of the great "River of the West" and named it after his ship, the *Columbia*. The vessel anchored a short distance from what is now known as Chinook Point, immediately opposite Astoria, and soon "vast numbers of natives came alongside." Captain Gray explored the river for a distance of thirty miles from its mouth, remaining in this magnificent stream for nine days.

The *Columbia* was the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe. The Stars and Stripes which flew from its mast-head on this notable occasion, was the first American flag to go around the world. The flag thus carried was the original flag as made by Mrs. Betsy Ross, according to the design adopted by the Continental Congress on June 14, 1777. The Memorial History of the City of New York, Vol. IV, page 542, referring to the revival of the shipping industry at the close of the Revolutionary War, says: "In the autumn of 1783, some of the bolder ones, in association with Robert Morris and others of Philadelphia, purchased a ship and despatched her to China. This ship, the *Empress of China*, Captain John Green, sailed February 22, 1784, Washington's Birthday. She carried the original flag of the United States, adopted in 1777. This flag, first shown on the Pacific in 1784, was taken around the world by the *Columbia* in 1789-90 and by the *Franklin*, of Salem, Mass., to Japan in 1799."

Captain Gray's old chest, a priceless relic, which was the repository for the Louisiana Purchase in December, 1803, whereby the United States Boundary was brought to the crest of the Rocky Mountains; and the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean in 1805-6, this being the first and most important of our national exploring expeditions.

An old Indian, Jake Hunt, formerly a Chief of the Klickitat tribe, who now resides on Rattle Snake Creek, a tributary of White Salmon River, in Klickitat County, Washington, had the proud distinction of gazing upon the



CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY

The discoverer of the Columbia River

Reproduced from an enlarged picture in the archives of the Oregon  
Historical Society, through the courtesy of Mr. George  
H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator



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THE SHIP "COLUMBIA" AND CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY'S TOOL-BOX

Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society





## Beginnings of Our Empire on the Pacific



Lewis and Clark Expedition as it glided down the Columbia River in 1805. He was then fourteen years of age and hence is now one hundred and twenty years old. Jake Hunt is the only known survivor on the Pacific Coast who witnessed this unique expedition.

The three events named above, together with prior settlement in 1811 at Astoria, Oregon, by John Jacob Astor, were important factors in determining ownership of the Oregon Country.

The venture of Mr. Astor, after whom Astoria was named, was a financial failure, but through no fault of his. The War of 1812 broke out and the enterprise came to an abrupt end because of alien partners betraying their trust. They sold Astor's property to the Northwest Trading Company, a Canadian firm, for \$48,000 when it was worth \$200,000, so Astor wrote to John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State. Upon the consummation of the sale the Stars and Stripes went down and the Union Jack went up.

Soon after the transfer of Astor's property the British sloop of War, *Racoon*, in command of Captain Black, entered the Columbia River, expecting to secure a rich prize of war by capturing the fort. His hopes of securing prize money quickly vanished as he soon discovered that the post had been sold to British subjects. On December 12, 1813, Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, took formal possession by breaking a bottle of port on the flag-staff, hoisting the British ensign, and changing the name, Fort Astor, to Fort George, in honor of the English King.

On October 6, 1818, "the settlement of Fort George (Astoria) on the Columbia River" was restored to the United States, and the formality of exchanging names and flags again took place, the English sloop of war, *Blossom*, Captain F. Hickey, commander, saluting the American flag.

By the treaty of October 20, 1818, the entire country west of the Rocky Mountains was open to the settlement of both countries for ten years, at the end of which time joint occupancy for an indefinite period was agreed upon. The treaty of August 6, 1827, continued the indefinite joint occupancy by the two countries, subject, however, to termination after October 20, 1828, by either party giving to the other twelve months' notice.

On the consolidation of the North-West Trading Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. John McLoughlin was selected to come west and assume charge. He left Canada, accompanied by his family and a retinue of servants, destined overland to Astoria, and arrived there in 1824. He soon removed to the site where Vancouver, Washington, now stands, as he considered it a better location for a post.

The Hudson's Bay Company was a powerful English corporation, established in 1670, and organized for trading purposes only. Their business with the trappers and Indians was a large and profitable one. They did not want



# How Oregon Was Won to the United States

American immigration, as this meant settlement of the country and hence scarcity of wild animals from which valuable skins or furs were procured, or perhaps American competition would enter their field.

McLoughlin has been called by some the "Father of Oregon." His noble qualities of mind and heart are seldom equalled. Mr. F. X. Matthieu, in an interview with the writer, speaks of him in the most glowing terms. He says: "McLoughlin was a large and powerful man, over six feet in height, and had a voice like a bull. These characteristics, even if he possessed nothing more, would command the respect of the rough and hardy trappers and the Indians, when inclined to be treacherous." He had the most tender sympathy for the unfortunate immigrants who came down the Columbia River, bereft of everything pertaining to this world's goods, after their long overland journey across the plains. To all such he gave raiment, food and shelter. In fact, he was more an American than a British subject. But being the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, under a yearly salary of \$12,000, he could not consistently recommend the settlement of Oregon by Americans.

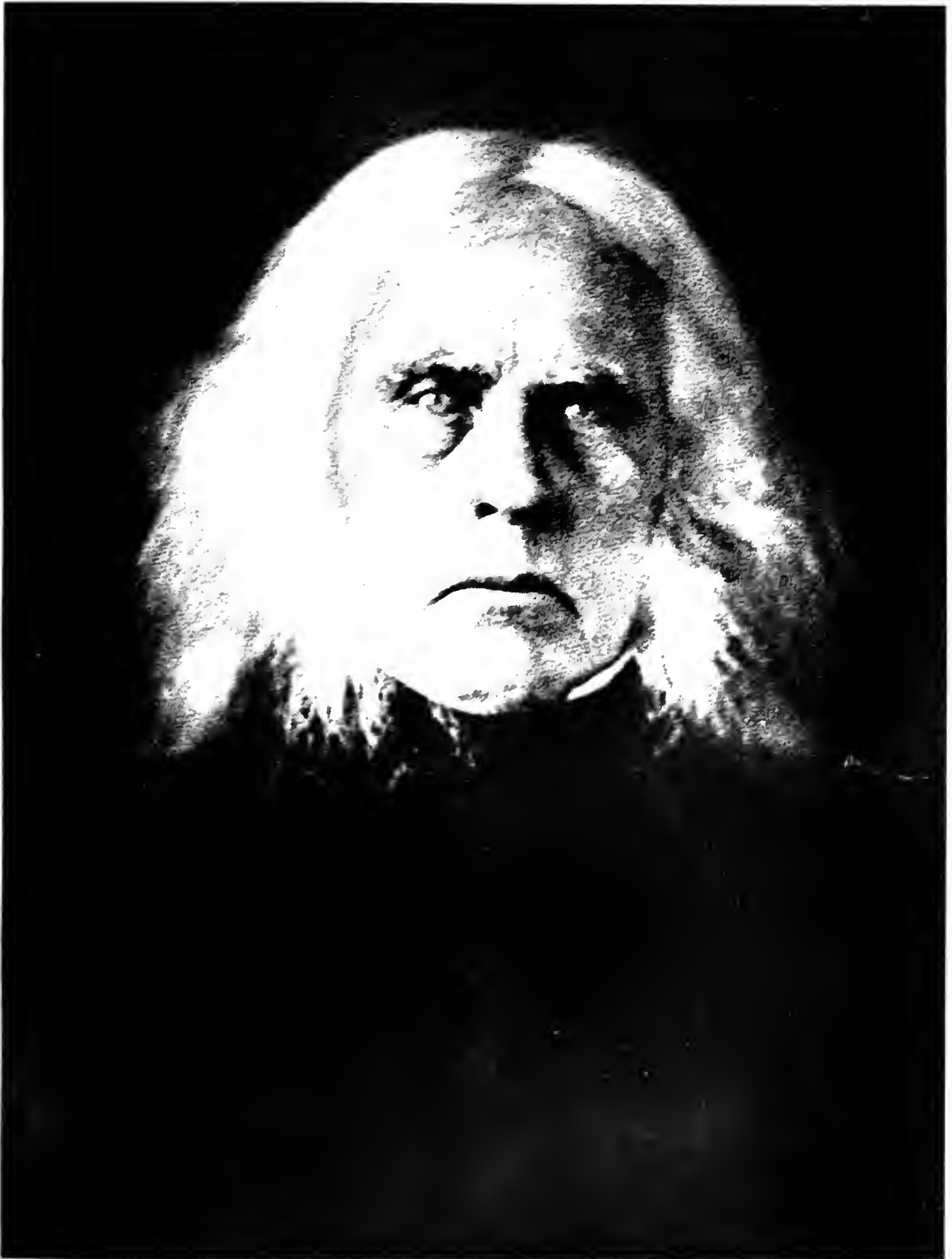
The influx of Americans brought the change from "Joint Occupancy" to the "Provisional" form of government. The early newspapers and Government documents indicate that Jason Lee might be considered, perhaps, as having done most to bring this about, if any one man were to be selected, because through his untiring efforts much of the early immigration was directed Oregonward.

It is believed, however, that, when justice is done, a "Round Robin" of appreciation and gratitude (not one of criticism and complaint) will be made in letters of gold, inscribing within an inner circle three names—Jason Lee, Dr. John McLoughlin, and Dr. Marcus Whitman. Around these great central figures will be written the names of H. H. Spaulding, William H. Gray, Joseph L. Meek, Dr. Ira L. Babcock, and a few others—all "Fathers of Oregon."

The aborigines of a country are an interesting study. From whence this native race sprang is a problem because of the lack of written records or reliable tradition.

When Europeans first visited the continent they called the natives Indians, thinking that the discovered land was India. The error was soon found but the name Indian is still applied to the natives of North and South America.

Some ethnologists claim that a distinct type of the human race is represented in the American Indian, whilst others say they are of Mongolian descent. However this may be, the western States offer to the student of ethnology an interesting field for investigation. Our government is acquir-



DOCTOR JOHN McLOUGHLIN

The chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in what now is Oregon and the friend of the American immigrants  
Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon  
Historical Society







MERIWETHER LEWIS

In command of the Lewis and Clark Expedition which penetrated to the Columbia River—Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society



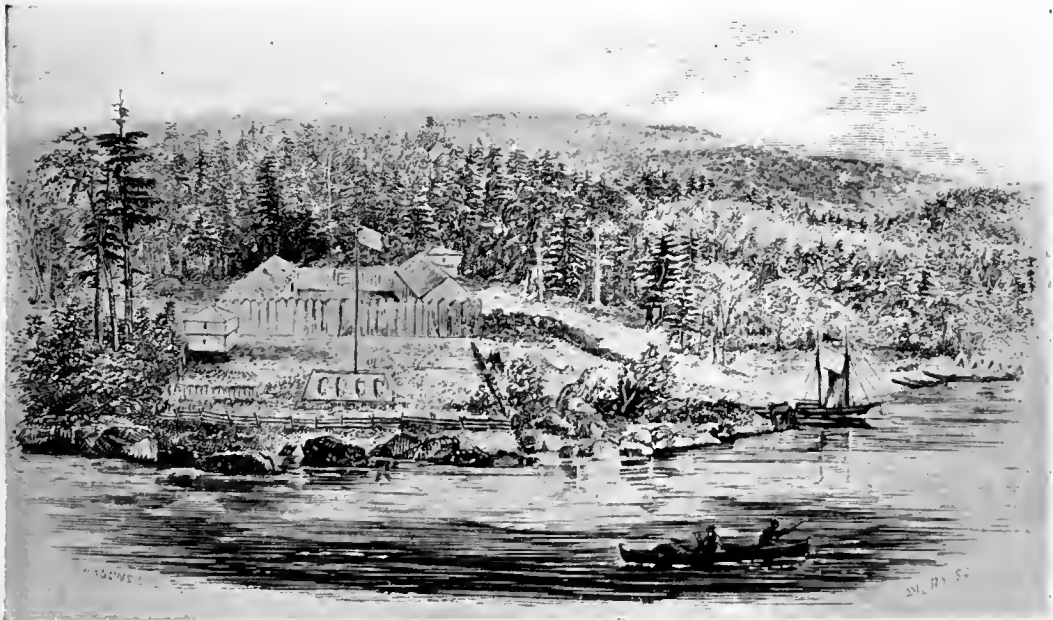
WILLIAM CLARK

One of the leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition—Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society



JOHN JACOB ASTOR

The founder of Astoria—Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society



ASTORIA IN 1811

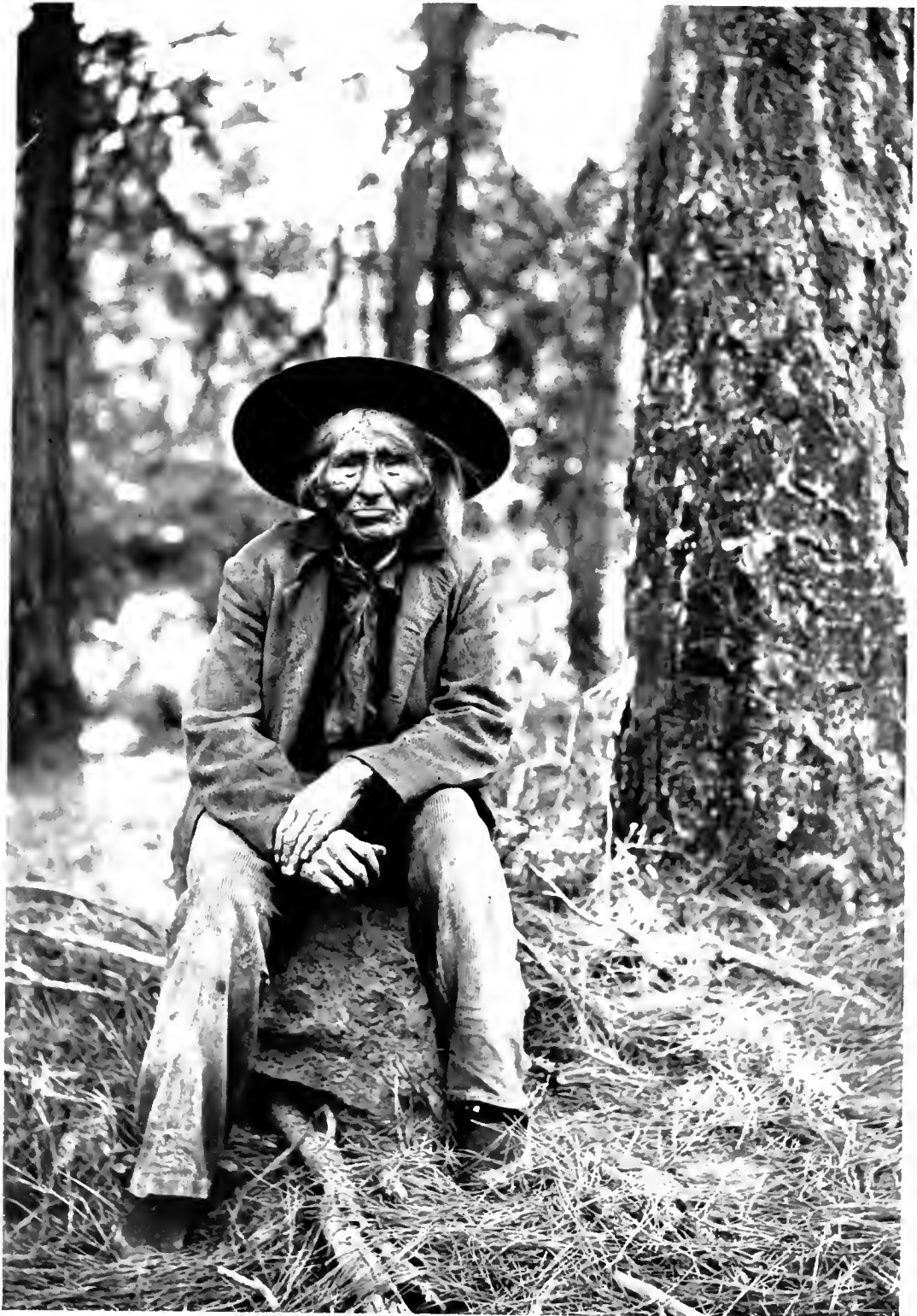
From Franchere's "Narrative of the Founding of Astoria," published in New York in 1854, being an English translation from the original French edition which appeared in 1810—Mr. Franchere was one of Mr. Astor's clerks at the founding of Astoria

Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Himes










TIMOTSK (JAKE HUNT), HEREDITARY CHIEF OF THE KLIKITATS

The only Indian survivor who, as a lad, saw the Lewis and Clark Expedition as It gilded down the Columbia River in 1805-6

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## Beginnings of Our Empire on the Pacific



ing a record of the native races as rapidly as limited appropriations will permit. Their religion, their legends, their music, their tribal relations, are most admirably preserved in public documents issued from time to time.

\*In 1805, near the east end of Sauvie's (Wapato) Island on the Willamette River, there was a population of eight hundred natives, the Multnomahs,† after whom a County and the beautiful Falls on the Columbia River were named. These were the remains of a large nation and together with adjacent tribes aggregated a total of two thousand, two hundred and sixty souls. In 1884 the race had disappeared. The dead, however, were there in large numbers. There is an interesting legend of this tribe. The great War Chief of the Multnomahs had his wigwam here until called by death. His burial was totally unlike the usual interment. A large canoe was filled with pine-knots and pitch. Upon this was placed the Chief's riches and then on top of all was laid the dead body. As night came on the inflammable material was fired, the canoe pushed out into the Columbia's current, and the strange funeral pyre started on its way, lighting up the darkness as it drifted slowly down the stream.

One of the most striking Indian legends pertains to the great natural bridge that in early days spanned the Columbia River where the Cascades now are. At that time the river flowed placidly and with unbroken current under an immense arch of stone. This great arch was called by the Indians "Tomanowos" (built by the gods). "The Great Spirit shook the earth, the bridge crashing down into the river, forming the present obstruction of the Cascades of the Columbia River." This legend is no fabric of the imagination. Balch, in his interesting book, *The Bridge of the Gods*, describes it carefully. Mr. Balch was a student of Indian history, and visited the Columbian tribes. They all tell the same story, dwelling upon it as one of the great facts of their past history.

At low water, when the freshets are over, one can look down into the transparent depths and see the submerged forest trees beneath him, standing upright just as they did before the bridge fell in and the waters closed over them. These submerged groves can be seen along both sides of the river from the Cascades and for a distance of twelve or fifteen miles above this obstruction. Dr. Condon, a recognized geological authority, refers to this legend in his book, *The Two Islands*.


In 1832 four Nez Perce Indian Chiefs left their wigwams in the Oregon Country, on the Columbia River, their objective point being St. Louis. They wished to secure the "White Man's Book of Heaven," of which they had

\*Condition of Native Race in Oregon, by John Minto, Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. I, Page 310.

†E-muith-a-no-mah, from which the name Multnomah is derived: "Indian Names," by H. S. Lyman, Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. I, Page 320.



## How Oregon Was Won to the United States



heard, and to know more of its teachings. Two of them were old and venerable, the others young and active. The older Chiefs died and were buried in St. Louis. The names of the younger Chiefs were "Hee-oh-ks-te-kin" (the rabbit skin leggins), and "H'co-a-h-co-ah-cotes-min" (no horns on his head). The last mentioned one died, while on his way home, near the mouth of the Yellowstone River. The other one reached his friends in safety, but bringing sad news of the deaths of all the rest of the party. This remarkable quest was soon published in the newspapers of the land and was read with intense interest by thousands. To some it was a matter of no consequence but to the missionary organizations it was a call from God, the "Great Spirit" of all. Jason Lee and a party of Methodists answered the "Call" first, reaching the land of opportunity in 1834. They were followed by the Presbyterians in 1835-6, under the leadership of Dr. Marcus Whitman. Rev. H. H. Spaulding and his wife were persuaded to join the Oregon mission although they had previously planned to go as missionaries to the Osage Indians. W. H. Gray was their secular manager. Mr. Gray became prominent in Oregon history and was the author of *A History of Oregon, 1792-1849*. Whitman was a bridegroom, having just married Miss Narcissa Prentiss, and now the wedding journey from New York to the Columbia River was begun. \*Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding were the first white women to cross the plains and over the Rocky Mountains to the great "River of the West." In 1814 an English woman named Barnes arrived here on the ship *Isaac Todd*, but did not remain long.

By request of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholics sent their missionaries, Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modest Demers, from Montreal, Canada, and they arrived in Vancouver November 24, 1837, after an overland journey of over four thousand miles.

Upon their arrival at Vancouver, all of the above missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, received a most cordial welcome from Dr. McLoughlin.

The advent of the white man filled the Indians with mistrust. Some of them said that "they did not wish to go to war; but if the Americans came to take away their lands and make slaves of them, they would fight so long as they had a drop of blood to shed." As a result of this feeling and a superstitious dread that poison would be given them by the Americans, there followed three Indian wars, the Cayuse, the Rogue River, and the Yakima.

The Cayuse War (1847-1850) marked and closed Oregon's career under a Provisional Government, with George Abernethy its able first governor.

The Rogue River War (1853-54) began soon after Oregon's admission as a Territory, August 14, 1848. General Joseph Lane was Oregon's first

\*Oregon Native Son, Vol. I, No. 1, Page 37.



GEORGE ABERNETHY

The first and only "Provisional" Governor of Oregon

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary  
and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society

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GENERAL JOSEPH LANE

The first Territorial Governor of Oregon

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society





## Beginnings of Our Empire on the Pacific

Territorial Governor. His love of adventure, his fine courage, and his natural gallantry made him specially fitted to deal with the Indians.

The Yakima War (1855-56) was fought by the United States troops and volunteers under the administration of Territorial Governor George L. Curry. General Philip Sheridan, then a Lieutenant, had his first responsible command during this war. He was ordered, with forty men, to proceed from Fort Vancouver to the Cascades.

\*It has been estimated that one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six white persons were killed by the Indians, between the years 1828 and 1878, in the States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

Many immigrant families were killed, the men, women, and children suffering fiendish and unspeakable outrages. One writer has said: "The perils and pains of the Plymouth Rock Pilgrims were not greater than those of the Pioneers of Oregon, and there are few incidents in history more profoundly sad than the narratives of hardship undergone in the settlement of this country."

The native race, dominating the country for ages, and in whose behalf the early missionaries came to Oregon, had practically disappeared within ten years after Jason Lee's arrival in 1834. Only a remnant was left of the vast multitude that Lewis and Clark had seen along the shores of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers. Their ancient camps and stone implements are found from the sea-shore to the mountain-tops.

Lewis and Clark estimated the number of natives in the valley of the Columbia to be forty thousand. Others estimate the entire native population in the Oregon Country to have been over one hundred thousand. In his report for 1908, the Commissioner of Indian affairs reports the Indian population in Oregon to be four thousand six hundred and ninety-one.

One naturally asks the cause of this great fatality. There are two reasons given by their own descendants. One is the ravages of small-pox, and the other is the "cold-water cure" prescribed for measles, which sent many to the happy hunting grounds. This "cure" was the plunging of the entire body, when "broken out," in cold water.

Because of its isolation, Oregon had but few friends in Congress. There were three, however, who remained true and steadfast throughout its early struggles. These were Dr. John Floyd, a member of the House of Representatives from Virginia; Thomas H. Benton, and Lewis F. Linn, both Senators from Missouri.

In 1820 Dr. Floyd took up the Oregon question in the House and after four years of persistent endeavor succeeded in having passed a bill, on De-

\*Page 499 Victor's "The Early Indian Wars of Oregon."



## How Oregon Was Won to the United States

ember 23, 1824, granting a territorial form of government. Thus far all efforts had been confined to the House. This bill, when brought to the attention of the Senate, February, 1825, was laid on the table.

Jason Lee, the American Methodist missionary, who came to Oregon in 1834, saw the necessity for a more stable and better form of government. He made several trips east in order to arouse interest and enthusiasm in behalf of additional American emigration. To him, more than any other man, is due the credit for the large increase of early population and especially for the migrations of 1839, 1840, 1842, and 1843.

The immigration of 1842 made possible the organization of the Provisional Government and the large migration of 1843 (arriving soon after the organization) clinched the Provisional feature, making it permanent and an assured fact. The caravan of 1843 was an imposing one, containing over one thousand persons, accompanied by one hundred and twenty wagons drawn by six ox teams, and several thousand loose horses and cattle.

On January 28, 1839, Senator Linn presented to the Senate an important petition from American settlers in Oregon, signed by J. L. Whitcomb and thirty others. This document was written by Jason Lee, assisted by P. L. Edwards and David Leslie, and was taken to its destination by Jason Lee.

The petitioners say: "We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great State, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens." They close by saying: "We do not presume to suggest the manner in which the country should be occupied by the Government, nor the extent to which our settlement should be encouraged. We confide in the wisdom of our National Legislature, and leave the subject to their candid deliberations."

Concerning the "Oregon Country" Daniel Webster once said: "It is so far off that a delegate to Congress could not reach the nation's capital until a year after the expiration of his term. What do we want of this vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or these great mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast, a coast of three thousand miles, rock-bound, cheerless, and uninviting, and not a harbour on it? What use have we of such a country? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific Coast one inch nearer Boston than it is now."

In 1840 another petition was received by Congress praying "the Congress of the United States of America to establish, as soon as may be, a Territorial government in the Oregon Territory." This was signed by David Leslie and about seventy others.



LEWIS FIELD LINN

A member of Congress from Virginia who cordially espoused the cause of Oregon when Daniel Webster and other American statesmen were hostile or indifferent—Reproduced through the courtesy of the "Morning Oregonian"



DOCTOR JOHN FLOYD

United States Senator from Missouri, who advocated the cause of the pioneer Americans who sought to bring Oregon into the territorial fold of the United States



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*Thomas H Benton*

A sturdy advocate of the cause of the Oregon pioneers



## Beginnings of Our Empire on the Pacific

About this time, 1840, the American and English populations were evenly divided.

Most of the important meetings, \*pertaining to the organization of the Provisional Government, convened at Champoeg, then the seat of principal settlement on the Willamette River.

About February 15, 1841, Mr. Ewing Young died. Young left property, to which there were no claimants, consisting of cattle and horses, but no will was found.

On February 17, 1841, Young's funeral occurred, at which most of the settlers were present. Immediately after the funeral a meeting was called (February 17, 1841), Rev. Jason Lee presiding, "for consultation concerning the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws and the election of officers to execute the same." (Page 5, Oregon Archives.)

The necessity for action was seen at once. The administration of the estate was a perplexing question as there was no Probate Court.

An informal preliminary meeting had been held previous to the one of February 17, but no record of it has been found. (Page 5, Oregon Archives.) It was held at Champoeg, February 7, 1841, and Rev. Jason Lee presided. (Pages 650-651, Clarke's Pioneer Days of Oregon History.)

The next meeting was held February 18, 1841, at the American Mission House, with Rev. David Leslie as chairman. A committee was appointed to form a constitution and draft a code of laws. This committee was composed of the different elements of Oregon's population. The subjects of Great Britain and citizens of the United States, together with Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries, were represented. I. L. Babcock was appointed Supreme Judge, with probate powers. George W. Le Breton was chosen Clerk of Courts and Public Recorder, and other, minor officers were elected. The assembly then adjourned, "to meet on the first Tuesday of June at the New Building near the Catholic Church." On Tuesday, June 1, 1841, the meeting was held at the place designated. The Committee on Constitution and Laws reported "that no meeting had been held, consequently no report had been prepared." The Committee was thereupon instructed to report at an adjourned meeting, "on the first Tuesday in October next."

Political dissensions arose and as a result neither the Committee nor Assembly met again. Nothing more could be done till the arrival of more Americans. There were two sentiments, one strongly American, the other strongly British.

The Hudson Bay Company's influence was well established and hence when the Americans came they were looked upon as intruders—although

\* Much of the data of the meeting of May 2, 1843, was given to the writer by F. X. Matthieu, the sole survivor, in a personal interview on January 14, 1910.



## How Oregon Was Won to the United States

Great Britain had never made a definite claim to that portion of Oregon lying south of the Columbia River.

Two years elapsed when, early in 1843, the Provisional Government project was again taken up. In order to avoid the question of national sovereignty the call for the meeting was carefully worded. In fact, deception was used in its issuance.

On February 2, 1843, a public meeting was held at the Oregon Institute, "to take into consideration the propriety of adopting some measures for the protection of our herds, etc., in this country." (Page 8, Oregon Archives). It was then moved that a general meeting be called on the first Monday in the next March, at the residence of Joseph Gervais. This meeting was held and concerted steps were taken for the destruction of wild animals. These two latter gatherings have also been referred to as the "Wolf Meetings." A committee of twelve was then appointed "to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."

\*The committee was to report at a general meeting at Champoeg, May 2, 1843. The day of events had now arrived. About an equal number of American citizens and British subjects and their sympathizers came together.

The meeting was held in a store building belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, just over the bluff at the Champoeg boat-landing. This old historic structure has since disappeared through the action of the elements. Mr. Matthieu assisted in the construction of the building.

The room in which the meeting convened was about twelve by twenty feet—not large enough to contain the delegates. Those inside were mostly Americans, including the presiding officer, Dr. Ira L. Babcock, and the secretary, G. W. Le Breton. The meeting, however, was informal, being called to order in the house, but the final vote being taken outside.

Mr. F. X. Matthieu says that the two clergymen, Rev. Jason Lee and Father Blanchet, prominent leaders in this contest, were not present at the meeting of May 2, 1843. It was a stroke of diplomacy on Lee's part, as it was believed his presence would have provoked unfriendly opposition, and the loss of a few votes would have meant defeat.

The adherents of Britain were in the open field about three or four rods from the building in question. Most of these voters were French or French Canadians and did not understand the English language. They had been carefully trained by Father F. N. Blanchet and his assistants to vote "No" to every motion made, even if by voting in the affirmative their point would have been carried; and it was invariably "No," much to the amusement of

\* Oregon Archives, pages 14-15; Gray's History of Oregon, pages 279-280; Gaston's History of Portland, pages 109-113.

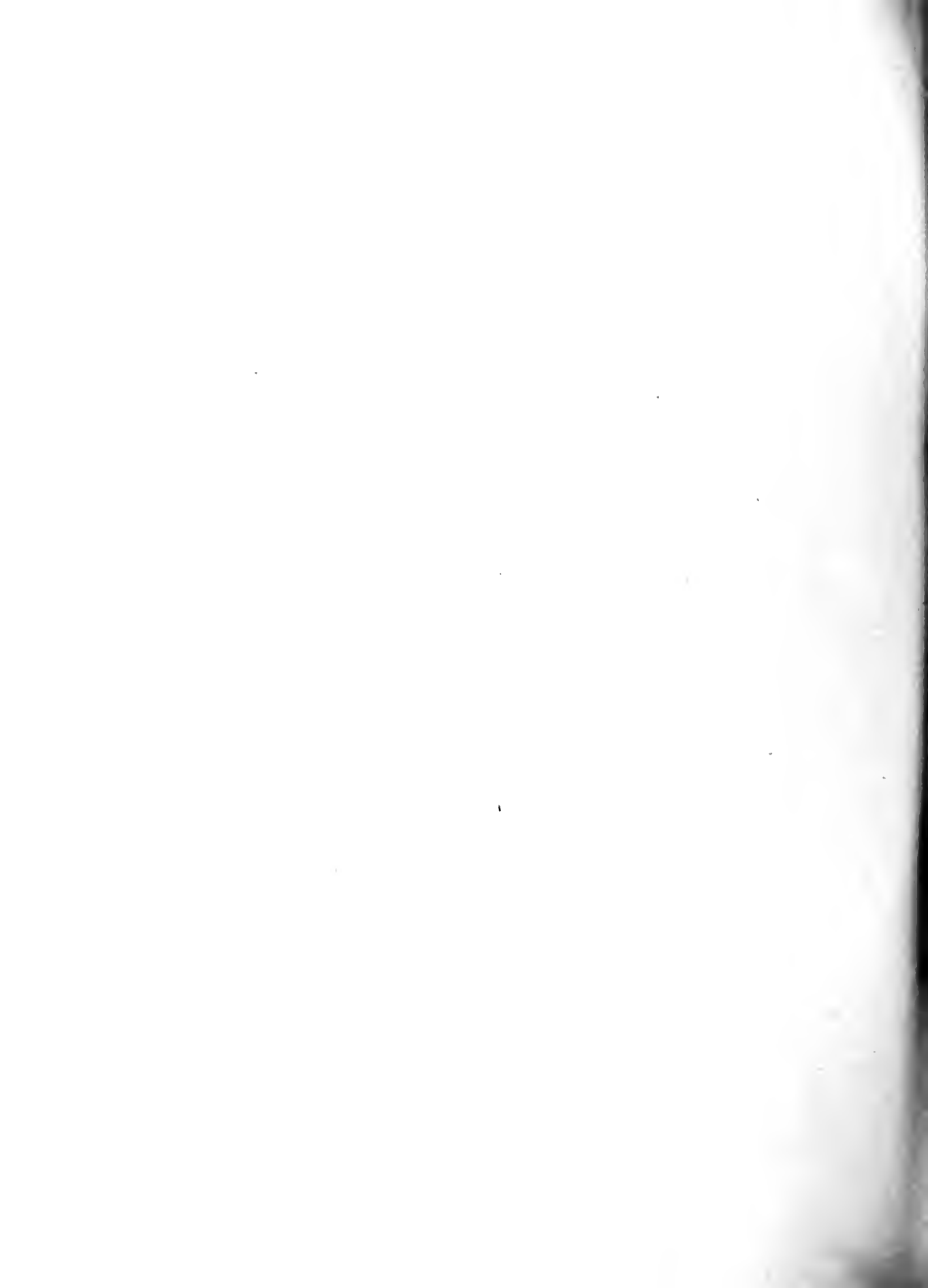




F. X. MATTHEI

He stood in line with Joseph L. Meek and is the surviving member of the assembly that organized the Provisional Government of Oregon

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by the "Morning Oregonian"








W. H. GRAY

Active in winning Oregon for the United States by organizing the Provisional Government and the author of "Gray's History of Oregon"

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society



## Beginnings of Our Empire on the Pacific



the Americans who made motions in order to test the knowledge of these trained voters. The record of the meeting says: "Considerable confusion was existing in consequence." Dr. Ira L. Babcock took the chair and asked for the Committee's report. It reported in favor of a political organization and to continue until the United States establish a territorial government. Immediately following the Committee's report, was submitted a written address\* by the Canadian citizens of Oregon who were opposed to organizing a Provisional government, favoring an Independent one instead. It consisted of seventeen articles and was signed by its author, Father F. N. Blanchet, together with forty-nine others.

The following are a few extracts from this quaintly worded, historic document.

The preamble: "We, the Canadian citizens of Wallamet, considering with interest and reflection the subject which unites the people at the present meeting, present to the American citizens, and particularly to the gentlemen who called said meeting, the unanimous expression of our sentiments of cordiality, and desire of union and inexhaustible peace between all people, in view of our duty and the interest of the new colony, and declare—

"1st. That we wish for laws, or regulations, for the welfare of our persons, and the security of our property and labors."

"5th. That we do not wish a provisional mode of government, too self-interested, and full of degrees, useless to our power, and overloading the colony instead of improving it; besides, men of laws and science are too scarce, and have too much to do in such a new country."

"11th. That we consider the country free, at present, to all nations, till government shall have decided; open to every individual wishing to settle, without any distinction of origin, and without asking him anything, either to become an English, Spanish, or American citizen."

"14th. That we do not forget that we must make laws only for necessary circumstances. The more laws there are, the more opportunities for roguery for those who make a practice of it; and, perhaps, the more alterations there will be some day."



Mr. Matthieu says that Father Blanchet was a splendid man and a Canadian patriot taking part in the Papineau Rebellion in 1836-7. For his activity in this uprising he was imprisoned in Montreal for three days. Matthieu was also a follower of Papineau before coming to Oregon.

When the motion, relative to the Committee's report, was put it was declared lost. The vote, however, was so close that the Chairman recalled his decision. By this time votes had been counted. Said Le Breton, "We can

\* Oregon Archives, page 12; Gray's History of Oregon, pages 273-275; Gaston's History of Portland, pages 110-111.



## How Oregon Was Won to the United States



risk it; let us divide and count." "I second that motion," said W. H. Gray. Whereupon more confusion than before resulted; the opponents of organization continuing to mix freely with the friends of organization, earnestly arguing against it, for the purpose of preventing a decision. This state of indecision and confusion continued for ten or fifteen minutes, when Secretary Le Breton and Etienne Lucier sought out Joseph L. Meek and earnestly requested him to do something to divide the disputants. Meek responded promptly and proved himself the man for the occasion. Stepping to one side, away from the turbulent crowd, swinging his hat in the air and sounding the war-whoop, he shouted loudly: "Divide! Divide! Who's for a Divide! All in favor of the American Flag follow me!" The effect was electrical. The appeal to the flag was not in vain. The Americans were quickly in line by his side. The issue was clear-cut. The opposing sides were almost equal. The counting had begun and before it was half done F. X. Matthieu left the Canadian ranks to join Meek, taking a position alongside of Lucier, another Canadian who favored the Provisional idea; and by this act was the day saved to the Americans. Fifty-two stood with Meek and fifty with the opposition. The vote was thus announced. "Three cheers for our side," sang out old Joe Meek. It is needless to say that they were given with a will.

A greater part of the dissenters withdrew and in a short time mounted their horses and rode away. The Americans at once proceeded to complete the organization under the able Chairmanship of Dr. Babcock. Officers were elected and a legislative committee was appointed.

Many Indians witnessed this famous and historic gathering. They were told that the "Bostons" (Americans) would have a big meeting and that the English and French would be there to oppose them.

In this manner was a government established in Oregon—the first government on the Pacific Coast within the bounds of the United States.

The late H. W. Scott, Editor of the *Oregonian*, in an address at the unveiling of the Champoeg Monument, May 2, 1901, said: "It was a victory of the American spirit, asserted by a courageous few, at this remotest outpost of the American Republic. Honor to the spirit and courage of Joseph L. Meek; honor to the leadership and memory of one who, though wholly without conventional culture, and lacking even in the elementary parts of school education, proved himself the man for the place and time."

The actors in this important drama have all passed away save one, F. X. Matthieu, who stood in line with Joe Meek. Mr. Matthieu is ninety-four years of age, and resides in Portland, Oregon.

The early differences have disappeared like mist before a rising sun. All are now united under one flag and with the determination to make of this State a great American Commonwealth.



JOSEPH L. MEEK

Calling out, "Divide! Divide! Who's for a Divide?" he brought to a crisis the action which won Oregon for the United States

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society





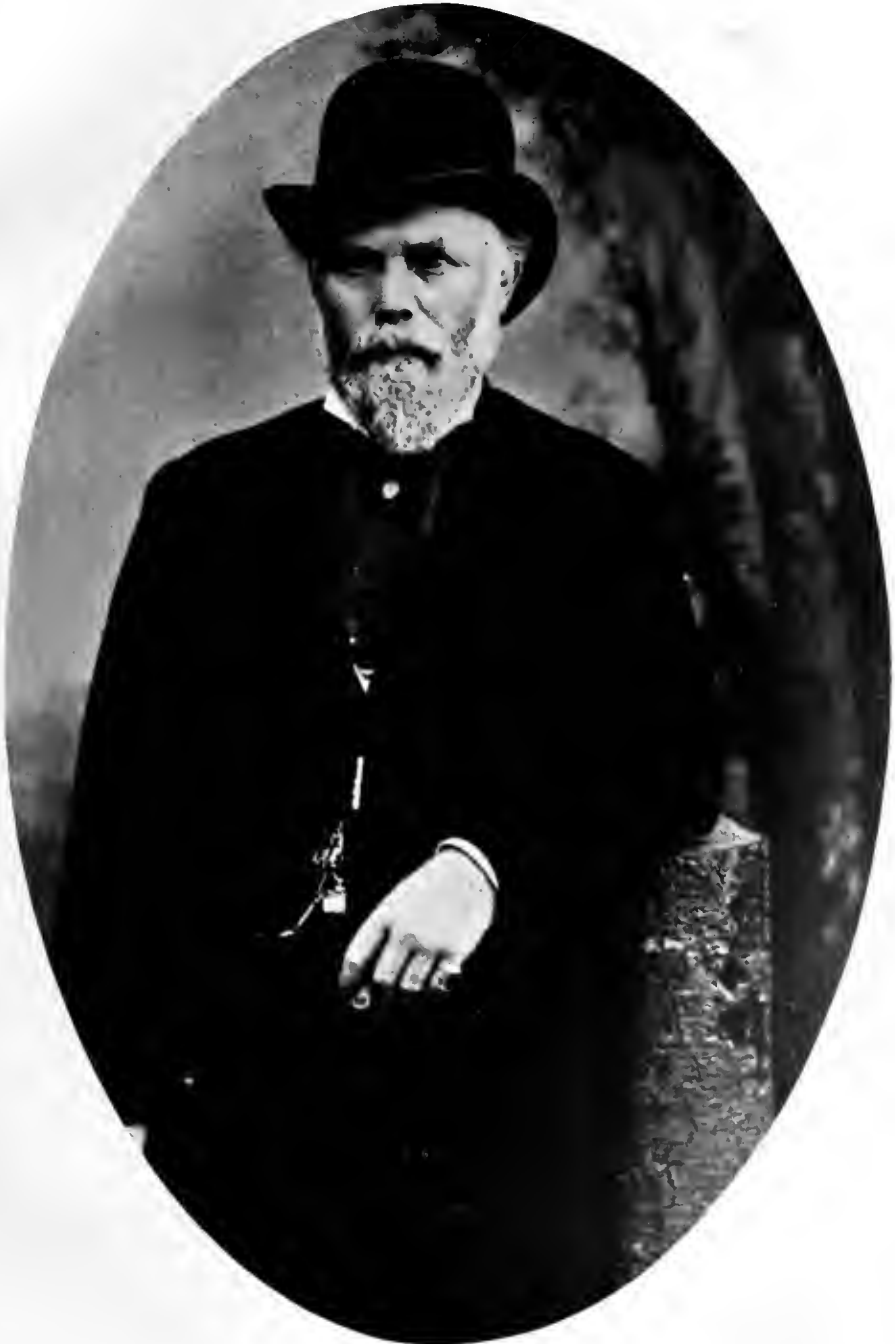




REVEREND JASON LEE

The pioneer missionary and colonizer who performed heroic tasks to win Oregon for the United States

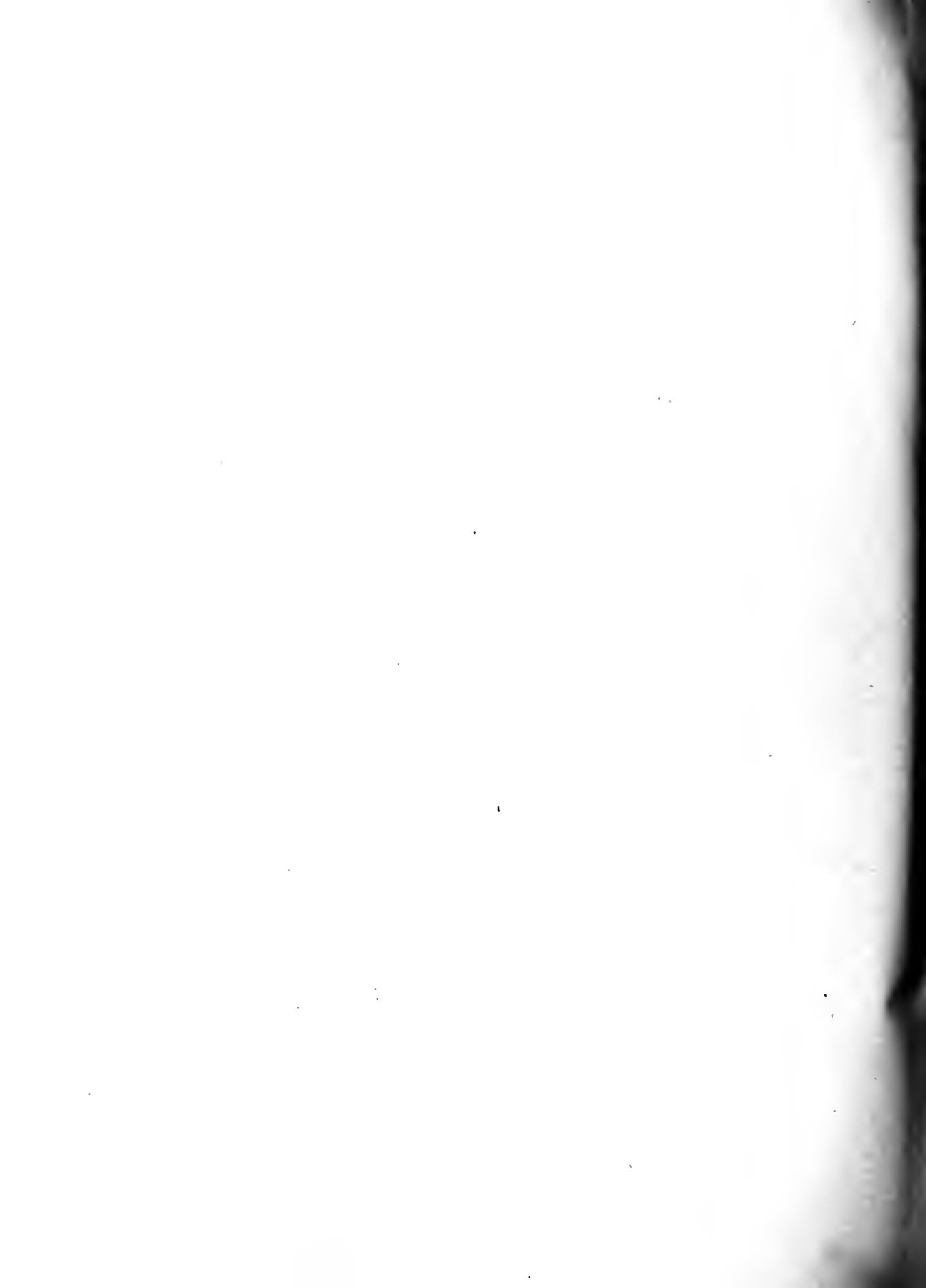
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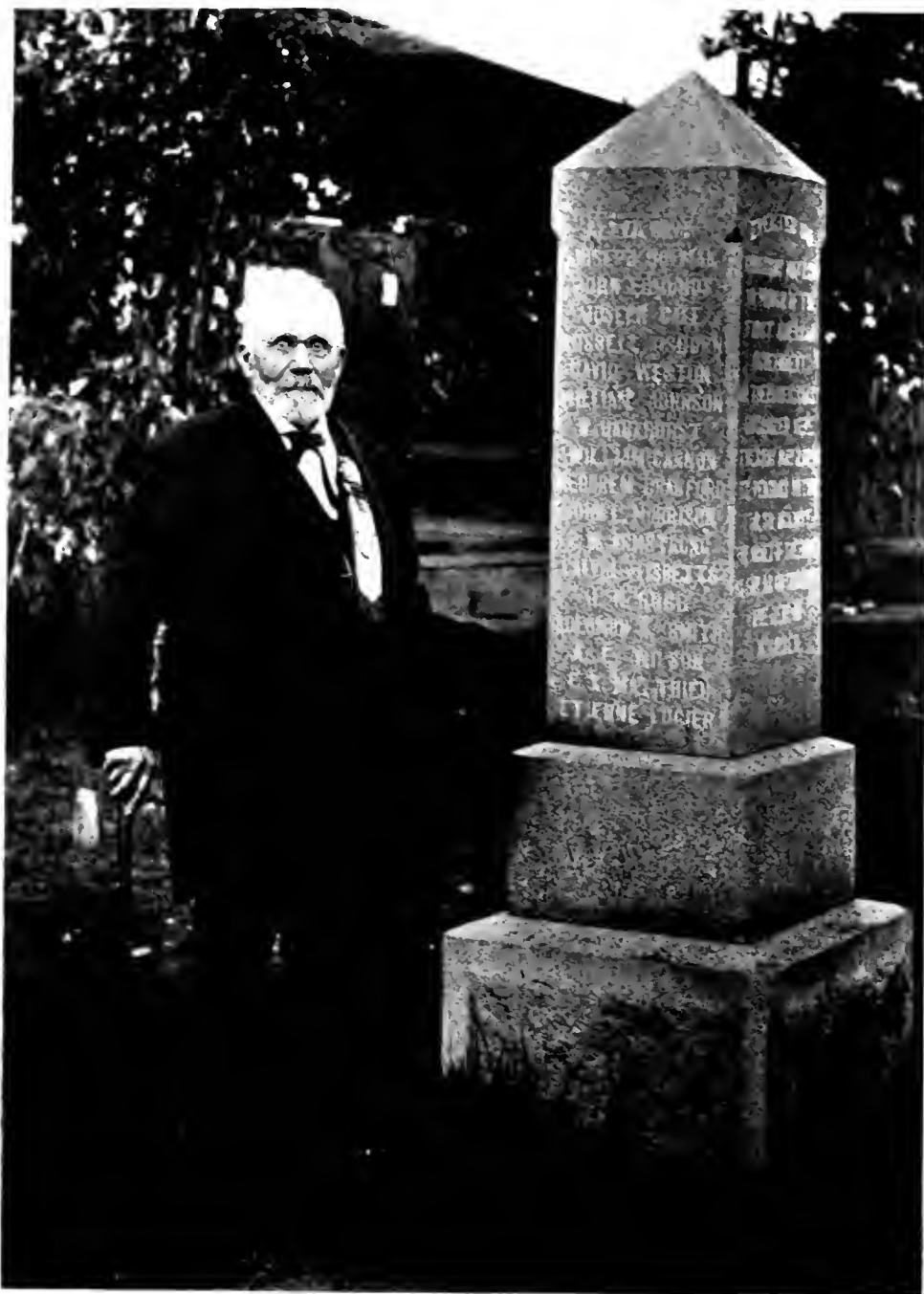
JOHN WHITTAKER

The first State Governor of Oregon

Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant  
Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society







F. X. MATTHIEU AND THE CHAMBOEG MONUMENT

The monument marks the spot where the vote was taken, May 2, 1859, for the organization of Oregon as a part of the United States

Reproduced from a photograph furnished by Mr. George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society



## The Battle of Fort Griswold

Heroic Defence of Groton and New London in the War for American Independence & British Forces Led by Benedict Arnold Against His Former Neighbors & Gallantry of Colonel Ledgard and Splendid Record of the Avery Family & Memorial Dedicated to the American Soldiers Who Fought and Fell at Griswold

BY

MABEL CASSINE HOLMAN

Historian of the Anna Warner Bailey Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Groton and Stonington, Connecticut



ON September 6, 1911, there was dedicated at Fort Griswold, Connecticut, a Memorial Gateway bearing tablets of bronze on which are inscribed the names of brave men—the heroes of a well-fought fight—who gave their strength, and, many of them, their lives, in the defence of Groton and New London on 6 September, 1781. The Gateway is the entrance to Fort Griswold Park and has been there placed as a result of a bill passed by the Connecticut Legislature. The dedication of the Gateway was attended by Governor Baldwin, Lieutenant-Governor Blakeslee, and many other distinguished officials and citizens. The presentation of the keys of the Gateway was made to the Governor by Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, President of the Fort Griswold Tract Commission. Her speech was as follows:

“Your Excellency: Included in the business which was transacted by the Connecticut General Assembly in 1909, was the passage of a bill relating to the public reservation known as the Fort Griswold Tract. By virtue of this legislative act the State Commission in charge of this historic landmark was empowered to do whatsoever might be deemed necessary and suitable for the preservation of the old forts, and for such restorations and improvements as might legitimately come within the limits of the National and State laws under which this particular tract is governed. I now have the honor to report to Your Excellency that a goodly part of the pleasant duty delegated to the Commission has been performed, and that a brief statement concerning it will be presented during the general exercises. My present mission concerns this memorial entrance to the tract of land which environs the upper and lower forts.

“This Gateway, with its bronze tablets bearing the names, not only of the killed, but of every man who had any part in the Battle of Groton Heights, is the gift of the State of Connecticut, in commemoration of the heroic defence of the old fort by one hundred and sixty-five American patriots against



# The Fight and Massacre at Fort Griswold

an assault by approximately eight hundred British soldiers, on September the Sixth, 1781.

"In obedience to the requirements of a bill passed by the United States Congress in 1902, the design for this Gateway was submitted to, and received the approval of, the Secretary of War. If the substantial character of the memorial, its simple dignity, and artistic merit meet with the approval of the Governor and other patriotic citizens of Connecticut, the Fort Griswold Tract Commission will feel amply repaid for its labor of love.

"And now, Sir, I have the great satisfaction of presenting to you the key to the entrance, and, in behalf of the Fort Griswold Tract Commission of Connecticut, to invite you to unlock the gates and to declare the formal opening to the public of Fort Griswold Park."

When Governor Baldwin unlocked the gates the assembled guests and the people entered. At the spot where fell the gallant Colonel Ledyard, the Commander of the Fort, a wreath was given to Mrs. Kinney by two boys, Melvin Douglas and Owen Miner, both of whom are descended from ancestors who fought in the famous battle. Mrs. Kinney presented the wreath to Governor Baldwin, who reverently laid it upon the ground where Colonel Ledyard died.

This dedication of Fort Griswold Gateway is one of the many praiseworthy instances which all loyal Americans are glad and proud to note of the erection of permanent and fitting memorials throughout the land to perpetuate the name and fame of American heroes.—*The Editor.*





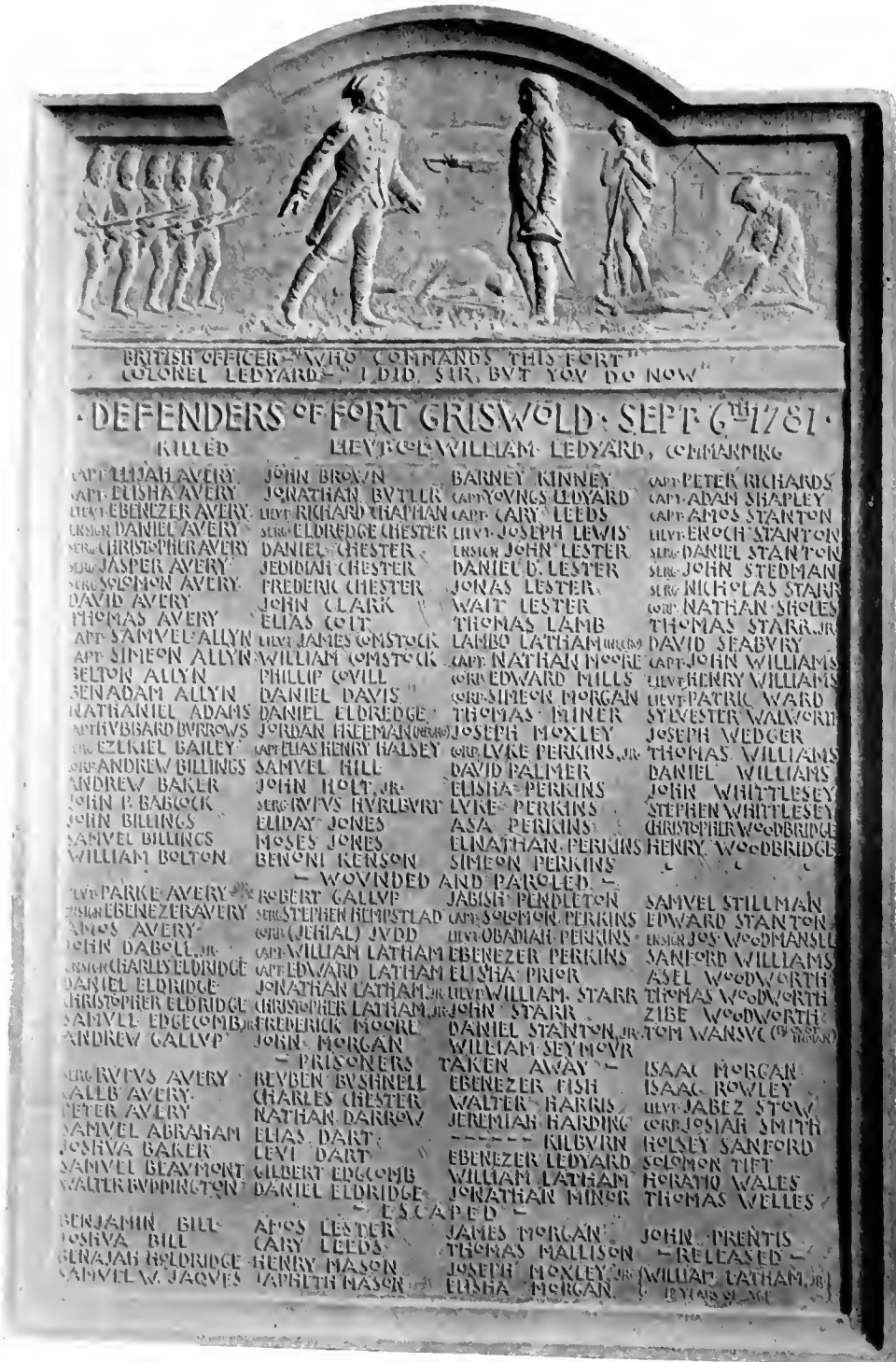


BRONZE TABLET COMMEMORATIVE OF THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF FORT GRISWOLD BY THE MEN OF GROTON IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

548







BRITISH OFFICER - WHO COMMANDS THIS FORT -  
COLONEL LEDYARD - I DID, SIR, BUT YOU DO NOW

DEFENDERS OF FORT GRISWOLD - SEPT. 6<sup>TH</sup> 1781.

- KILLED  
 LEVY COL. WILLIAM LEDYARD, COMMANDING
- |                         |                          |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| CAPT. ELIJAH AVERY      | JOHN BROVYN              | BARNEY KINNEY           | CAPT. PETER RICHARDS   |
| CAPT. ELSHA AVERY       | JONATHAN BUTLER          | CAPT. YOUNG LEDYARD     | CAPT. ADAM SHAPLEY     |
| LT. EBENEZER AVERY      | LT. RICHARD THATHAN      | CAPT. CARY LEEDS        | CAPT. AMOS STANTON     |
| ENSLN. DANIEL AVERY     | SERG. ELDRIDGE CHESTER   | LT. JOSEPH LEWIS        | LT. EROCH STANTON      |
| SERG. CHRISTOPHER AVERY | DANIEL CHESTER           | ENSLN. JOHN LESTER      | SERG. DANIEL STANTON   |
| SERG. JASPER AVERY      | JEDIDIAH CHESTER         | DANIEL D. LESTER        | SERG. JOHN STEDMAN     |
| SERG. SOLOMON AVERY     | FREDERICK CHESTER        | JONAS LESTER            | SERG. NICHOLAS STARR   |
| DAVID AVERY             | JOHN CLARK               | WAIT LESTER             | CORP. NATHAN SHOLES    |
| THOMAS AVERY            | ELIAS COIT               | THOMAS LAMB             | THOMAS STARR, JR.      |
| APT. SAMUEL ALLYN       | LT. JAMES COMSTOCK       | LAMBO LATHAM            | DAVID SEABRY           |
| APT. SIMEON ALLYN       | WILLIAM COMSTOCK         | CAPT. NATHAN MOORE      | CAPT. JOHN WILLIAMS    |
| BELTON ALLYN            | PHILLIP COVILL           | CORP. EDWARD MILLS      | LT. HENRY WILLIAMS     |
| BENADAM ALLYN           | DANIEL DAVIS             | CORP. SIMEON MORGAN     | LT. PATRIC WARD        |
| NATHANIEL ADAMS         | DANIEL ELDRIDGE          | THOMAS MINER            | SYLVESTER WALTON       |
| MR. W. BISARD           | JORDAN FREEMAN           | JOSEPH MOXLEY           | JOSEPH WEDGER          |
| MR. EZRA BAILEY         | CAPT. ELIAS HENRY HALSEY | CORP. LYKE PERKINS, JR. | THOMAS WILLIAMS        |
| SERG. ANDREW BILLINGS   | SAMUEL HILL              | DAVID PALMER            | DANIEL WILLIAMS        |
| ANDREW BAKER            | JOHN HOLT, JR.           | ELISHA PERKINS          | JOHN WHITTLESEY        |
| JOHN P. BABCOCK         | SERG. RYMS HYRLEVRI      | LYKE PERKINS            | STEPHEN WHITTLESEY     |
| JOHN BILLINGS           | ELIDAY JONES             | ASA PERKINS             | CHRISTOPHER WOODBRIDGE |
| SAMUEL BILLINGS         | MOSES JONES              | ELNATHAN PERKINS        | HENRY WOODBRIDGE       |
| WILLIAM BOLTON          | BENONI KENSON            | SIMEON PERKINS          |                        |
- WOUNDED AND PAROLED -
- |                        |                         |                       |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| LT. PARKE AVERY        | ROBERT GALLVP           | JABISH PERDLTON       | SAMUEL STILLMAN         |
| SERG. EBENEZER AVERY   | SERG. STEPHEN HEMSTAD   | CAPT. SOLOMON PERKINS | EDWARD STANTON          |
| AMES AVERY             | CORP. (JERIAL) JUDD     | LT. OBADIAH PERKINS   | ENSLN. JOS. WOODMANSLE  |
| JOHN DABOLL, JR.       | CAPT. WILLIAM LATHAM    | EBENEZER PERKINS      | SANFORD WILLIAMS        |
| SERG. CHARLES ELDRIDGE | CAPT. EDWARD LATHAM     | ELISHA PRIOR          | ASEL WOODWORTH          |
| DANIEL ELDRIDGE        | JONATHAN LATHAM, JR.    | LT. WILLIAM STARR     | THOMAS WOODWORTH        |
| CHRISTOPHER ELDRIDGE   | CHRISTOPHER LATHAM, JR. | JOHN STARR            | ZIBE WOODWORTH          |
| SAMUEL EDGECOMB        | FREDERICK MOORE         | DANIEL STANTON, JR.   | TOM WANSVC (C. STANTON) |
| ANDREW GALLVP          | JOHN MORGAN             | WILLIAM SEYMOUR       |                         |
- PRISONERS TAKEN AWAY -
- |                   |                 |                  |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| SERG. RYMS AVERY  | REYBEN BUSHNELL | EBENEZER FISH    | ISAAC MORGAN       |
| CALB AVERY        | CHARLES CHESTER | WALTER HARRIS    | ISAAC ROWLEY       |
| PETER AVERY       | NATHAN DARROW   | JEREMIAH HARDING | LT. JABEZ STOW     |
| SAMUEL ABRAHAM    | ELIAS DART      | KILBURN          | CORP. JOSIAH SMITH |
| JOSHUA BAKER      | LEVI DART       | EBENEZER LEDYARD | HOLSEY SANFORD     |
| SAMUEL BLAYMONT   | GILBERT EDGOMB  | WILLIAM LATHAM   | SOLOMON TIFT       |
| WALTER BODDINGTON | DANIEL ELDRIDGE | JONATHAN MINER   | HORATIO WALES      |
|                   |                 |                  | THOMAS WELLES      |
- ESCAPED -
- |                   |               |                 |                     |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| BENJAMIN BILL     | AMOS LESTER   | JAMES MORGAN    | JOHN PRENTIS        |
| JOSHUA BILL       | CARY LEEDS    | THOMAS MALLISON | RELEASED -          |
| BENJAMIN BODRIDGE | HENRY MASON   | JOSEPH MOXLEY   | WILLIAM LATHAM, JR. |
| SAMUEL W. JACQUES | APHILTH MASON | ELISHA MORGAN   | BY APPOINTMENT      |

BRONZE TABLET ON THE MEMORIAL GATEWAY OF THE FORT GRISWOLD TRACT



LISTEN, and you shall hear the tale of the Battle of Fort Griswold, fought on Groton Heights near the close of the Revolutionary War, September 6, 1781. Overlooking the beautiful harbor of New London stands a towering granite monument near Fort Griswold, in memory of the men who took part in the battle. Seen through the interval of the years their deeds stand out as one of the finest tests in America of courage, true manhood, and loyalty to their country,—and, no less, the action of their wives and sweethearts who bravely bade them God-speed as they hurriedly left their homes on the morning of the fight. During the Revolutionary War Connecticut had given of her best to aid in the great struggle for liberty and freedom, sending 32,000 men when the Colony numbered but 40,000, a larger proportion than any other Colony. Connecticut had also been ever ready to answer the calls of the Continental Congress and General Washington, who turned for consultation to her governor, Jonathan Trumbull, “in every painful emergency.” Beacon-fires and an alarm of two guns had been arranged to call the military companies within a day’s march of her coast, at any moment, while guard-boats patrolled the shore.


The British had learned from a number of attacks that the people of Connecticut “rallied like the inhabitants of a hornet’s nest,” when molested. Although their war vessels had often singly, and many times in great fleets, sailed through the Sound, the people of Groton and New London had thus far dwelt in comfort and safety; but it was a well-known fact that the British had long looked upon New London with an envious eye, situated as it was within an hour’s sail of the ocean, at the mouth of the Thames River, where large supplies, foreign and domestic, were frequently gathered, and where she was able at a moment’s warning to send her ships up the river to places of safety. Adam Shapley had been appointed Captain of Fort Trumbull, situated on the New London side of the river, and William Latham, Captain of Fort Griswold, opposite, a much more formidable work, occupying a commanding position on Groton Heights, while Colonel William Ledyard was placed in command of the district embracing both sides of the river.

In the latter part of the summer of 1781 New London contained a rich store of supplies, and there had just been brought in the merchant ship, *Hannah*, a prize worth \$400,000 which was a great loss to the New York city tories. One of the causes which led the British to make the attack upon New London and Groton at this time may have been to capture or destroy these treasured stores, especially the prizes from the *Hannah*, another, to divert Washington from carrying on the plan of his campaign in the South where he was hastening to meet Cornwallis. The late General Joseph R. Hawley, United States Senator from Connecticut, who made the centennial address at Groton Heights





## The Fight and Massacre at Fort Griswold




in 1881, seriously doubted the latter, and speaks of Sir Henry Clinton as reporting that on the second of September he was not certain of the change in Washington's plans, while on the sixth he wrote that it was no longer a secret that Washington was embarking 4,000 troops for Cornwallis. As the British fleet was seen off Stamford on the fourth, and it must have taken two or three days to prepare the New London expedition, General Hawley believed that Clinton had ordered the movement thinking Washington was meditating some attack against Staten Island and New York, and that he could check reinforcements from Connecticut and New England. The tory "Judge" speaks of Arnold's plundering expedition as being planned by Mr. Smith, the chief justice of New York who gained great credit by its success, as a proof of his loyalty to his sovereign, although an American.

There was one other motive. At this time Benedict Arnold was idle and impatient, and, if the British were to make an attempt to enter and invade New England, reclaiming it for England, what better plan than to put Arnold, who was born in Norwich and familiar with this part of the country, in command against his old friends and neighbors?

Which of these reasons is correct will probably never be known, but we do know that the expedition was planned, and the charge of the troops given to Benedict Arnold, with Captain Beazley, in the *Amphion*, commanding the naval forces. On the afternoon of September 4, 1781, the fleet, consisting of transports and sloops-of-war, weighed anchor and with a fair wind proceeded down the Sound toward New London. The following day it came to anchor near the Long Island shore, directly opposite and about thirty miles from New London. The British officers, calculating upon the south wind, which during the summer along the New England coast blows from noon until about three in the morning with a regularity almost unbroken except by storms, expected to arrive off the town shortly after midnight, and they accordingly weighed anchor at seven o'clock in the evening.

Let us glance at the town of Groton this fifth of September, 1781. A number of inhabitants had returned from the war, or were at home on a furlough (among those killed in Fort Griswold the following morning, fourteen bore the title of Captain, as also three who were wounded), so that there was a general rejoicing, with a sense of peace and safety. The usual every day tasks had been taken up, and Captain William Latham was building himself a new house. In the early evening, when work was put aside, neighbors and friends gathered here and there in little groups, discussing affairs and talking over the latest war news. Lieutenant Park Avery, who had been with Washington, was at home on a furlough, and it is probable he brought the word of the movement south to crush Cornwallis. If so, how eagerly and anxiously the matter was gone over; and then the more homely





## Groton's Roster of Heroic Men and Women

topics were touched upon, good weather predicted for the morrow, and the unusual occurrence of the wind blowing from the north spoken of. So they separated for the night.


It was at three the following morning that Sergeant Rufus Avery, who had charge of the garrison at Fort Griswold, saw a fleet of thirty-two vessels near the entrance of the harbor. He immediately sent word to Captain William Latham, who came at once to the fort. After viewing the fleet, he despatched a message to Colonel William Ledyard, who quickly responded. As the latter stepped into the boat to be rowed across the river he turned to those about him and said, "If I have this day to lose either life or honor, you who know me best know which it will be." Upon his arrival at the fort he ordered two guns to be discharged, the usual alarm. Captain William Latham and Sergeant Rufus Avery fired them at regular intervals, but as the sound of the second one died away, a third was discharged from the fleet, as Benedict Arnold knew well the signal for help, and that three guns were fired when a prize had been brought into the harbor, or a cause for general rejoicing. Seeing this would prevent the troops from coming to the fort, Colonel Ledyard sent swift expresses to call every captain of a militia company to hurry to their aid, and a message was also sent to Governor Trumbull.

All was now hurry and confusion in the town. Groups of people could be seen hastening to the hill near the fort, pointing to the fleet and talking in excited tones. Others were standing with clasped hands and tears running down their cheeks, as they parted never to meet again in this world. The women and children, on horse-back and in wagons, were being sent to places of safety beyond the town. Among them, Colonel Ledyard's wife, with her young baby by her side, was carried on a bed to a barge and sent up the river. The guns continued to call for assistance, always answered by a third one from the British fleet. A number from neighboring towns, fearing there was trouble at the fort, arrived in time to render aid; a few, who were plowing in the fields, left their oxen yoked; but the greater part, supposing a prize had been captured, kept on with their work, and it was not until the smoke arose from the burning of New London that the attack became generally known.

During this time the British fleet was slowly coming up the river, and it was at eight o'clock in the morning that eight hundred officers and men, with horses, guns, and carriages, were landed at Groton, and an equal number on the opposite side of the river. Captain Shapely of Fort Trumbull, seeing that he was likely to be overpowered by the enemy, fired one volley, spiked his guns, and, obeying Colonel Ledyard's orders, started with his small company of men to cross the river. A number were badly wounded before reaching Fort Griswold. The army at Groton, having been divided into two



## The Fight and Massacre at Fort Griswold



companies of four hundred each, under the charge of Colonel Eyre and Major Montgomery, appeared in sight about nine o'clock, and were immediately fired upon from the fort. Colonel Ayer led his men to the woods half a mile away, whence they ran forward in broken ranks to the shelter of the rocky height about one hundred and thirty yards from the fort, while Major Montgomery stationed his men a short distance northeast of Eyre. Shortly after, Colonel Eyre sent a flag demanding an unconditional surrender.

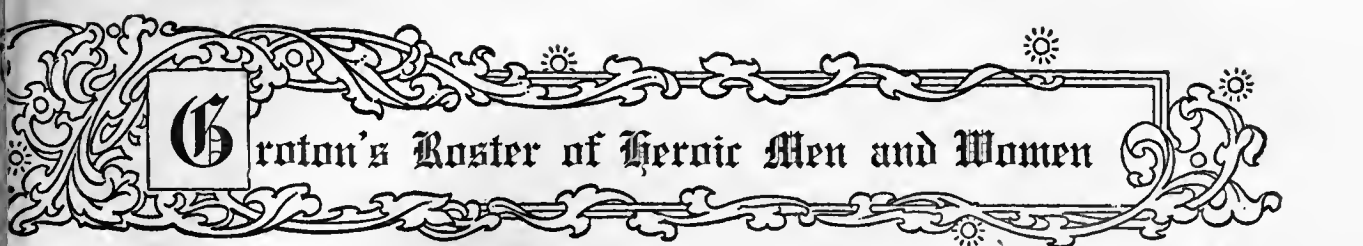
It was one of those hot summer days that come early in September; the river flowed without a sound; in the harbor lay the British fleet, while outside thousands of little waves rippled and danced in the sunlight. Save for the sound of the crickets, for a moment all was still, as Colonel Ledyard looked his fellow officers, townsmen, and old friends in the face, asking, "What shall be done?" The flag above them scarcely stirred in the breeze as the little company of one hundred and fifty-five or one hundred and sixty men, gathered in the fort, came to the decision, "We shall not surrender." Captains Elijah Avery, Amos Stanton, and John Williams carried the answer that sealed their death-warrant. Again the flags met, and the second summons added that, if the British were obliged to storm the fort, they should put martial law in force. Captain Shapley carried the reply, "We shall not give up the fort to them, let the consequences be what they may."

Earlier in the day Benedict Arnold, seeing how many vessels were being sent up the river to places of safety, despatched a staff officer to hurry Colonel Eyre in making the attack, but upon reaching a hill in New London, and seeing that Fort Griswold was "much more formidable" than he supposed, he sent another officer to countermand the order to assault. But it was too late, as Colonel Eyre had summoned the fort to surrender.


Upon receiving the answer carried by Captain Shapley, Colonel Eyre immediately put both regiments in motion, advancing in solid column. When they reached open ground, Colonel Ledyard gave the word, and an eighteen-pounder, double shotted with grape, cleared a wide space. The British then broke into a scattered skirmishing order and quickly advanced to the fort, where every man of the little garrison fought desperately. Colonel Eyre fell seriously wounded. Major Montgomery took his regiment around to the north, and entered the redoubt, where they emerged, charging upon the fort, which was now surrounded by six hundred soldiers, watching every head that rose above the parapet to load a gun or fire a musket.

Just as Major Montgomery was entering the ditch, where he had valiantly led his men, he fell dead, thrust through with a spear. His men rushed to avenge him, and the fight raged furiously. Lieutenant Park Avery turned to his eldest son, a boy of seventeen, "Tom, my son, do your duty." "Never fear, father," the boy replied, and the next instant fell. "It was in a good





## Groton's Roster of Heroic Men and Women



cause," said his father, as he carried him to the barracks. The gate of the fort was broken in, but the soldier who did this was shot dead. The enemy, four or five to one, were breaking the pickets down, shooting the defenders, and climbing up the walls. Solid shot was dashed upon their heads, there being no time to load. The flag was shot away, and the British cheered; in another instant, it was raised on a spike-pole by Luke Perkins. The enemy rushed into the northeast bastion and broke down the gate.

The day was lost. Colonel Ledyard ordered his men to throw down their arms and shouted a surrender. From the parapet the British continued to fire upon the well or wounded, armed or unarmed. Captain Shapley fell. Eyre's men came swarming in over the southwestern bastion. Montgomery's men, led by Major Bromfield, rushed into the fort. Raising and lowering his sword, Colonel Ledyard marched to meet them on the parade, when the voice of an English officer was heard, "Who commands this fort?" "I did, but you do now," said Ledyard, extending his sword to Major Bromfield. The next instant he fell dead, thrust through and through.


Honorable warfare fled in one moment. The British killed and wounded nearly every man in the fort. Colonel Ledyard's nephew received a shattered knee and thirteen bayonet wounds; Lieutenant Park Avery, who had lost an eye and had part of his brains torn out, was bayoneted as he lay bleeding; and Lieutenant Enoch Stanton was massacred. Insane men fired into the wounded, sheltered in the magazine. Captain Bromfield, quickly raising his sword, shouted, "Stop firing or you'll send us all to hell." The blood flowed knee deep (this alone prevented an explosion), and a British officer was seen running from side to side, crying, "Stop, stop, in the name of Heaven, stop! My soul cannot bear it." The massacre ceased.

Not more than thirty men in the garrison had been injured, and from three to six killed, before the enemy had reached the crest of the parapet. Over eighty were now dead, stretched on the parade in front of the barrack. It was one o'clock, and the British immediately began burying their dead, of whom there were about one hundred and seventy, in the ditch of a triangular work made to cover the gate. Major Montgomery was buried on the right of the gate, as they passed out of the fort. (Some years after the battle, an Irish gentleman from Montgomery's home came to America on business, having been requested by Montgomery's sisters, if his travels should bring him near the scene of their brother's death, to find his grave, and, if possible, procure his skull that it might be buried on English soil with his ancestors. Their request was complied with, and the precious relic was taken back to England by their old friend.)

Across the river, New London was burning, and the line of women and children that had been seen from the fort earlier in the day, carrying their



## The Fight and Massacre at Fort Griswold



household treasures to places of safety, had long since disappeared, but the solitary figure of Benedict Arnold still stood in the burying ground on the hill, watching the burning city and the scene at Fort Griswold opposite. After burying their dead the enemy laid a train of powder from the barracks to the magazine, intending to blow up the fort, but in this they were not successful. The wounded men of the garrison, numbering between thirty or forty, were put in one of the ammunition wagons belonging to the fort, around which a chain was fastened, the enemy proposing to drag the wagon down a long hill to the river. Not being able to hold it back they let go, and the wagon dashed down the hill, until stopped by the trunk of an apple tree near the bank of the river, where the cries of the suffering men were clearly heard in New London above the turmoil and confusion of the burning city.

Nineteen homes near the fort were in flames before the British began preparations for embarking, at sunset. Thirty-five men were carried away prisoners, and Ebenezer Ledyard, a brother of Colonel Ledyard, Major Bromfield accepted as hostage for the wounded left on parole. As the last vessel of the fleet disappeared in the gathering darkness the women of Groton and nearby towns came seeking their dead and ministering to the wounded. Among the dead, Colonel Ledyard's face is said to have been the most peaceful; near him lay the "flower of the town," young and old. There was James Comstock, aged seventy-five, and Daniel Williams of Saybrook, in his fifteenth year. Major Bromfield is charged with Colonel Ledyard's death, but the question is an open one, and the British officers never made the name public. Ebenezer Ledyard was taken prisoner to New York, where he fell under the care of Sir Guy Carlton, successor to Sir Henry Clinton, and to a son born some six years later he gave the name of Guy Carlton.

It was Fanny Ledyard who first held draughts of water and warm cocoa to the lips of the dying and wounded. As the darkness settled down, came Eunice Forsythe, the wife of Captain William Latham, with her daughter, Mary. Mrs. Latham had been brought up with great tenderness and care, and never allowed even to spin, but this night she walked three miles from the "Old Avery House," the home of her uncle, where with her children she had been sent by Captain Latham as soon as he saw the British fleet, under the charge of his slave, Larbo. Now she came seeking for news of her husband and little son, William, who had been in the fort all that dreadful day, fetching and bringing the powder, until he received the name of "Powder Monkey." Holding a lantern near the faces of the dead, Mrs. Latham sought in vain for them, and it was not until morning that she found her husband, seriously wounded, in the home of Ebenezer Avery, used as a hospital, and learned that Benedict Arnold had taken her little son prisoner. Securing a



THE MEMORIAL GATEWAY OF FORT GRISWOLD PARK



OLD AVERY HOUSE, GROTON, HOME OF SOME OF THE DEFENDERS OF FORT GRISWOLD



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OLD AVERY HOUSE, GROTON. ANCESTRAL HOME OF MANY OF THE DEFENDERS OF FORT GRISWOLD




THE GROTON MONUMENT

Many of the wounded defenders of Fort Griswold rolled down this hill



## Groton's Roster of Heroic Men and Women



rowboat Mrs. Latham crossed the river, and going to Arnold's tent demanded her child. "Take him," said Arnold, "but do not bring him up to be a d— rebel." "I shall teach him to despise the name of a traitor," she replied.

The old slave, Lambo, was found lying with thirty-three bayonet wounds among the dead in the fort, where he twice had saved the life of his master, only to lose his own. Another colored man, for there were two in the fort that day, Jordan Freeman, is credited with killing Major Montgomery. Early in the morning following the battle, came a young woman of twenty-three, Anna Warner,—who in the War of 1812 became renowned through the country as "Mother Bailey" of the "Martial Petticoat,"—searching for her uncle, who the day before had hurried to the aid of the garrison. The night had passed with no tidings brought to the home, and Anna, after early performing the outdoor work of the farm, hurried to the fort three miles distant. Here she found her uncle, dying, on the bare floor of the house where the wounded had been taken. Upon recognizing her, he called for his wife and children. Anna hurried back to the farm with the sad news, and quickly saddled the family horse, on which she placed the mother and one of the older children, and taking the baby in her arms, herself on foot, returned to the dying father and laid the child beside him. Anna Warner afterwards married Elijah Bailey, who was ordered on the day of the battle to fire the field piece in the redoubt east of the fort as long as possible, and then come inside. Stopping to spike his gun, he was shut out of the fort, but secreting himself in a corn field, saved his life.

The morning of September 6 two young men, cousins, Benadam and Belton Allyn of Allyn's Point, had started for the fort in answer to the signal guns. On their way Belton stopped to speak to his cousin, who was teaching school, and to her question where they were going with their guns so early Benadam replied, "Down to the training to see the fun." They both lost their lives, and the first Belton's mother knew of the death of her only son was when his father came home with his body on his saddle.

Sergeant Daniel Stanton, a brother of Lieutenant Enoch Stanton of Stonington, a few days before the battle had given his sweetheart a heavy, rich piece of brocaded silk for her wedding dress, which he had received from the prize ship, Hannah, as a part of his share of her cargo. A day or two later, in sorrow and tears, the dress was put away, and the little sweetheart stood by the side of a double grave, where the brothers were laid. Not as romantic, but quite as brave, was Mrs. John Hempstead, who called to her husband, as he rode from his home in answer to the alarm on the morning of the battle, "Do not let me hear that you are shot in the back, John." In the Old Avery House, built in 1656, the home of Elder Park Avery, there were carried the night of September 6 and laid upon the floor, nine dead and





## The Fight and Massacre at Fort Griswold

wounded who bore the name of Avery. Among them was Lieutenant Park Avery, who had been left for dead. As he was taken out of the fort on the shoulders of those who were collecting the bodies, he startled them by saying, "Keep step boys, keep step!" His two brothers, Jasper and Elisha, with his oldest son, Thomas, were dead, and a third brother, Ebenezer, seriously wounded.

Elder Park Avery was one of the most prominent citizens of Groton. In the beginning of the Revolutionary War he had written his four sons from Hartford, where he was a member of the Colonial Legislature, and one decidedly in favor of fighting, if necessary, for independence, "Stand by your country, as I am too old to fight myself." Elder Avery's boys had "stood by their country."

And so all through Groton and the neighboring towns were seen, during those dreadful days, processions bearing the dead and wounded to the homes and firesides they had laid down their lives to protect. Many of these heroes are sleeping near the old fort that remains very much the same as on the day of battle. As the flag softly furls and unfurls at close of day, when the deepening blue of the beautiful harbor is dotted with sails and the grass ripples through the trenches where the English soldiers lie, comes the song of the vesper sparrow, rising and falling like the notes of a silver bugle sounding "taps"—God's "taps" for all.



"The fort was an oblong square, with bastions at opposite angles, its longest side facing the river. Its walls were of stone, and were ten or twelve feet high on the lower side, and surrounded by a ditch. On the wall were pickets, projecting over twelve feet; above this was a parapet with embrasures, and within a platform for cannon, and a step to mount upon, to shoot over the parapet with small arms. In the southwest bastion was a flag-staff, and there was a triangular breastwork to protect the gate."





THE FORT GRISWOLD TRACT, 1904

A view of the Old Fort, the lower New London harbor, and Long Island Sound, from the south window of Groton Monument



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WINDY HILL MANOR

Historic home of the Stantons, near Natchez, Mississippi, where Aaron Burr was detained in custody and conveyed his romantic passion for the fair Madeline.



# The Conspiracy of Aaron Burr—A Sidelight on Mississippi History

Attempt of a Former Vice-President of the United States to Found an Empire With New Orleans as the Proposed Capital & Arrest in Mississippi and Imprisonment of Burr in Windy Hill Manor, Now the Home of Miss Elizabeth Brandon Stanton & Aaron Burr's Mississippi Romance

BY

ELIZABETH BRANDON STANTON

Windy Hill Manor, Natchez, Mississippi

Historian of the Society of Colonial Dames of Mississippi, Author of "Builder of the First American Navy," in The Journal of American History, Volume II, Number 1



ARON BURR possessed a personality of many strong, conflicting, incongruous elements, combined with a phenomenal intellect. At thirteen he was allowed, by special favor, to enter the Sophomore Class of Princeton, and at an age when most young men are about to enter college, he received his degree. He was courageous. The moment the news reached him of Lexington he joined the army. At the assault of

Quebec, the boy, Captain Burr, up to his knees in snow, staggered off the battlefield with the General's body on his back, the enemy in hot pursuit, but fifty yards behind him. After he began the study of law he was business incarnate. However, in a business transaction, he was not over nice. "Law," he affirmed, "is whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained."

In 1791 Aaron Burr was elected by the Federalist vote to the Senate. Washington disliked him and publicly admitted that he had no confidence in Colonel Burr. His implacable foe, Hamilton, stigmatized him as an "embryo Caesar," and called upon all good people to oppose him. Burr was cool, shrewd, crafty, suave, impressive, diplomatic, when it suited his purpose, and master of persuasive eloquence to forward his schemes. He possessed a graceful address, "an attractive, handsome person, and that characteristic of "Suaviter in modo sed fortiter in re," thought by Lord Chesterfield all-important and indispensable in forwarding the ambitions of a man of the world.

Aaron Burr climbed high, adroitly availing himself of the weakness of men and the frailties of women. He was talked of and voted for as a colleague of Washington and of Adams. In 1800, he received an equal number of votes, with Jefferson, for the Presidency. The vote was taken thirty-six times, and on the last ballot the Speaker announced that Jefferson had been



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lected President and Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States. Doubtless, had it not been for the untiring enmity of Hamilton, Aaron Burr would have been elected President of the United States. Hamilton left no stone unturned to thwart the ambition of Burr and succeeded in his aim.

Early in life Aaron Burr had won the reputation of an unscrupulous rake and libertine, yet his letters to his wife, still extant, are models of conjugal propriety and affection. Undoubtedly a devoted father, he simply adored his only daughter, Theodosia. Yet so debased was his moral character that he made love to a French lady while his hand was red with the blood of the patriot, Hamilton. He wrote to his daughter, Theodosia: "If any male friend of yours should be dying of ennui, recommend him to engage in a duel and a courtship at the same time."

Undeniably he possessed a fine courage. The duel between him and a Mr. Church is a sample of this. A bullet from the pistol of his antagonist struck a button on Burr's coat, passing through his vest, and only then did he accept an explanation that had been previously offered him, remarking that "An explanation might be received after shots had been exchanged, that would not have been admissible before."

On March 4, 1805, he descended from an official honor next to the highest in the land, a ruined man—ruined in honor, ruined in fortune, and in the respect of his countrymen. He wrote to his son-in-law: "I am to be disfranchised, and in New Jersey hanged. Having substantial objection to both, I shall not at present hazard either, but shall seek another country." In 1805, thwarted in ambition, embittered, infuriated, the warped, brilliant brain of Burr seethed with treasonable ambitions and plots, and he conceived those daring projects that were to render him notorious. He had the audacity, wrapt in his conceit, to deem the government imbecile.

By profuse gilded promises, he inveigled Blennerhasset, a rich, eccentric Irishman, owner of an island near Marietta, Ohio, into his wild schemes of founding an empire. He saw the military possibilities of Blennerhasset's island as an *entrepot*, and coveted his wealth to forward his aims. Having visited Louisiana, he knew that there were many disaffected in that section, who would abet his ambition to create an Empire in Mexico. New Orleans was to be the capital, he was to be dictator. He thought the western States would ultimately fall away from the Union and cast in their lot with him. The Spaniards were unquiet across the border, and he would also take advantage of their discontent.

It was a bold, brilliant, audacious scheme. There was much discontent and wrangling, especially in the territories bordering on the Mississippi, that had been recently under Spanish rule, and Burr might have achieved his ambition had he not been thwarted by the treachery of one equally as guilty



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as he. He had acquired followers, and had dazzled many, disaffected against the government, with golden visions and promises of wealth, power, and titular grandeur.

Wilkinson, senior Major-General of the United States, a pensioner of Spain for twenty years, acting the spy and traitor, drew the discontented Burr on to break up the Union; but when Burr's schemes reached out to attack Mexico, his Spanish masters were convinced that the States would be less dangerous to them than Burr, and their contemptible tool denounced his ally to the United States Government. Wilkinson posed as the savior of the Union, held on to his two thousand per annum from the Spanish King, and witnessed against Burr, to have him hanged. That Wilkinson connived with Burr up to the last hour has been proven by indubitable evidence.

As Burr sailed down the Mississippi, all was excitement and fear. Eight war vessels were prepared at New Orleans to meet Burr's expected flotilla, and troops were mobilized. Wilkinson requested Governor Claiborne to declare martial law, and had the audacity to advise him to authorize him, Wilkinson, to repress the sedition and arrest the disaffected. He hypocritically wrote: "The defeat of my forces may expose me to be overwhelmed by numbers, \* \* \* because you could not for a moment withstand the desperation and numbers opposed to us; and the brigands, provoked by the opposition, might resort to the dreadful expedient of exciting a revolt of the negroes. If we divide our forces, we shall be beaten in detail." Later he wrote Claiborne that he had received information that Burr would reach Natchez about December 20, 1806, and he added that he feared that he, Wilkinson, had been betrayed "by Burr and his rebellious band."

Governor Claiborne was too wise to be unduly impressed by Wilkinson's sensational communication, and positively refused to proclaim martial law. But the merchants of New Orleans were wild with alarm and supplied clothes and arms to volunteers enlisted for the emergency. Wilkinson demanded an embargo for six months on river traffic to the Gulf, and insisted that Claiborne should order an impressment. The men refused to enlist for six months; the Governor objected to the embargo; Wilkinson continued to indite florid and bombastic letters about putting his life and character in opposition to the treasonable and flagitious enterprise of Burr.

It was more than suspected that Wilkinson,—the ever plausible, the false to every trust, spy of spies, traitor to Burr, the Union, the Spanish, by turns,—had hopes of putting his ulterior designs in operation by first crushing Burr. Five regiments in Mississippi, a thousand volunteer troops under arms, and regulars mobilized from several posts, were awaiting breathlessly to save the nation from Burr's flotilla. Major Shaw, the naval commander of New Orleans, was ordered to concentrate most of his vessels at the port of



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Natchez to oppose the tremendous flotilla of Burr, reported to be on its way down the river. The following is from the *Natchez Herald*.

"The following vessels are now anchored in the Mississippi opposite this city:

Schooner *Revenge*, 12 guns, Captain Redd, flag vessel Commodore Shaw.

Ketch *Aetina*, 14 guns, Captain Jones.

Ketch *Vesuvius*, 14 guns, Captain Leonard.

Gunboat, No. 14, 2 guns, Captain Dexter.

Gunboat, No. 12, 2 guns, Captain Bainbridge.

Gunboat No. 13, 2 guns, Captain Alexis.

Gunboat No. 14, 2 guns, Captain Patterson.

Gun Barge *Victory*, 4 guns, Captain Henly."

Aaron Burr, accompanied by nine flat-boats bearing less than one hundred armed men,—some historians say sixty,—swept majestically down the Mississippi. Many wealthy and influential citizens in the Mississippi territory were his strong partisans, several had been his comrades in arms, and were also Federalists. Prominent among them were Colonel Benajah Osmun and Major Guion. Many bitterly denounced the President and Governor Mead. However, the majority approved their course. Wilkinson arbitrarily arrested citizens, whom he pretended to suspect of complicity in Burr's plans. Practically he established a dictatorship. Claiborne disapproved of Wilkinson's drastic measures and usurpation of power, but admitted that there were many of the "ancient Louisianians and recent American comers who would support Burr in ambitious enterprise." Wilkinson arrested, among others, the veteran General Adair and Doctor Eric Bollman, of world-wide celebrity through their attempt to liberate Lafayette from the Austrian prison of Olmutz.


The Proclamation of Cowles Mead, Acting Governor of Mississippi Territory, issued January 22, 1807, stated that "the number of Burr's friends demands the utmost vigilance and their licentiousness must be curbed." Colonel Fitzpatrick and Fleharty were stationed at the mouth of Cole's Creek to guard the river and to intercept Burr's flotilla. The latter was arrested at the mouth of Cole's Creek, in 1807, by order of Governor Mead, and was subsequently arraigned in the old town of Washington, Mississippi, on the charge of treason.

Burr learned for the first time from Judge Bruin that the Territorial authorities would oppose his descent. He wrote to Governor Mead, disavowing hostile intentions towards the Territory or the Nation, and, claiming to be *en route* to the Ouchita to colonize his lands, he declared that any attempt to obstruct him would be illegal and might provoke civil war. After addressing his troops, Governor Mead despatched his aides, the Honorable George Poindexter and William B. Shields, to interview Colonel Burr. The latter





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sneered, ridiculing the idea of his entertaining hostile views, declaring that, on the contrary, it was his intent to call on the Governor at Natchez. He nonchalantly asked if there was anything military in their appearance. The Commissioners replied that the men did not look like agriculturalists, but that they looked like the right sort of men for a military enterprise.

Burr was then distinctly informed that the Mississippi troops had been assembled with orders to oppose his advance. He replied, "I am willing to submit to the civil authorities," proposed an interview with Governor Mead, and that the Commissioners should guarantee his personal safety, permitting him to return to his boats if the Governor should not accept his terms; stipulating, also, that his boats and men should not be molested, nor should any breach of the peace, on either side, be committed.

The proposition was accepted by the Commissioners, and the house of Thomas Calvert, near the mouth of Cole's Creek, the headquarters of Colonel Claiborne, in command of the military, was designated for the interview between Colonel Burr and Governor Mead. Drastic measures, however, were taken after the receipt of the following letter from Colonel Claiborne:

"Camp Mouth, Cole's Creek, January 17th,

"Sir: Our last advices from Bayou Pierre induce us to believe that Colonel Burr's object is delay. The officers of the corps now here unanimously join me in declaring our ability to carry out all orders, and in praying you to accept no terms but unconditional surrender.

"Respectfully,


"F. L. Claiborne,  
"Colonel Commanding."

Burr was compelled to surrender unconditionally to the civil authorities and he was conducted under guard to Washington, Mississippi, the seat of government of the Territory. His boats were ordered to be searched for arms and munitions of war. His arrest occasioned great agitation in the Territory, many regarding him as the victim of the President's jealousy. Some even eulogized him, demanding his prompt discharge, hoping to share in what they believed to be his schemes of rapine and murder. Burr presented himself to Judge Rodney and gave his recognizance in the sum of five thousand dollars, with Colonel Benajah Osmun and Lyming Harding, as securities for his appearance at a called session of the Superior Court, to be held on February 2, at Natchez.

The following is the testimony of a willing witness against Burr, Jacob Denbeigh, a Sergeant in the United States Army, who had obtained a furlough, and had been kindly permitted to descend the river on Burr's flotilla. "The night the boats left Petit Gulf, I saw a man named Wylie pass into the stern of Colonel Burr's own boat with an auger and hand-ax. Shortly



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afterwards, he lowered bundles of muskets into the river by cord, through a hole bored in the gunwale of the boat." Colonel Fitzpatrick, however, after searching the boats thoroughly, reported: "I found no more arms than would be needed in making a new settlement."

When Burr was released on his recognizance, to appear before the Supreme Court of the Territory, he became the guest of Colonel Benajah Osmun, a wealthy planter who had been an officer of the New Jersey Line and was intimate with Aaron Burr. The latter awaited his trial at Colonel Osmun's home, Windy Hill Manor, situated about five miles from Natchez and two from Washington, Mississippi. Colonel Osmun was a Federalist in politics, as was his friend, Major Isaac Guion, who resided near him at the foot of the Half-way Hill. Both reposed unshaken faith in Burr, whom they had often seen tested in the "times that tried men's souls." Stern patriots and veteran soldiers both, who had fought courageously for their country, they never doubted the loyalty, truth, and integrity of their friend and comrade in arms. Nor did they suspect treason in those daily consultations that Aaron Burr held at Windy Hill Manor with the influential gentleman who visited him constantly. They welcomed the Jesuit priest, the Abbé de Veil, little dreaming that he and others met Burr by appointment, for Burr in his projected invasion of Mexico, contemplated an attempt to secure the influence of the Religious Orders.

During Burr's sojourn at Windy Hill Manor, despite his critical position, a trial for treason menacing him,—he found leisure and zest in a most romantic love adventure, which has been graphically told by the eloquent pen of the historian, J. H. T. Claiborne, in his History of Mississippi.

"Colonel Osmun lived at the place now owned by Elizabeth B. and Huldah M. Stanton and Major Guion resided at the foot of the Half-way Hill. There was a rural path between the two places, trellised with vines and shaded by evergreens. This was Burr's daily resort. Its refreshing shade and charming prospect, however, were not the only attractions. There lived at that time, near the summit of the hill, in a little vine-covered cottage, a widow lady from Virginia, whose small farm and two or three slaves were the only remnants of a large fortune. Her husband had converted his property into money, and on his way to the Territory had been robbed and murdered by the notorious Joseph Thomas Hare, a more bloodthirsty villain even than the celebrated Mason. She had but one child, Madeline, who must still be remembered by a few of our oldest citizens as a miracle of beauty. In form and feature, in grace and modesty, she was all that the old masters have ever pictured in the divine Madonna, or that artist ever dreamed of maiden loveliness. Those that saw her loved her, though she herself was never conscious of this sentiment until she listened to Aaron Burr.





View of the grounds of Windy Hill Manor where an ex-vice-president of the United States, halted on his way to seize Mexico and make it his personal empire, became infatuated with a beautiful Southern lady and impetuously made love to her

The mossy avenue of Windy Hill Manor, the beautiful Lovers' Walk of Aaron Burr and his Mississippi sweetheart, the lovely Madeline






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This reproduction of the ancient Coat-Armor of the Stantons of Windy Hill Manor is from a photograph of the old and interesting great seal still preserved by the Stantons of Mississippi. "Courage sans peur" is the Motto

Ancient seal of the Stantons of Mississippi now in the possession of Honorable Henry Buckner Galther, whose grandfather, Frederick Stanton, was a younger brother of William Stanton of the historic Windy Hill Manor, now owned by his grandchildren






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"The family were Catholics, and there Colonel Burr went to meet, by appointment, one of his numerous agents and correspondents, the Abbé Veil, a Jesuit Priest, of remarkable ability. He was born in New Orleans, in 1746, studied at Paris, and became a member of the Congregation of the Oratory. At the dissolution of that body by the French government, he returned to Louisiana, and exercised the priestly function in the parish of Attakapas. He subsequently returned to France. It is probable that Burr, in his projected invasion of Mexico, contemplated securing the influence of the religious orders, for this purpose had opened a correspondence with the Abbé, and met him by appointment at this secluded homestead. I find among the papers of Burr (left at Colonel Osmun's), several pages of a hexameter version of *Tele-machus*, in the handwriting of the Abbé in Latin, two editions of which were published in Paris.

"At length, after canvassing his situation with Colonel Osmun and several other confidential friends, Burr determined to forfeit his bond. One stormy night in February, 1807, he set forth, mounted on the favorite horse of his host. Urgent as was the necessity for expedition, Burr halted till daylight at the widow's cottage, imploring the beautiful Madeline to be the companion of his flight. He promised marriage, fortune, high position, and even hinted at imperial honors, not realizing,—even then, a fugitive and branded traitor,—the crushing downfall that impended over him. The maiden had given him her heart; she had listened to his witchery night after night, and loved him with all the fervor of a Southern nature. She would have followed him to the end of the earth, and to the scaffold, and her aged mother would freely have given her to this most captivating man,—for they looked on him as a demigod,—but, as with most of our Southern women, the principles of religion, virtue and propriety were stronger than prepossession and passion, and the entreaties of the accomplished libertine were firmly rejected.

"Baffled and disappointed he was compelled to proceed, but promised to return, and carried with him the covenant and pledge of the beautiful Madeline. She was wooed by many a lover; the young and gallant masters of large plantations of Second Creek and St. Catherine strove in vain for her hand; fortunes and the homage of devoted hearts were laid at her feet; but the Maid of the Half-way Hill remained true to her absent lover—the more so because of the rumors that reached her of his misfortunes and his guilt. She lived on the recollection of his manly beauty, and the shades he most affected were her constant haunts. At length, when he fled from the United States, pursued by Mr. Jefferson and the remorseless agents that swarm around power and authority—when he had been driven from England, and was an outcast in Paris, shivering with cold and starving for bread,—he seems to have felt, for the first time, the utter hopelessness of his fortunes. Then he





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wrote to Madeline, and in a few formal words released her from her promise. Stating that he would never return to the United States, he advised her to enter a convent, should she survive her mother.

"A year or two after this she went to Havana with Mrs. W., a highly respectable lady who then owned the property where the Christian Brothers now reside, near Natchez. Her extreme beauty, her grace and elegance, produced the greatest enthusiasm. The hotel where they put up was besieged. If she appeared on the balcony, a dozen cavaliers were waiting to salute her. When her *volante* was seen on the *Pasco* or the *Plaza de Armas*, it was escorted by Grandees of the Island. She was féted by the Governor-General; serenades and balls followed in rapid succession; and the daily homage to her beauty never ceased until the evening bells sounded the Angelus.

"Without surrendering her heart or being carried away by this universal admiration, she returned to the cottage on the Half-way Hill. She was followed there by Mr. K., an English gentleman, the head of the largest commercial house in Havana, and to him, on his second visit, she gave her hand."

Colonel Gerard C. Brandon, a Revolutionary veteran, the father of Governor Gerard Brandon, four times Governor of Mississippi and her first native-born Governor, purchased, nearly a century ago, Windy Hill Manor, where Aaron Burr enjoyed princely hospitality and awaited his trial. Colonel Brandon presented it to his daughter, Elizabeth, on her marriage with William Stanton in 1818.

Colonel Gerard Brandon was a lineal descendant of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who married the Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII, King of England. The Duke's portrait hung by the genealogical tree, on the walls of "Selma," the Brandon home in Mississippi.

The historic Half-way Hill, whereon stood the romantic cottage of Aaron Burr's lady love, was purchased by William Stanton, Senior. The cottage was torn down and its timbers were used in adding several rooms to the quaint old North Wing of the Manor. The estate of Major Isaac Guion was also purchased and added to the Manor. The Half-way Hill, also now a part of Windy Hill Manor, in early days was the favorite lookout of the Natchez Indians, the rendezvous of bandits, the scene of a daring conspiracy during Spanish rule, and the repository of hidden treasures. Windy Hill Manor is now owned by the present writer.

We left Burr attempting to make his escape, having forfeited his bond. Governor Williams of Mississippi, having returned from South Carolina, where he had been at the time of Burr's capture, issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas Aaron Burr, Esq., late Vice-President of the United States, was bound in recognizance to appear at the Supreme Court of this Territory



# The Natchez Romance of Hamilton's Slayer

himself, in the sum of five thousand dollars, and two securities each, to answer any bill of indictment that might be found against him, and to continue to appear, from day to day, until dismissed by the said Court, which he has failed to comply with, and, as it appears, has made his escape; I do, therefore, issue this, my proclamation, for apprehending the said Aaron Burr, Esq., and by the powers and authorities which I possess, will pay or cause to be paid, to any person or persons who will take the person of said Aaron Burr, and cause him to be delivered to me at this place, or to the President of the United States, the sum of two thousand dollars. Given under my hand at the town of Washington, this 6th day of February, 1807. Robert Williams."

Aaron Burr made his escape from Windy Hill Manor by night, on his host's thoroughbred horse. He rode along the Liberty, or Old Court House road, crossed Second Creek at Dunbarton, the old Isaac Dunbar plantation (afterwards the residence of Mississippi's historian, J. H. T. Claiborne, who married Miss Martha Dunbar), and proceeded thence to Mobile, where were many disaffected against the Government, and where he hoped to find a strong following. But his expectations were not fulfilled, as the conspiracy had been annihilated by his prompt arrest in Mississippi Territory.



*A. Burr.*



# Pneuma

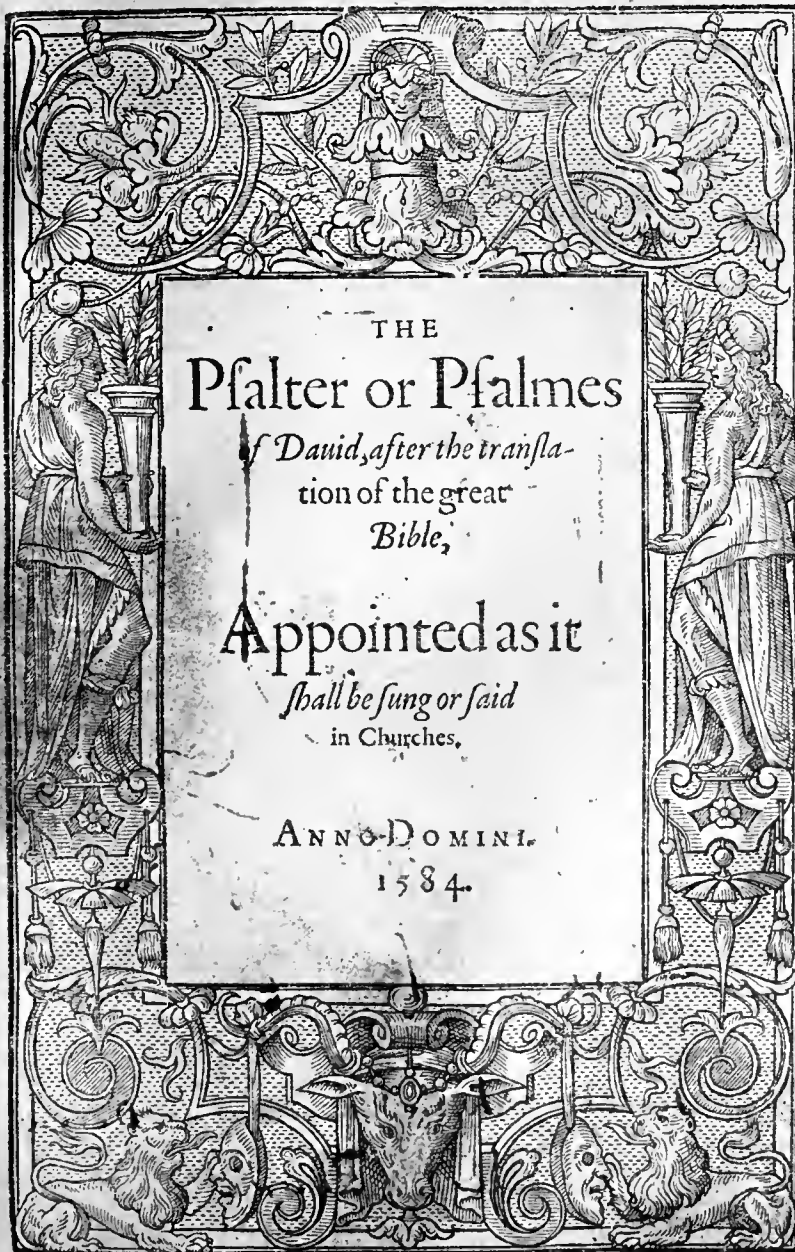
BY  
ADELBERT EDWIN ALLABEN

---

The Wind comes down the shadowed gorge;  
Slow steppeth he and grand:  
The secret of the oak he bears,  
And life in either hand.

When blue-black tresses of the night  
Flare out athwart the sky,  
He delveth deep in nether space  
And flingeth worlds on high.

He kindleth chaos into flame;  
Imparteth thought and breath:  
Abide, thou holy Touch and Voice,  
Till Life hath emptied Death.



*Ff. ij.*

TITLE PAGE TO THE PSALMS

A reproduction from the Bishops Bible of Thomas Seymour of Hartford, handed down to his descendant, the late Charles J. Seymour of Boston—Reproduced from a photograph made from the original





# The Psalmes of Dauid.

*Beatus vir qui non abiit. Psal. j.*

Morning  
prayer.



Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the vngodly, nor stand in the way of sinners: & hath not sit in the seat of the scornfull.

But his delight is in the lawe of the Lord: and in his lawe will he exercise himselfe day and night.

And he shall be like a treee planted by the water side: that wil bring forth his fruit in due season.

His leafe also shall not wither: and looke whatsoeuer he doeth, it shall prosper.

As for the vngodly it is not so with them: but they are like the chaffe which the winde scattereth away from the face of the earth.

Therefore the vngodly shall not be able to stand in the iudgement: neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

But the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: and the way of the vngodly shall perish.

*Quare fremuerunt. Psal. 2.*

Why doe the Heathen so furiously rage together: and why doe the people imagine a vaine thing?

The kings of the earth stand by, and the rulers take counsel together: against the Lord, and against his anointed.

Let vs brake their bonds asunder: and cast away their cordes from vs.

He that dwelleth in heauen shall laugh them to scorn: the Lord shall haue them in derision.

Then shall he speake vnto the in his wrath: and vexe them in his foye displeasure.

Yet haue I set my king: vpon my holy hill of Sion.

I will preach the lawe, wherof the Lord hath said vnto me: thou art my sonne, this day haue I begotten thee.

Desire of me, and I shall giue thee the Heathen for thine inheritance: and the uttermost partes of the earth for thy possession.

Thou shalt bruite them with a rod of iron: and breake them in peces like a potters vessel.

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be learned ye that are iudges of the earth.

Serue the Lord in feare: and reioyce vnto him with reuerence.

Kisse the sonne lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the righte way: if his wrath be kindled (yea but a little) blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

*Domine quid. Psal. 3.*

Howe are they increased that trouble mee: many are they that rise against me.

Many one there be that say of my soule: there is no helpe for him in his God.

But thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter vp of my head.

I did call vpon the Lord with my voyce: & he heard me out of his holy hill.

I laid me downe and slept, and rose vp againe: for the Lord sustained me.

I will not be afraid for ten thousands of people: that haue set themselves against me round about.

O Lord, and helpe me, O my God: for thou smitest all mine enemies vpon y cheeke bone, thou hast broken y teeth of the vngodly.

Saluation belongeth vnto the Lord: and thy blessing is vpon the people.

*Cum inuocarem. Psal. 4.*

Hearke me when I call, O God of my righteousness: for thou hast see me at libertie when I was in trouble, haue mercie vpon me, and hearken vnto my prayer.

O ye founnes of men, how long will ye blaspheme mine honour: and haue such pleasure in vanitie, and seeke after leasing?

Know this also, that the Lord hath chosen to himselfe the man that is godly: when I call vpon the Lord, he will heare me.

Stand in awe, & sinne not: commune with your owne heart, & in your chamber, & be still.

Offer the sacrifice of righteousness: and put your trust in the Lord.

There be many that say: who will shew vs any good?

Lord lift thou vp: the light of thy countenance vpon vs.

Thou hast put gladnes in my heart: since the time that their corne and wine and oyle increased.

I will lay me downe in peace, and take my rest: for it is thou Lord onely that maketh me dwell in safetie.

*Verba mea auribus. Psal. 5.*

Order my wordes, O Lord: consider my meditation.

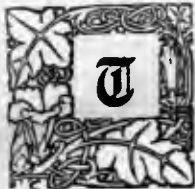
Harken thou vnto y voice of my calling, f. iii. my



## The Royal and Noble Ancestry of the American Seymours

Richard Seymour of Hartford, Connecticut, a Descendant of the Ancient House of St. Maur and Great-Grandson of the Lord Protector of England, Whose Nephew was King Edward VI & Three Strains of Royal Blood Flow in the Veins of the Seymours of America & Their Right to Quarter the Plantagenet Arms of England's Monarchs with the Coat-Armour of Seymour

BY  
MABEL THACHER ROSEMARY WASHBURN  
Genealogical Editor of The Journal of American History



THAT a great-grandson of the Lord Protector of England, one of the greatest of English nobles, came to America in the Seventeenth Century, and that his descent from one of the stateliest of England's ancient houses could be in a few generations so forgotten as to remain, at clearest, only a vague tradition, seems incredible. Had this scion of the race been brought to the American Colonies as a child, his possible consequent lack of familiarity with his own rank might account for this forgetfulness. But Richard Seymour, the son of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, Knight and Baronet, grandson of another Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, and great-grandson of Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, and Baron Seymour, Lord Protector of England, and uncle of King Edward VI, was an Oxford scholar, and became one of the foremost men of Hartford, Connecticut, and a founder of Norfolk, Connecticut. That, despite the loss of knowledge of their ancestry in England, such noble blood flows in the veins of the American Seymours is but an example of the unexplored treasure-mines which would yield a glory of knightly and even royal lineage to more than a few American families, were the task of searching through their dim, rich caverns undertaken with scientific knowledge, perseverance, and fidelity to historic fact.

The great house of Seymour descends from a Knight, Sir William St. Maur, who lived in the Thirteenth Century. He is thought to have had for earliest ancestor in England a companion of the Conqueror, who came from Normandy, or other part of France. In the year 1240 Sir William, aided by Gilbert Marshall, the Earl of Pembroke, took from the Welsh a place called Woundy, near Caldecot, in Monmouthshire. Penhow, near Woundy, also belonged to him. He lived at Penhow, and the church there was dedicated to Saint Maur, or Saint Maurus. He was a disciple of Saint Benedict, and introduced the Benedictine



**A**

## Descent From a British Lord Protector

Order in what is now France, founding a monastery near Samur, in Touraine, which became known as Saint Maur-sur-Loire.


The wives of neither Sir William nor of his son, Sir Roger, are known, but, beginning with Sir Roger's son, Roger de St. Maur, Lord of Penhow and Woundy, who married Joan, daughter and heiress of Damarel of Devonshire, all of the Seymours (as the name soon became changed from St. Maur) who carry down the line of ancestry, for six generations, married ladies who, being heiresses of armigerous families, brought to the Seymours the right to quarter their own Arms with the Arms of Seymour.

The Seymour Arms at this time were: Gules, two wings conjoined in lure, tips downward, or.


Then John Seymour of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, who was Sheriff of the County, 36 Henry VI, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Darell of Littlecote, County Wilts, and their eldest son, Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, succeeded to his father's estates. He was knighted by King Henry VII on the field of battle for gallant conduct as one of the commanders of the King's forces against the Cornish rebels at Blackheath. He, like his father, was Sheriff of Wiltshire. He served in the wars in France and Flanders and, for prowess in the sieges of Theroung and Tournay and at the famous "Battle of the Spurs," he was made a Knight Banneret by King Henry VIII. He was a great noble and a splendid figure of his time, honored at Court abroad. He was Constable of Bristol Castle, attended the King at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where took place the celebrated meeting of Henry and Francis I, and also at Canterbury when the Emperor Charles V came to England. At a second interview between the English and French Kings, at Boulogne in 1532, Sir John was present as Groom of the Chamber. His marriage was a brilliant alliance, his wife being Margaret, the second daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlested, County Suffolk, who was descended from King Edward I, in one line, from Edward III in another, and, consequently, from practically all of the mediæval dynasties of Europe.

One line of Margaret Wentworth's royal ancestry was as follows. The Princess Joan, daughter of King Edward I and Queen Eleanor, who was the daughter of Saint Ferdinand, the King of Castile, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Clare and Gloucester. Their daughter, Eleanor, married Hugh Le Despencer, who became Earl of Gloucester in right of his wife. Their fourth son was Philip Le Despencer, whose son, grandson, and great-grandson bore the same name. The last was Sir Philip Le Despencer, of Nettlested, Suffolk, and Goushill, Lincolnshire, a Knight. His daughter, Margaret, married Roger Wentworth, and brought Nettlested to the Wentworths. He was her second husband, her first marriage being to John, Lord de Ros. Roger Wentworth was the younger son of John Wentworth of North Elmsall, Yorkshire, living in the





# The Blood Royal of England in Americans




early part of the Fifteenth Century, whose grandfather, another John Wentworth, was living in 1314, and was the son of William Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire.

Roger Wentworth died in 1452. He and his wife, Margaret Le Despencer, had a son, Sir Philip Wentworth of Nettlested, whose son was Sir Henry, who died in 1499. He married Anne Saye, was the father of Margaret Wentworth, the wife, as above stated, of Sir John Seymour.

Margaret (Wentworth) Seymour's lineage from King Edward III was through the latter's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. His daughter, Philippa, married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and their daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of Sir Henry Percy, "Hotspur," the son and heir-apparent of the first Earl of Northumberland. "Hotspur's" daughter, Elizabeth, married John, Lord de Clifford. They were the parents of Mary Clifford, who married Sir Philip Wentworth. His daughter, Margaret, became the mother of the Protector.

Sir John Seymour and his wife, Margaret Wentworth, had eight children, among whom was Jane, who became the wife of King Henry VIII and the mother of Edward VI. One son, Thomas, Lord Seymour, Baron of Sudley, High Admiral of England, married Queen Katherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII. He attempted, after Henry's death, to marry the Princess Elizabeth, but was unsuccessful. After Katherine Parr's death in 1547 he again endeavored to induce Elizabeth to marry him. Had she done so without the consent of the Council her right of succession to the throne would have been forfeited, and Seymour's attempts caused his arrest. He was sent to the Tower, convicted of treason, and was executed in 1549. The Council of England appointed a formal investigation of his relations with Elizabeth, which were found to reflect decidedly against him.

The eldest son of Sir John Seymour was Edward, who became the most powerful noble of the realm, the Lord Protector of England. He was knighted in 1523, became an Esquire of the King's Household the following year, and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1536. This year was prolific in honors for Edward Seymour. He was created Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, Somersetshire, became Governor and Captain of the Isle of Jersey, and Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales. In 1537 he was created Earl of Hertford, and in 1541 was elected Knight of the Garter. In December, 1542, he became Lord High Admiral of England, and little more than a year afterwards was made Lord Great Chamberlain of England for life. Honors crowded upon honors. He became Lieutenant-General of the North, Lieutenant of the Kingdom under the Queen Regent, and Lieutenant and Captain-General of Boulogne. At last, early in 1547, the most powerful office of the State came to him. He was created Protector of all the realms and domains of the King's Majesty and





A

## Descent From a British Lord Protector

Governor of the Royal Person. He was High Steward of England at the Coronation of Edward VI, became Lord Treasurer of England, Earl Marshal of England for life, was created Baron Seymour of Hache, and, in the same year, Duke of Somerset.

The Earldom of Somerset had been held by the great house of Beaufort since 1397, when Richard II granted it to John Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt. A son of John Beaufort was created Duke of Somerset. The family of Beaufort became extinct in 1471. The title of Duke of Somerset was borne by Henry Fitzroy, illegitimate son of Henry VIII, until his death in 1536.

The Lord Protector married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir William Filliol of Langton Washe, Essex, and Woodlands, Dorsetshire. She brought to the Seymours the right to quarter with their Coat-of-Arms her own, which was: Vair, a canton gules.

He repudiated her and married Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope. Hayward says of this second wife of the Protector, in his *Life of Edward VI*: "Anne Stanhope, Duchess of Somerset, was for pride monstrous, a woman of many imperfections intolerable, she was exceeding violent, and subtle in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned all respect of conscience and shame. This woman did bear such invincible hate to the Queen Dowager, first, for slight causes and woman's quarrels, and especially because she (Queen Catherine), had precedence over her, the wife of the greatest peer in the land." The Duke of Somerset entailed his titles and estates to his children by Anne Stanhope, passing over his two sons by his first wife. But the line of male descendants from Anne Stanhope became extinct in 1750, and Sir Edward Seymour, who descended from the Protector and his wife, Catherine Filliol, came into the rank and possessions which should, in justice, have been the inheritance of his ancestors.

Despite the high rank of the Protector and the honors and titles which had been heaped upon him, perhaps because of these, he had many enemies and there was much friction between him and the Council. The feeling against him was intensified by the conviction of his brother for treason. France now declared war against England, and the Scotch won victories against the English, all of which increased his difficulties and his disfavor with the people in general. He was finally sent to the Tower and the Protectorship taken from him. He was released early in 1550, but was again imprisoned a few months later, accused of treason. His judges failed to prove the charge as originally brought against him, but he was condemned on a charge of felony. He was executed on 22 January, 1552.

In consequence of his condemnation, he underwent Attainder, and the title of Duke of Somerset passed from the Seymours. It came again to them, however, just after the Restoration of Charles II. William Seymour, great-grandson

D. 11

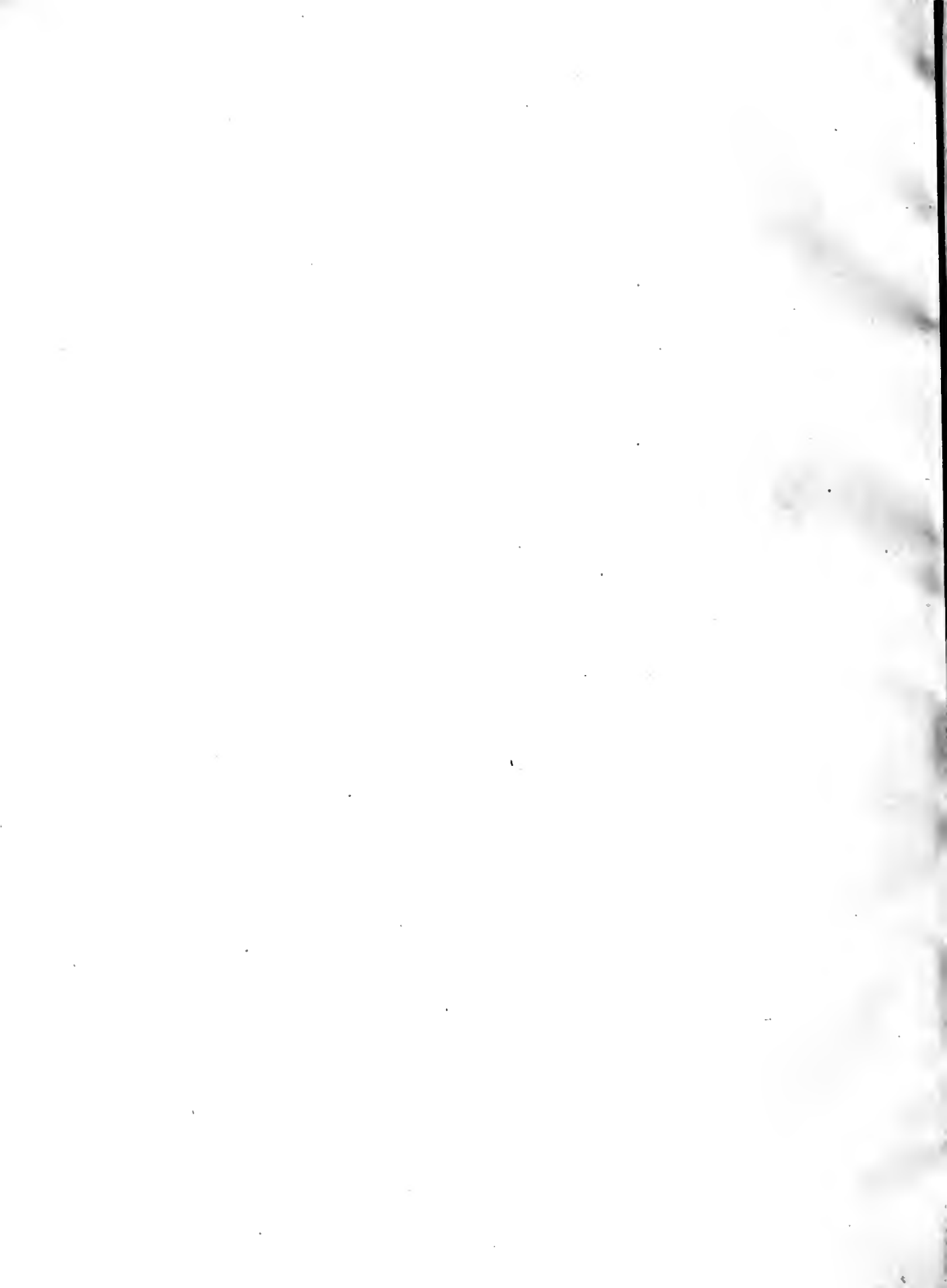
Do ye know unto all men by the  
hand of John Seymour of Norwalk  
in the county of Guilford

to John Seymour  
son of John Seymour  
of Norwalk  
is a brother  
in the year 1666

Hartford 1666

A RECORD FROM THE OLD SEYMOUR BIBLE

The John Seymour whose name appears above was the second son of Richard Seymour who brought the Bible to Hartford. The date, "Hartford, 1666," agrees perfectly with the residence of this John Seymour at Hartford, his father having died at Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1655. This John Seymour undoubtedly had his father's Bible, and the inventory of John Seymour's estate, 1713, lists a "great Bible 10 shillings." It was handed down by his descendants







TITLE-PAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE OLD SEYMOUR BIBLE

Here appear the original Seymour Arms, two wings conjoined in lure, with the royal Arms of England, granted to the Duke of Somerset, as a quartering



a Gospel, that is, tidings of our saluation by Christ.

# The Gospell by Saint Matthew.

The first Chapter.

1 The genealogie of Christ from Abraham. 18 The marriage of his mother Mary. 20 The Angel satisfeth Iosephs minde. 21 The interpretation of Christes name.

Cospel on the Sunday after Christmas day. Luke 1. 3. b. Charles, the reverentall of Englishes image and life. Gen. 22. 1. Gen. 25. 26. Gen. 29. 33.



his is the booke of the generation of Iesus Christ, the sonne of David, the sonne of Abraham. \* Abraham begate Ihsac, \* Ihsac begate Jacob, \* Jacob begate Judas and

Christ. 17 And so all the generations from Abraham to David, are fourteene generations: & from David vntill the carrying away into Babylon, are fourteene generations: and from the carrying away into Babylon vnto Christ, are fourteene generations.

Gen. 38. 27. 1. Par. 2. 5. ruth 4. 18.

his byethen. 3 \* Judas begate Phares and Zara of Chamarr, \* Phares begate Errom, Errom begate Aram.

18 \* The birth of Iesus Christ was on this wife. When as his mother Mary was betrothed to Ioseph (before they came together) he was found with child of the holy ghost. 19 Then Ioseph her husband, being a righteous man, \* and not willing to make her a publicke example, was minded privately to put her away.

1. Reg. 16. 1. 2. Reg. 4. 2. 14.

4 Aram begate Aminadab, Aminadab begate Naasson, Naasson begate Salmon. 5 Salmon begate Boos, of Rachab, Boos begate Obed, of Ruth, Obed begate Jesse.

20 But while he thoughte these things, behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto him in a dreame, saying, Ioseph thou sonne of David, feare not to take [vnto thee] Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her, is of the holy ghost.

3. Reg. 11. 43. 1. Chr. 3. 10.

6 \* Jesse begate David the king, \* David the king begate Solomon, of her that was the wife of Urte.

21 She shall bring forth a sonne, \* and thou shalt call his name Iesus: for he shall save his people from their sinnes. 22 (All this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoke of the Lord by the prophet, saying,

2. Reg. 20. 21. 1. Chr. 3. 23.

7 \* Solomon begate Roboam, Roboam begate Abia, Abia begate Asa.

Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a sonne, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, God with vs.)

4. Reg. 23. 34. 1. Par. 15. 4. Some read, Iosias begate Iacim, Iacim begate Iechonias.

8 Asa begate Iosaphat, Iosaphat begate Ioram, Ioram begate Ozias.

23 \* Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a sonne, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, God with vs.)

4. Reg. 24. 6. 2. Chr. 36. 9. 1. Chr. 3. 16.

9 Ozias begate Iotham, Iotham begate Achas, Achas begate Ezeccias. 10 \* Ezeccias begate Manasses, Manasses begate Amon, Amon begate Iosias.

24 Then Ioseph, being raised from sleepe, did as the Angel of the Lord had bidden him, and he tooke his wife: 25 \* And knew her not, till she had brought forth her first borne sonne, & called his name Iesus.

11 \* Iosias begate Iechonias and his byethen, about the time they were caried away to Babylon.

The ii. Chapter. 1 The time and place of Christes birth, 14 Christ fleeth into Egypt. 16 The young children are slaine.

12 And after they were brought to Babylon, \* Iechonias begate Salathiel, \* Salathiel begate Iozobabel.

13 Iozobabel begate Abiud, Abiud begate Eliacim, Eliacim begate Azor.

14 Azor begate Sadoc, Sadoc begate Achen, Achen begate Eliud.

15 Eliud begate Eleazar, Eleazar begate Artaban, Artaban begate Iacob.

16 Iacob begate Ioseph the husband of Mary, of whom was borne Iesus; that is called

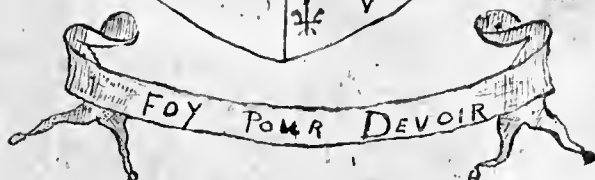
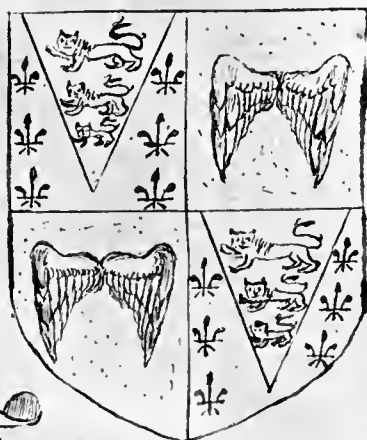
When Iesus was borne in Bethlehchem, a citie of Iudee, in 8 dayes of Herode the king: behold, there

A reproduction of the first chapter of the Gospel by Matthew from the copy of the Bible brought from England to Hartford, Connecticut, by Richard Seymour about the year 1640









Richard Seymour  
of Bery Pomey  
Seytor hund. in ye Com. Devon.  
his Booke.


HARTFORD. ye Collony of Conecticut  
In Newe England. Annoque Domini  
1640.

SEYMOUR ARMS AND INSCRIPTION DRAWN IN THE OLD SEYMOUR BIBLE

Fac-simile of the drawing and text on fly-leaf of the Bishops Bible brought to America by Richard Seymour of Hartford, proving him to have been of the Berry Pomeroy Seymours, and great-grandson of the Duke of Somerset



# The Blood Royal of England in Americans



of the Protector, who had become in 1621 Earl of Hertford and Baron Beauchamp, and had been created Marquis of Hertford in 1640, received from the King the restored Dukedom of Somerset in 1660. This William Seymour had married Lady Arabella Stewart, the cousin of James I, and the latter, being greatly displeased thereat, imprisoned Seymour in the Tower of London. But he was released and later in the Civil War fought gallantly on the King's side. He was one of the four nobles,—the others being the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Earl of Southampton,—who offered to die in the place of Charles I when the House of Commons had condemned the King to death.


The sixth Duke of Somerset in the line beginning with the Protector was Charles Seymour. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Joceline Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Macauley said of "the proud Duke," as he was called, that he was "a man in whom the pride of rank and birth amounted almost to a disease." On the death without issue of his son, Algernon, the Dukedom passed, as noted above, to a distant cousin, Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, a descendant of the elder branch of the Seymours through the Protector's first wife, Catherine Filliol. He became eighth Duke in 1750.

Henry Seymour, a son of the eighth Duke of Somerset, went to France in 1778, residing near Versailles. He fell in love with the celebrated Madame du Barry, and many of the letters written him by the Beauty are preserved in Paris. An illegitimate daughter married Sir James Doughty-Tichborne, and was the mother of Sir Roger Tichborne, whose name became familiar throughout the world through the famous Tichborne case.

The twelfth Duke of Somerset, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, was created in 1863 Earl St. Maur of Berry Pomeroy. He married a famous Beauty, Jane Georgiana Sheridan, but died without issue, when the Earldom of St. Maur became extinct. His two brothers were successively, Dukes of Somerset, and the present Duke, the fifteenth, is Algernon Seymour, son of one of these brothers, Algernon Percy Banks Seymour.

But let us return to the direct ancestral line of Richard Seymour of Hartford. Sir Edward Seymour, was the second and eldest surviving son of the Protector and Catherine Filliol, his elder brother, John, having died before him without issue. He married Mary, the daughter and heiress of John Walshe of Catengar, County Somerset, Justice of the Common Pleas, who bore Arms: Azure, six mullets or, three two, and one, a bordure gebonnée, argent and gules.

The son and heir of Sir Edward Seymour and his wife was Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, Knight. He was a member of the first Parliament under James I, and in 1611 was created a Baronet. Two years later he died and was buried at Berry Pomeroy. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Champernown. Through Elizabeth Champernown, a third royal strain came





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## Descent From a British Lord Protector

into the Seymour blood, and her son was Richard Seymour of Hartford. The royal ancestry of the Champernowns was as follows:

Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward III, married Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. Their daughter, Lady Margaret de Bohun, in 1325 married Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon. Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, their son, a Knight, married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake, Knight. Sir John Courtenay, son of Sir Philip, married Joan, daughter of Sir Alexander Champernown, Knight. They had issue Sir Philip Courtenay, Knight, of Powderham, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford. Their son, another Sir Philip Courtenay, Knight, was of Molland, and his wife was a daughter of Robert Hungeston. Sir Philip's daughter, Margaret, became the wife of Sir John Champernown, Knight, of Modbury. Their son, Sir Philip Champernown of Modbury, was also a Knight. He married Katherine, daughter of Sir Edmund Carew, and had a son, Sir Arthur Champernown, Knight, of Darlington, Devonshire. He and his wife, Mary, a sister of Henry, Lord Norreys of Rycote were the parents of Elizabeth Champernown, who married, as above stated, Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy.

Richard Seymour, ancestor of a large proportion of the Seymour family in America, was the son of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy and his wife, Elizabeth Champernown. He was born about 1596, for he was seventeen years old when he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in February, 1612-13. In the Register of Exeter his entrance is recorded in Latin and he is called therein "baronetti filius." The rank of Baronet was then a new dignity and the only Seymour of that rank in the United Kingdom was Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy. Moreover, in a list of donors of plate to the College Sir Edward Seymour's name is given as the father of Richard Seymour, who was among the donors and who is called "filii Edvardi Seymour Baronetti."

Why Richard Seymour came to America is unknown. But he was a younger son and it may well be that life in the Colonies seemed to promise richer opportunity for advancement than did the usual environment of younger sons in England. His father had died in 1613. His relatives were strongly on the side of the King and of the Established Church when the conflict broke out between the King's party and the Parliament. This was, of course, after Richard Seymour had crossed the seas, but from the fact of his settlement in a Puritan Colony it may be inferred that he was in sympathy with these who left the Church of England or who disapproved of her tendencies and practices in the Seventeenth Century. At any rate, in the spring of 1640 he was in Hartford, in the Connecticut Colony.

Ten years later, he signed the agreement for the settlement of Norwalk,



## The Blood Royal of England in Americans

Connecticut, and became one of the first settlers of that town. There he died in 1655.

His wife was Mercy Rashleigh. Collins, in his "Peerage," writing at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, stated that Richard, the fifth son of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, the first Baronet, married a daughter of Rashleigh. There came down in the Seymours of Connecticut a tradition that their first American ancestor married Mercy or Mary Rashleigh, and that their marriage took place at Barnstable, in Devon. This tradition and Collins' statement are corroborated by the possession of two rings, heirlooms in the Seymour family. On one are engraved charges of the Coat-Armor of the Rashleighs of Devon and Cornwall, and on the other are the wings of the Seymour Arms and above them the Cornish clough and rose of the Rashleighs.

Now what is the proof that Richard Seymour of Connecticut was Richard Seymour, the son of Sir Edward of Berry Pomeroy? For one thing, the just-cited tradition as to the Rashleigh marriage and the possession by the Seymours of the rings with Rashleigh and Seymour charges are exceedingly significant, when we consider Collins' statement that Richard, the son of Sir Edward, married a Rashleigh. There is also the fact that the most exhaustive researches have failed to account in England for Richard, son of Sir Edward. After the mention in the Oxford Registers of his matriculation and his gift to Exeter of college plate, we find no further trace of him in Great Britain.

But, more conclusive than all these evidences, is the "great Bible," mentioned in the Inventory of Richard Seymour's son, John. This was a "Bishop's Bible," printed in 1584, and is still in the possession of family descendants. On the title-page of the New Testament is a drawing of the Seymour armorial charge, the two wings conjoined in lure, while on this same page appear the royal Arms of England, with the Fleurs-de-Lis of France in the first and fourth quarters, and the English Lions in the second and third—practically the Augmentation conferred upon the Seymours. On a fly-leaf of this Bible is a drawing of the Coat-of-Arms of the Seymours of Berry Pomeroy, exactly as they are blazoned in the Heralds' Visitation of Devon in 1620, and showing the Augmentation, granted 15 August, 1547, by King Edward VI to his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, the grant containing express provision that the right to this augmentation was conferred upon all descendants of the Protector.

The Coat-of-Arms, therefore, which may be borne of right by descendants of Richard Seymour of Connecticut, is blazoned as follows:

Arms: Quarterly; 1 and 4, or, on a pile gules three lions passant regardant of the field, langued and armed azure, between three fleurs-de-lis of the last; 2 and 3, gules, two wings conjoined in lure, tips downward, or.

Crest: Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-phoenix in flames proper.

Motto: Foy pour devoir.



**A**

## Descent From a British Lord Protector

Underneath the drawing of the Arms on the fly-leaf of Richard Seymour's Bible is written: "Richard Seymor of Bery Pomery heytor hund. in ye Com. Devon. his booke. Hartford. ye Collony of Conecicot in Newe England. Annoque Domini 1640."

There always existed a tradition among the descendants of Richard Seymour that they sprang from the family of the Earl of Hertford. That they designated the head of their house by that title instead of as Duke of Somerset is natural. When the Protector, the first Seymour Duke of Somerset, was executed, he underwent Attainder, and this Attainder was not removed from his descendants until 1660 twenty years after Richard Seymour left England and five years after Richard's death. But in the year 1558 Queen Elizabeth created Edward, the eldest son of the Protector and Lady Anne Stanhope, Earl of Hertford and Baron Beauchamp, which title belonged to the Protector before he was created Duke of Somerset, and which had been entailed on the issue of his marriage with Lady Anne Stanhope, his rightful heirs, the ancestors of Richard Seymour, being deliberately passed over by this Act of entail, which was passed in 1540. At the time of Richard Seymour's coming to New England, therefore, and throughout his life, the head of the house of Seymour bore the title of Earl of Hertford and not that of Duke of Somerset, and it was most natural that their tradition should be handed down as it was.

It is a far-winding road that leads from the early days of Connecticut back through the exciting epoch of the four last Tudor sovereigns of England, and further back into the dim, rich shadows of the earlier England of the Plantagenets with its great nobles—Percies, Le Despencers, Clares, Mortimers, and Cliffords—all ancestors of Richard Seymour. But this brilliant pageant of splendid knights and nobles, of stately ladies, of kings and queens, is not merely a gorgeous historical picture, without relationship to us in the present. It represents a multiplying vitality, disseminating its blood in constantly widening circles down and through the Anglo-Saxon race of Great Britain and America.

In the earlier period of genealogical research it was thought to be a thing rare and unique to prove one's self an American of royal descent. But the New Genealogy, a scientific study in sociology, has brought to light the fact that in the course of a few centuries the blood of kings poured itself through the veins of a whole race. The Prince, ascending his throne, and regarding a Nation as his inheritance, has never dreamed that his glory would become the blood-heritage of the people, who, in time, number their kings among their ancestors.





## A Jefferson Davis Document

An Interesting List of the Personal Effects of the Great Southerner Which Fell Into the Hands of Union Soldiers in Florida at the Close of the Civil War

BY

ANTHONY COMSTOCK

New York



HAVE a document, which I made in 1865 in Jacksonville, Florida, at the Military Headquarters in that city. I was a soldier in the Seventeenth Connecticut, and was in one of two boatloads of soldiers who were detailed at St. Augustine, Florida, at the time that Jefferson Davis was alleged to be making for the Florida Coast for the purpose of boarding an outgoing steamer in his efforts to get out of the country. We were sent up the St. Sebastian River as a scouting party, and while up there received word that Davis had been captured, and we returned to our posts at St. Augustine.

A little while after this, I visited Jacksonville, Florida, where a chum of mine, also a member of the Seventeenth Connecticut, Justus M. Silliman, was stationed. He had made an inventory of the personal effects of Jefferson Davis, which had been captured at Waldo, Florida, and I enclose you a copy of that inventory, as made with my own hand, from the original which was made by my comrade, Silliman.

This is the correct inventory of the personal effects of Jefferson Davis, that had gone in advance of his party, and which were taken by our troops at Waldo, Florida.

Headquarters Dist. of Fla.  
4th Separate Brigade D  
Jacksonville, Fla., June 20, 1865.

Inventory of private property of Jefferson Davis captured at Waldo, Florida, June 15, 1865.

1st. One leathern trunk containing:

- 3 woolen coats
- 1 linen shirt
- 3 pr. pants
- 3 woolen vests
- 1 woolen tippet
- 1 small dressing case
- 2 towels
- 1 pistol (9 shooter)
- 1 case of ammunition

# The Captured Property of Jefferson Davis

- 1 pr. woolen socks
  - 1 silk undershirt
  - 2 pr. woolen drawers
  - 1 silk scarf (necktie)
  - 1 pistol holster (leather)
  - 2 dressing robes
  - 8 linen shirts (dirty)
- 2nd. One box marked No. 1 containing:
- 15 pr. socks
  - 5 undershirts
  - 3 per. drawers
  - 1 double bbl. revolver with molds and ammunition
  - Quantity of smoking and plug tobacco
  - Case of ornaments of brass
  - Brush, comb and razor strop
  - 1 pr. boots, gaiters and slippers (last worked)
  - 2 tooth brushes
  - 1 pistol case furnished
  - 1 pr. holsters with pistols enclosed
  - 2 packages metallic cartridges
  - 2 pr. lace shoes
  - 1 pr. boots
  - 1 pr. gauntlets
  - 2 pr. socks
  - 1 roll court plaster
  - 1 woolen shirt
  - 1 pr. drawers
  - 1 package of important papers and
  - 1 small bundle containing eyeglasses, a plain ring, etc.
- 3rd. One box marked No. 2 containing:
- Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers
  - Blank envelopes and note paper
  - 20,000 rebel money
  - 6 boxes of cigars
  - Portraits of Davis, wife and Gen. Lee
  - 2 photographs of a major-general
  - 1 portfolio
  - Letters from each of his Cabinet on the armistice between Sherman & Johnson.
  - A wheel within a box, with letters, and a note of explanation, supposed to be a key to cipher writing of C. S. A.





## An Episode of the Revolution

Attack on Flemington, New Jersey & Cornet Francis Geary of the Queen's Light  
Dragoons & Monument Erected by the Great-Nephew of the British Soldier

BY  
GEORGE W. DUNHAM

Flemington, New Jersey



IN the morning of December 14, 1776, while the British forces were encamped at Trenton, New Jersey, Cornet Francis Geary, of the Sixteenth Regiment, "The Queen's Light Dragons," in command of a detachment of cavalry, started from Trenton to Flemington, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, for the purpose of seizing the arms and supplies stored in a building in that place. The force halted at Pennington, sending an advance guard of twenty light horsemen, under Cornet Geary's personal command. They arrived at Flemington, confiscated the arms and destroyed the supplies assembled there, and placed the King's seal on the building. Frightened by the report that a large American force was near by, they hastily started back to Pennington.

When they had passed through the villages of Ringoes and Copper Hill, on their way to Flemington, the inhabitants had become alarmed, and Captain Schenck, of the Continental army, had gathered together a number of farmers to oppose their return. His men secreted themselves in the woods near Copper Hill, and when Geary returned, the patriots opened fire. Cornet Geary, forming his men in the road, returned the fire, but in the second volley he was killed, or fell from his horse mortally wounded. His troop, or what remained of it, became panic stricken, and fled. This is the story of the old grave near the scene of the fight. Geary's body was buried in the edge of the woods near by, and it became a tradition, latterly open to some question, that he still lay there. Recently, under the direction of the Hunterdon County Historical Society, the grave was opened, and all doubt removed, although little was found except some silver buttons and fringe. These, however, were evidently from an officer's uniform; while the buttons, now in the possession of the Hunterdon County Historical Society, bear the inscription, "Q. L. D. 16."

There could be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that this old grave was the resting-place of Cornet Geary.

The monument of rock taken from the vicinity was erected in 1907 by Sir William Nevill M. Geary, Baronet, a grand nephew of Cornet Geary. It bears an appropriate inscription.



MONUMENT TO CORNET GEARY



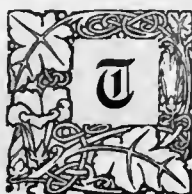
## The Losing and Finding of the "Resolute"

How the Abandonment in Arctic Seas of a British Ship Sent to Search for Franklin Drew England and America Closer Together and Called Forth a Unique Gift from Queen Victoria to the President of the United States

BY

THE REVEREND J. C. BURKHOLDER

Philadelphia




THE expedition of Sir John Franklin, that left England in 1845 for a cruise in Arctic waters in the interest of science, enlisted the attention, and finally a deep and widespread apprehension, among all the civilized nations of the world. After a long period of seclusion from the public gaze, the world became deeply solicitous as to Franklin's fate. The British government fitted out an expedition, of which the *Resolute* was part, to venture into those treacherous waters to ascertain, if possible, just what had become of him. The *Resolute*, leaving England in 1852, was under the command of Captain Kellett; the general expedition was directed by Sir Edward Belcher, a man of singular courage and possessed of quite accurate knowledge of the Arctic seas for that early day.


Franklin had left England with the *Erebus* and *Terror*—fine, staunch, strongly-built, sea-going vessels that were thought to be, in a general way, able to cope with the difficulties they should encounter in those northern latitudes. The special object before Franklin was that he might, if possible, realize one of the cherished purposes of his life in the discovery of a north-west passage into the Arctic Ocean. The long time that had elapsed since they had been heard from awakened apprehension as to the safety of the explorers. They had last been sighted in Baffin's Bay, about one thousand miles from the Pole, in the summer of 1845, by an English whaler. After that the silence and mystery of the grave gathered about them. Two years later apprehension, in England, deepened into a feeling of dread alarm. The British government sent out quite a number of expeditions, under the conduct of brave and sinewy seamen, to ascertain the fate of the party, numbering about one hundred and fifty souls.

The sympathies of our Government became thoroughly enlisted, and in





## The Losing and Finding of the "Resolute"





1850 an expedition was fitted out to unite with England in the search. This consisted of two vessels, the *Advance* and the *Rescue*, under the general command of Lieutenant Edward J. De Haven, who, with the English, after a somewhat tedious and perilous search, discovered the first winter quarters of the Franklin expedition on Beechy Island. The vessels, both of the English and of the Americans, were tied up to the shore between Point Innes and Beechy Island, the ice being too closely and solidly packed to permit of further progress by water. Evidences of the fact that the Franklin party had passed along that same way were found in pieces of canvas scattered here and there, as also ropes and other things naturally belonging to an Arctic expedition.

After consultation as to the best method of procedure the party divided, the Americans taking to the left, while the English took to the right. Soon evidences were discovered of parties having passed over the same route as that traversed by the Americans, in marks in the ice by a sled drawn over it. While considering the value of this as a clue, their attention was attracted by the shouts of the English and by seeing many of the sailors hurriedly running in the direction of Beechy Island. On coming together they found unmistakable evidence that here Franklin had passed his first winter in the Arctic seas. Here also they discovered the graves of three of the party. They bore dates of 1845 and 1846, the three having passed away thus early after the expedition had set out.

There is a difference, I find, among the records as to the winter that Franklin spent in quarters at Beechy Island. Some incline to the belief that it was the winter of 1846-47. The preponderance of the evidence, however, seems to favor the earlier date, 1845-46. Franklin and his men seem to have left the ships in the spring of 1847, possibly in the month of May. The officers and crew at this time numbered about one hundred and five souls. John Franklin died not long after, the date of his death being fixed at some time in the following June, probably about the middle.

The records of the party are very meagre, sources of information very few. Lieutenant Schwatka, of the United States Army, who went into the Arctic seas in 1878, failed to find any records of the Franklin party. All traces were gone. They were either destroyed by the elements or by the Esquimaux, who had neither knowledge nor appreciation of their value. This intrepid officer, however, found the remains of Lieutenant Irving, who had gone out in the *Terror*, one of the Franklin ships, in 1845. The remains were identified by means of a medal that was awarded him by a scientific society in England, as a token of honor for an essay of unusual merit prepared by him on the subject of mathematics, in which he was very proficient. The remains were tenderly cared for and forwarded to friends in





## Historic Gift From the Queen of England

England, a service for which he received the grateful thanks of the people who loved the talented and scholarly sailor.

The party of Franklin, doubtless, all perished from starvation, coupled with exposure to the storms and fearful cold of that inhospitable climate. The graves of these men, or their remains, were found by English and American explorers at a period long subsequent to the time when they dropped from the world's sight forever.

The *Resolute*, in which we are here especially interested, was abandoned May 15, 1854, because of being wedged in and hedged about with great icebergs, from which it was impossible to extricate her. Fearing that she would be crushed, she was simply left to her fate. This was done by order of Sir Edward Belcher, after all hope of saving her had been given up. Her officers and crew took refuge on a vessel that escaped the peril of the ice gorge, and were safely carried back to England. After a time the *Resolute*, freed by the parting of the floe and the icebergs from her imprisonment, drifted a distance of more than a thousand miles through the Arctic seas, and, on May 15, 1855, was picked up by the *George and Henry*, an American whaler under the command of Captain Buddington.



When sighted she was still sorely pressed by the ice and in danger of being broken to pieces. By the well-nigh superhuman efforts of Captain Buddington and his hardy and heroic men she was finally extricated from the icy peril. Such an experience has possibly never come to any vessel of either of the two continents. By her rescuers she was brought to New London, Connecticut. Later she was taken to the New York Navy Yard, under the command of Captain Bigelow, a most thoroughly equipped naval officer, fitted for any service that his country required at his hands. The ship, though still in a fairly good and seaworthy condition, was thoroughly refitted, repaired, and overhauled, so that she was once more amply prepared for service on the seas. The most kindly and cordial feeling existed between England and America, and as the *Resolute* was an English vessel, it was thought, on the part of our Government, a wise and fitting thing to restore her again to her original owners.

Just at this point I turn aside from the narrative to note the official action of our Government in this celebrated historic transaction. The following resolution was adopted by Congress, both houses concurring, authorizing the purchase of the *Resolute* from her salvors, and her return to Her Majesty's government:

"Whereas: It has become known to Congress that the ship *Resolute* late of the navy of Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on service in the Arctic seas in search of Sir John Franklin and the survivors of the expedition under his command, was rescued and



# The Losing and Finding of the "Resolute"

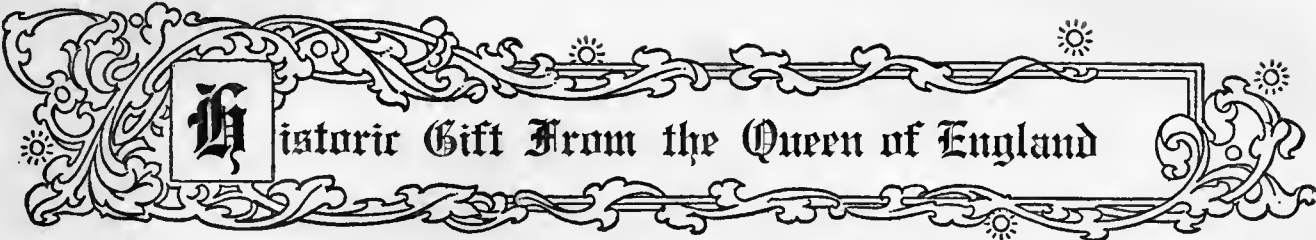


recovered in those seas by the officers and crew of the American whale ship the *George and Henry*, after the *Resolute* had been necessarily abandoned in the ice by her officers and crew, and after drifting, still in the ice, from the place so abandoned, more than one thousand miles; and the said ship *Resolute*, having been brought to the United States by the salvors at great risk and peril, had been generously relinquished to them by Her Majesty's government; now, in token of the deep interest felt in the United States for the service in which Her Majesty's said ship was engaged when thus necessarily abandoned, and of the sense entertained by Congress of the act of Her Majesty's government, in surrendering said ship to the salvors; Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled; that the President of the United States be, and he is hereby requested, to cause the said ship, *Resolute*, with all her armament, equipment, and the property aboard when she arrived in the United States, and which has been preserved in good condition to be purchased from her salvors and that he send said ship, with everything pertaining to her as aforesaid, after being fully repaired and equipped at one of the navy yards of the United States, back to England, under control of the Secretary of the Navy, with a request to Her Majesty's government that the United States government may be allowed to restore said ship, *Resolute*, to Her Majesty's service; and for the purchase of said ship and her appurtenances, as aforesaid, the sum of forty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be required, is hereby appropriated to be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated."

This resolution was approved August 28, 1856. In accordance with the above instructions, heartily and enthusiastically endorsed by the President of the United States, John Lenthall, chief of the Naval Bureau, gave order for her refitting in a manner even superior, if possible, to that in which she had been dismissed from the navy yard of Great Britain so many years before. By the same authority Commander Hartstene and Mr. Delano, the naval constructor, were instructed to closely examine the vessel and report to the Naval Bureau the exact extent of the repairs that were needed. All of these instructions were carried out with promptness and despatch.

A communication was also transmitted, after the ship had been thoroughly overhauled and repaired, by J. C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy, to the Right Honorable Charles Wood, First Lord of Her Majesty's Admiralty, advising him that the work was completed, and that the President of the United States requested Her Majesty's government to allow him to restore the ship to Her Majesty's service. In the name of the British government the offer was most heartily and graciously received by Mr. Wood.

All the formalities of the offer and acceptance being now out of the way, the ship having been thoroughly overhauled so that she was in perfect condi-



## Historic Gift From the Queen of England

tion for service on the seas, nothing now remained save the actual passage of the vessel across the waters and her final and formal presentation to Her Majesty, the Queen.

The *Resolute* left New York on her return voyage to England on the 13th day of November, 1856, under the command of Captain Henry J. Hartstene, Clark H. Wells, Hunter Davidson, and Edward E. Stone. Also surgeon Robert Macconn and Dr. Otis were among the officers of the ship. After a good and unusually rapid voyage, for those days of sailing vessels, she anchored in the English Channel, on the 11th day of December, having made the run across the Atlantic in twenty-eight days' time. A trusty pilot was here taken aboard, and the following day the ship cast anchor at Spithead, with the English and American flags floating from the mast and gracefully fluttering in the breeze. Here officers of the British Admiralty, among whom was Captain Peel, a son of the then late Sir Robert Peel, with other distinguished sons of Great Britain, came aboard to extend a cordial hand of royal welcome to the brave American officers, and to congratulate them on the work so well done, as also for the success of the voyage, marred by no untoward incident.


The following day, at noon, a royal salute was fired from the *Victory*, Nelson's flagship in the world-famed battle of Trafalgar, in honor of the safe arrival of the *Resolute* and her brave officers, and as a welcome to English shores. Captain Hartstene, having pushed on to Plymouth in accordance with instructions received from the Secretary of the Navy, went over to London to confer with our Minister at the Court of Saint James, the Honorable George M. Dallas, as to the formal and proper method of procedure in restoring the ship to Her Majesty's government. This tender of the vessel to the Queen, in person, was of course, a mere official form, as it was already known that this would be most heartily accepted.

The vessel here was visited by a large number of distinguished naval officers, some of whom knew, from personal contact with storms and cold and icebergs, of the rough experiences that had come to the *Resolute*. It seemed they were renewing acquaintance with an old friend. They were filled with childish delight at seeing the historic ship again riding at anchor in her home waters—back to her rightful place after her thrilling experiences in the frozen North. The knowledge of her presence in English waters, safe and sound, excited the greatest, the most enthusiastic interest all over England, from the throne to those in the humbler walks of life.

Her Majesty desired the pleasure of visiting her. Pursuant to the Queen's orders, the ship was taken to Cowes, near Osborn Castle, thus being easier of access to Her Majesty. The exuberant delight of the English people, as they trod the deck of the vessel, and the many expressions of thankfulness



## The Losing and Finding of the "Resolute"




to the American people for disinterested kindness, made the occasion an exceedingly enjoyable and memorable one to the American sailors. The *Resolute* was now in first-class condition and she was gaily and beautifully decorated with flags—the flags of the two nations fluttering, side by side, in the breeze, a beautiful emblem of the harmony, the oneness of feeling between the two nations.

Just about ten o'clock in the morning a stir and bustle in the crowd indicated that something unusual was about to occur. In a few moments the royal party, consisting of the Queen, Prince Albert, the Duchess of Athol, and Miss Cathcart (whose father, General Cathcart, was killed in the Crimean War, at Sebastopol, in 1854), with many others of distinction, were at the vessel's side. Vice-Admiral Sir George Seymour then presented, in formal manner, Captain Hartstene to Her Majesty, to whom the Captain delivered the following neat and brief address:

"Allow me to welcome your Majesty on board the ship *Resolute*, and in obedience to the will of my countrymen and of the President of the United States, to restore her to you not only as an evidence of friendly feeling to your sovereignty, but as a token of love, admiration, and respect to you, personally."

To this brief, handsome, and gracious speech, Her Majesty most heartily and simply said, "I thank you, Sir." After a collation in the cabin, the Queen went about the vessel, carefully and intelligently noting everything of interest, and asking a great many questions as to the finding of the *Resolute*, as to her return trip to New York, and her redocking in the New York navy yard.

On the 30th day of December, 1856, the final ceremonies connected with the transfer of the *Resolute* to the English were observed. It was an occasion of great interest to two great nations. The officers and crew of the *Resolute* were there. Many notables of Great Britain, especially in military circles, were present. Every heart throbbed with gladness and enthusiasm. The vessel henceforth belonged to the original owners. Gratitude for the perilous work in rescuing the vessel and bringing her back in such fine and seaworthy condition, and for the money spent in her refitting, filled to overflowing the heart of the gracious Queen, as also the hearts of her people. The hearts of our brave sailors beat high in gladness that they could thus minister to the pleasure of our nearest friend across the waters. Captain Henry J. Hartstene addressed Captain Seymour in substantially the following significant and beautiful words: "Sir, the closing scene of my most pleasant and important mission has now to be performed. Permit me to hope, sir, that long after every timber in her sturdy frame shall have perished, the remembrance of the old *Resolute* will be cherished by the people of the respective nations that you and I have the honor to represent. I now, with







## Historic Gift From the Queen of England

a pride totally at variance with our professional ideas, strike my flag, and to you, Sir, surrender the ship."

Captain Seymour, with visible emotion, very graciously and appreciatively accepted the ship, in the name of his country, in the following neat and simple language:

"I am sure, Sir, that this graceful act on the part of the United States toward this country, and the gracious manner in which it has been performed by yourself, Sir, and your fellow officers of the ship, will ever live in the memory of the people of England."

The noble deed was done. The service was ended. The *Resolute* was thus made over to the English people forever.

The Queen presented to Captain Hartstene a beautiful medal as a token of good will to him personally, and as a distinguished representative of the United States, who had been instrumental in restoring to the English people in such perfect condition, so great and such a cherished treasure. Congress, by a joint resolution, permitted his acceptance of the gift. The Queen, in addition to this, did the noble and magnanimous thing of presenting, from her private purse, the sum of one hundred pounds to the ship's company. Such a beautiful act as this tended to cement more strongly the bonds of friendly feeling, and strengthened the ties binding together the hearts of the two greatest nations of the world.

A pathetic incident at this point may be referred to. Lady Franklin, widow of the brave explorer, was a visitor to the *Resolute*. She manifested the greatest interest in the vessel that had gone through such trying and perilous experiences in the vain search for her husband. She could not bring herself to believe that her husband was really dead, among the frozen seas of the North. Notwithstanding the many fruitless efforts that had been put forth to find her husband, she was urgent in her demand that other expeditions might be sent out. For this nearly all her fortune was spent, and she came to life's close a sad, broken-hearted woman, in that she had failed to realize the fondly-cherished and sustaining hopes of so many years. Such willing, loving sacrifices constitute a beautiful, a charming revelation of character.

Very few people in the United States are aware of the fact that a relic and memento of the *Resolute* is preserved in the White House in Washington. It is a beautiful writing desk, made from the timbers of the ship, when finally broken up—made by the express orders of England's gracious Queen, and by her presented to the President of the United States as a token of loving regard for the American people. This historic relic is in the President's library. Through the courteous kindness of the White House officials I was permitted to go to the President's library-room and inspect this quaint relic for myself.

The desk is about seven feet in length by four in width. It is somewhat

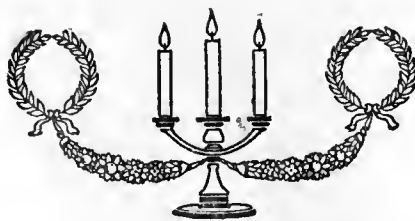
# The Losing and Finding of the "Resolute"

elaborate and artistic in design and finish. The usual case of drawers is on either end. The material is oak, though the *Resolute* in the main was constructed of teak-wood. On a brass plate in the center is the following inscription:

"H. M. S. *Resolute*, forming part of the expedition sent out in search of Sir John Franklin, in 1852, was abandoned in latitude  $74^{\circ} 41'$  N. and longitude  $101^{\circ} 22'$  W. May 15, '54. She was discovered and extricated in September, 1855, by Captain Buddington, in latitude  $67^{\circ}$ , of the American whaler, *George and Henry*. The ship was purchased and fitted out, then sent to England as a gift to Victoria by the President and people of the United States, as a token of good will and friendship. This table was made from her timbers when she was broken up, and is presented by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to the President of the United States, as a memorial of the courtesy and loving kindness, which dictated the offer of the gift of the *Resolute*."

The Queen also had a writing table made from the timbers of the *Resolute* and presented to the widow of Henry Grinnell in memory of the disinterested and highly distinguished services which he rendered in the fruitless search for the Franklin expedition.

Such simple loving acts as these not only embalm the memory of her who so long sat on the throne of England, ruling with firm, yet gracious hand, but they tend to bind more closely our nation and the one across the waters in bonds of international fellowship.





## An Echo From the Civil War

Important Historical Papers of Ex-President John Tyler Found on the Floor of His Home, "Sherwood Forest," by a Union Soldier in 1864, and Now, After Nearly Half a Century, for the First Time Brought to Light and Placed on Permanent Record in The Journal of American History

BY

STEPHEN FARNUM PECKHAM

Late Hospital Steward of the Seventh Rhode Island Volunteers, First Brigade, Seventh Division, Ninth Army Corps



HE publication here for the first time of these Tyler papers illustrates the vicissitudes to which important documents are sometimes subject, and the way in which they rise to the surface at unexpected moments. In 1864 a young hospital steward of General Burnside's Army, a volunteer from Rhode Island, with a companion straggled from the ranks, turning aside from the dusty Virginia road to examine the beautiful country seat of ex-President John Tyler. They spent some time over a mass of papers piled in a heap upon one of the floors, and finally carried away some of them. The hospital steward was a chemist, and at the close of the war went to California on a petroleum prospecting tour. He became eminent in his profession, has long been one of the greatest petroleum experts in the United States, and has served on the faculties of several universities. For many years these "spoils of war," from "Sherwood Forest" lay in their bundle unexamined by him, until now, at length, in this fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War, they are brought forth to the public.

Speaking of other papers which he found in President Tyler's home, but did not carry away, Professor Peckham gives to these the following interpretation: "The examination of the 'Peace Convention' telegrams established beyond any possibility of doubt the fact that John Tyler, a man who had filled the exalted position of President of the United States, had run the 'Peace Convention' simply to kill time, while the South got ready to fight."

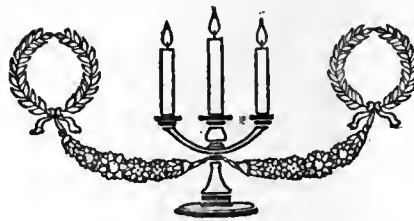
Yet do not the papers which for the first time are here published, several of them in John Tyler's own hand, suggest a different conclusion? They show that Tyler was in communication with prominent Union men of the North, as well as with the leaders in the South. They indicate, indeed, that

## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

the Virginian ex-President's convictions concerning slavery and states' rights were the typical views of the Southern statesmen of his period; yet do they not show that he anticipated the terrible consequences of conflict, deplored the awful blindness of those who could calmly propose war, and earnestly sought some peaceful solution?

Active in Southern politics in an advisory way as he had long been, and conspicuous above every person in the country in connection with the "Peace Convention"—with his personal views on the issues at stake well known throughout the South,—it was the most natural thing in the world that he should receive constant intelligence of every important move toward Southern preparedness. As these terrible telegrams rained in upon him, some of them perhaps breathing a blithesome infatuation of enthusiasm, and all revealing the frightful drift into unfathomable calamity, may he not have turned to his forlorn hope, the "Peace Convention," with the energy of desperation?

This view seems to the editor to explain all the papers here brought to light. While he was deeply aggrieved at what he regarded as the aggressiveness of the North, Tyler's mind seems to have been completely saturated with thoughts of peace and compromise. When secession appeared to him inevitable, he proposed a treaty of amity and alliance; and in a lengthy paper, reserved for another issue of *The Journal of American History*, he sketched an elaborate plan for a tribunal of States to arbitrate between the North and South.—*The Editor.*





ON or about the 15th of June, 1864, the Ninth Army Corps, while on the march from Cold Harbor to the James River, passed along a road that led by the rear of the residence of ex-President John Tyler at "Sherwood Forest," Charles City County, Virginia. The beautiful location of the house on rising ground, with an immense garden stretching down to the road, filled with roses and honeysuckle, led the writer and a friend to straggle from the command and visit the house. It was found to be deserted; not even a negro was to be seen. On the opposite, or front side of the house, was a lawn covered with oaks which stretched down a very gentle slope to another road.

The house consisted of a central portion of two stories, each of four large rooms separated by halls, in the form of a Greek cross. On either side of this central portion were wings of one story, consisting of a succession of rooms, each reached by passing through the other. Those on the left were the dining-room, pantry, kitchen, etc. Those on the right were the library and private rooms of the master of the house. In the middle of the largest of these rooms was a cart-load, more or less, of papers that had apparently been emptied from drawers as rubbish. This pile attracted my attention, and I was very soon absorbed in selecting letters and papers from historic personages.

Among other things, my eye fell on a package of yellow manifold paper that appeared to have been pressed hard together from having been carried in a pocket. It had a band of white paper pinned around it, on which was written, in the handwriting of President Tyler: "Peace Convention." We opened and examined the pieces of yellow paper, and found that they were copies of telegrams that had been sent President Tyler from all over the South, while he was the presiding officer of the "Peace Convention," giving him all sorts of information concerning the preparations that were being made to put the South in a condition to fight. A fort was being built in one place, guns were mounted in another, a company was being enlisted here, and a regiment there. The value of these telegrams, as compared with the autograph letters with which we filled our pockets, did not occur to me until I had gone too far from the house to return with safety.

On getting into camp at the Ninth Corps Headquarters, where I was on duty, I immediately sought Colonel Richmond, General Burnside's Adjutant-General, and told him that the papers were in the house. He asked permission of the General to send me back with an escort to get them. General Burnside replied that he was extremely sorry that I had left them, but he would not authorize disobedience of his own orders. The examination of the "Peace Convention" telegrams established beyond any possibility of





## J ohn Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

doubt the fact that John Tyler, a man who had filled the exalted position of President of the United States, had run the "Peace Convention" simply to kill time, while the South got ready to fight.

The papers that I did bring away were hastily looked over, tied in a bundle, and only lately carefully examined. They contained the following letter from William N. Ritchie, dated Richmond, Virginia, March 14, 1856, addressed to ex-President Tyler:

"My Dear Sir:

"I have candidly and carefully thought over the paper you enclosed to me, and I have come to the decided conviction that you should not notice, in any way, the address of the 'Black Republican' Convention. Nothing they can say can do you harm—and, were you to swerve from your rule of dignified silence and graceful non-interference in the political questions of the day, some of your friends might except to it. I give you the honest reflections of a true friend, who rejoices to see the increasing estimation with which during your retirement in the bosom of your family, the country regards your past services.

"My wife begs me to present her most cordially to yourself and Mrs. Tyler, whose illness she is pained to hear of. We both trust that Mrs. Tyler's health may be sufficiently restored to enable you and herself to be present at Mr. Everett's oration, which will prove a most interesting occasion."

The next letter is dated Boston, February 12, 1861, and is as follows:

"My Dear Mr. President:

"I was extremely sorry to be compelled to leave Washington without seeing the members of the Peace Convention, and without paying my respects once more to yourself. Illness in my family,—and engagements from which I could not escape, left no alternative.

"On reaching home a day or two since, I was greatly gratified by finding your three Historical Addresses awaiting me. I thank you sincerely for so kind and prompt a compliance with my request. I have read them with the highest interest, and shall preserve them as cherished memorials of your regard.

"We are looking with great anxiety to the results of the deliberations over which you have been called to preside. Most heartily do I hope that the spirit of conciliation and of patriotism, to which you gave such felicitous utterance in your opening Address, may actuate all the proceedings of the Convention. I dare not rely too much on the course of our Massachusetts members, though it does not become me to prejudice them unfavorably.

Richmond, March 14, 1856.

My dear Sir,

I have candidly & carefully thought over the paper you enclosed to me and I have come to the decided conviction that you should not notice, in any way, the ~~own~~ address of the "Black Republican" Convention - nothing they can say can do you harm - and, were you to swerve from your rule of dignified ~~and~~ silence and graceful non-interference in the political quarrels of the day, some of your friends might except to it - I give you the honest reflections of a former friend, who rejoices to see the increasing estimation ~~and~~ which, during your retirement in the bosom of your family, the country regards your past services -

My wife begs me to present her most cordial love to yourself & Mrs. Tyler, whose illness she is pained to hear of. We both trust that ~~at Mrs. T.'s~~ health may be sufficiently restored, to enable you & her self to be present at Mr. Everett's Oration, which will prove a most interesting occasion -

My wife was delighted to have received Mrs. T.'s charming letter, by the New York -

To  
Mr. Wm. Tyler

Very Truly & Respectfully  
Your friend

Wm. Ritchie



## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

Among the members from other States I recognize so many noble and gallant statesmen with whom I have been associated in former years, that I cannot despair of something being accomplished for the peace and union of our Country. If a successful adjustment shall be reached and ratified, under your auspices, you will have won a higher title to the gratitude of posterity than will be within the reach of others for generations to come.

"Believe me, Dear Sir,

"With the highest respect,

"Very faithfully,

"Yours,

"Pres. Tyler.

[Signed] Robert C. Winthrop."

The next letter is dated Indianapolis, February 14, 1861, is addressed to President Tyler, and runs as follows:

"My Dear Sir:

"If I thought that, pressed by duties as you must be, you could find time to look over the enclosed, it would be a great satisfaction to me.

"I have been thirty-five years a resident of this State and during twenty-five years in public life. I hear from all portions of the State; and I am *certain*, that if the Crittenden or any similar proposition be submitted as the recommendation of your Convention, or in any other accredited form, two-thirds at the least—more likely three-fourths, will vote for it.

"If your efforts succeed in pacifying the country, what a noble reputation, in the future page of its history, will be yours!

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Faithfully yrs.

[Signed] Robert Dale Owen."

"His Excellency,

"John Tyler.

"P. S. The suggestion to refer the great issues before us to a National Convention finds much favor here."

The next letter is as follows:

"Private and confidential.

"Thursday Evening, 21 Feb., 1861.

"My Dear Sir,

"I called to see you this evening to consult you about a matter of some little importance. Ought the federal troops now in Washington to parade tomorrow with the local volunteers? I thought if this were done it might



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-der your auspices, you  
will have won a higher  
-title to the gratitude  
of posterity than will  
be within the reach  
of others for many genera-  
-tions to come.

Believe me, Dear Sir,  
With the highest respect,  
Very faithfully,  
Yours,  
Robert Winthrop.  
Pres<sup>t</sup>. Tyler,



# J ohn Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

arouse the susceptibilities of members of the Peace Convention. What is your opinion on the subject?

"Your friend  
"Very Respectfully,  
[Signed] James Buchanan."

"Pres. Tyler."

The next letter is endorsed by President Tyler, "Senator Mason, as to proceedings of the Senate on Peace Conference, &c., &c., 2 March, 1861." It runs as follows:

"My Dear Sir:

"Senate Chamber, 2 March, '61.

"I send you a note of the progress of measures to furnish *securities* to the south.

"As you may recollect, the report of the peace conference, took the place in the Senate of the Crittenden Amendt., which the Legislature said would be accepted by Virginia—introduced by Mr. Crittenden from the select committee to which it was referred, in the most impressive form. That report (or the amendment it preceded) was debated yesterday until the adjournment—today it was *postponed* on motion of Douglas, to give *precedence* to a joint resolution passed yesterday by the House, proposing as an amendment to the Constitution, the single *article*, that no amendment should be made to the Constitution giving power to Congress to abolish *Slavery in the States*. To this miserable evasion they have at last come down, to gull Virginia and the border states, and Douglas and Crittenden combining, to give it *precedence* in the vote of the Senate, both to the amendment of the latter and that proposed by the peace commission. What a commentary on what these gentlemen take to be the position of our honored state.

"At the hour I write, Crittenden's amendment is offered and pending as a substitute for the House resolution. I will give you the result and the final vote before I close.

"Sunday morning.

"The Senate about midnight adjourned to 7 o'clock this (Sunday) evening—no vote being taken. We shall endeavor to press them to a vote on Crittenden's amendment as against the House Resolution but if we get a vote the amendment will fail—after that I suppose *the thing* will have the sleep of death.

"I fear you can hardly decypher this scrawl.

"Very Respectfully and truly, my dear sir, Yours,

"[Signed] J. M. Mason.

"The Hon. Mr. Tyler."

Private & Confidential

Thursday Evening 21 Feb: 1861

My dear Sir /

I called to see you this evening to consult you about a matter of some little importance. Ought the federal Troops now in Washington to parade tomorrow with the local volunteers. I thought if this were done it might arouse the susceptibilities of members of the Peace Convention. What is your opinion on the subject? A

your friend  
very respectfully

James Buchanan

President Tyler



## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

The next letter is dated Petersburg, Virginia, March 29, 1861, and is addressed to "Hon. John Tyler."

"Dr Sir,

"I have just read your speech in the Enquirer. I scarcely need say that I am highly pleased with it all. I felt a stronger desire on reading it, than at any former time I have felt, to be in that convention. I was a candidate as you are probably aware, but on hearing it freely said, on the morning of the election, that it looked as if my family was to fill all the principal offices in the city, I withdrew at 8 o. c. before many votes had been given. My son is in the Legislature, and the next oldest is the collector of city taxes—a post of large profit as well as honor.

"I am still wishing and discussing the crisis—a lover of the Union, but more intensely a lover of the South, especially in my affection for her peculiar institution which is not only a most valuable property, but a cherished domestic relation, withal. I am encouraged even to neglect my private interests, to indulge discussion in the newspapers, by the fact that I know from many sources of gratifying information, amongst others, one I will mention, that Hon. Mr. Noel of Mississippi (I believe) told me at the White Sulphur Springs last summer that my *Publius* and other articles over my own name had been extensively copied into the papers in his State and Georgia and Missouri, and that they had done good service in intensifying Southern feeling in support of Southern rights. Like you, I, in my humbler sphere of private life 'aspire to the glory of aiding to settle this controversy.' I am opposed to any settlement amicably, except it be by thorough work on the everlasting basis of right.

"I enclose four short articles, the last I have published, which I wish you to do me the honor to read. I am more opposed to the 4th Section of the Peace Conference Report, being in substance the 4th and 6th of the Report of the Committee of twenty-one of the convention, than I am to any other feature of either. It affirms the decision of Priggs' case, to the extent that the 'free' States are not bound to *legislate in aid* of the federal law for the rendition of fugitives from labor; and only proposes to reverse that decision to the extent that hereafter the constitution shall not be (as in that case it was) construed to prevent those States from enforcing the Federal law. Now, it is manifest that if they be only not *prevented* from, yet not required *to aid in*, the enforcement of that law, it will be of no avail for the slave States.

"With assurances I am

"[Signed] R. R. Collier."

To the people of the Northern States -

After the people of Virginia in Convention assembled  
~~desire to address you~~ in the hope that our voice which  
in other days was heard and listened to attentively by  
you, no tone of which was ever uttered except for the  
common good and general welfare <sup>in the integrity</sup> ~~of the Union~~ <sup>of the Republic</sup> ~~desire~~  
to address you. For many years we lived together  
in peace and harmony - our institutions became  
the admiration of the world - our growth in pros-  
perity and power awakened its astonishment  
and even to a great extent <sup>became</sup> the subject of politi-  
cal jealousy to old and powerful nations. We  
now stand antagonized and in hostile  
array - and before the sword is unheathed. While  
we yet stand face to face to each other  
both encased in hostile armour, Virginia  
calls a parley and demands to know the  
causes which have embellied you through your  
**government**, to lay aside your former  
feelings of fratricide and good will  
towards herself and her Southern confe-  
derates. Why are you so thoroughly <sup>encaring</sup> ~~concerning~~  
yourself in armour and <sup>why</sup> so loud  
in your threats of devastation and war.  
What for

Slaves & Scath -


How you can hardly say when this is said -

Very respectfully

I truly say

your

J. M. Mason



# J ohn Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

The next letter is endorsed in the hand of President Tyler: "Mr. Patton of Pennsylvania, proposition to ex-Presidents U. S." It runs:

"Clerk's Office, Circuit Court, U. S. E.

"Dist. of Pa. Philadelphia, April 17th, 1861.

"Sir,

"It is evident that the two sections, the North and the South, are on the eve of a fearful deadly collision. I need not dwell on the dreadful results of such a conflict. Can nothing be done to prevent it? The hostile parties have reached a point in which it seems impossible for them to propose or initiate negotiations. I propose that all the ex-Presidents shall meet together at Washington City on the 1st day of May, or sooner, if practicable. Apart from the weight and influence which such a body would carry with it, the very novelty of the measure would attract the universal attention of the country, and it would cause their countrymen to pause before rushing into the unfathomable horrors of a civil war.

"When assembled, their first object should be to effect a suspension of hostilities for twelve months. For this purpose, they should address themselves in person, and in a body, to the government at Washington, and then in the same way to the government at Montgomery.

"The conditions of the truce might be something like the following (or such other and probably better ones as your superior wisdom and experience would suggest) to wit:

"1st. The Southern Confederacy to suspend their system for the twelve months, especially in reference to the postal and revenue laws of the United States.

"2. A National Convention to be held during that period, and at a time to be designated by your body, and to be composed of one delegate (to be elected by the people) from each congressional district in the thirty-four States, and two delegates at large from each of the said States.

"3. The action of the Convention shall be embodied, by the shortest constitutional process as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and shall be accepted by all sections, East, West, North and South as a final and absolute settlement of all pending questions and difficulties, *provided* that every measure of the Convention shall receive the sanction of two-thirds of its members individually, and that its proceedings shall embrace an abnegation of all or any power on the part of Congress or the General Government to interfere in any manner with slavery in the states where it now exists, or may hereafter be lawfully established and also a provision for the return of fugitive slaves.

I enclose four short articles, the last I have published, which I wish you to do me the honor to read. I am more opposed to the "4<sup>th</sup> Sec of the Peace Conference Report, being in substance the 4<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> of the Report of the Committee of twenty one, of the Constitution, than I am to any other feature of either. It affirms the decision of Prigg's case, to the extent that the "free" States are not bound to legislate in aid of the Federal law for the rendition of fugitives from labor; and only proposes to reverse that decision to the extent that hereafter the constitution shall not be (as in that case it was) construed to prevent those States from enforcing the Federal law. And, it is manifest that if they be only not prevented from, yet not required to aid in, the enforcement of that law, it will be of no avail for the slave States.

With assurances I am

R. R. Collier



## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

"At a crisis like this, and in such a work of philanthropy and patriotism the ex-Presidents should not shrink at the idea of being a self-constituted body. They would hold their commission from the hearts of all men of reflection and intelligence. The country demands from every man, and especially her most eminent citizens, their best efforts to save it from destruction.

"Thoughtless, ignorant men, who have never read a page of history—and men maddened by partisan and sectional frenzy, and bad ambitious men, all unite in those terrible words, 'we will fight it out.' May God, in His mercy, lead us to a different mode of settlement. What more exalted office could the ex-Presidents assume than that of mediators between the hostile sections of their country—what more glorious task than that of pointing out and leading their countrymen on the path of peace and safety and restoring their country to its wonted power and prosperity?

"I am by no means ambitious of appearing before the world as the correspondent of distinguished men, and neither this letter, nor any answer it may elicit, is intended for publication. My highest ambition would be to be a member of such a convention as I describe.

"A copy of this letter has been addressed to each one of our ex-Presidents, and I may add that no one but myself and my copyist has any knowledge of or responsibility connected with it.

"I am very respectfully

"Sir,

"Your obedt. servt.

"[Signed] Benjn Patton.

"To

"Hon. John Tyler,  
"Richmond, Va."

Tied in a bundle with this letter of Patton's were found several closely written sheets in the hand of President Tyler. They appear to be a draft of a reply to it. They run as follows:

"Sherwood Forest

"May 7, 1861.

"My Dear Sir,

"Your call upon the ex-Presidents of the U. States, myself among the number to consult together upon the condition of the country and to recommend such expedients as may to them seem to promise the restoration of harmony and peace, has met my eye, through the public prints. Most gladly would I unite my efforts with any and all the peace-loving citizens of the several States, to accomplish the object you have in view. To that object I have during the whole of the past winter given anxious days and sleepless



CLERK'S OFFICE,  
CIRCUIT COURT, U. S. E. DIST. OF PA.

Philadelphia, April 17<sup>th</sup> - 1861 -

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It is evident that the two sections, the North and the South, are on the eve of a fearful deadly collision I need not dwell on the dreadful results of such a

\* \* \* \* \*  
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A copy of this letter has been addressed to each one of our Ex-Presidents, and I may add that no one but myself and my copyist has any knowledge of or responsibility connected with it.

I am very respectfully,



Sir  
Your obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

7p  
Hon. John Tyler,  
Richmond,  
Va.

Ben<sup>y</sup> Patton



## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War



not to see in all this a deep and desperate game of policy long concocted? Who can fail to acknowledge that the demonstration on Fort Sumter, was a mere pretext for what has since followed? The stake played for is neither to repair his own wounded honor or to avenge the flag which he purposely designed to be struck from the flagstaff of Fort Sumter, but really to rally the masses of the North around his own person and to prevent the faction which had brought him into power from falling asunder. In this he has succeeded. The upheaving of the people of the North fully attests this. The hunting down through an unbridled mob of all who dare to utter a sentiment in condemnation of this inhuman policy as if they were a set of wild beasts to be chased even unto death comes in confirmation of it. War! War! is the only sound that floats upon the gale. For what? and against whom? For the flag? It cannot well be that. If the Confederate States have their own flag is anyone so stupid as to suppose that they will suffer the flag of England or France or of the Northern States to float over their ramparts in place of their own? The time was that the flag bearing the proud cross of St. George waved over fortress and rampart, over land and over sea. Did New England hesitate to make war against those who bore that flag when it ceased to be the symbol of protection, and became the symbol of misrule and oppression? Nay, where were the warm sympathies for the flag of the stars and stripes on the part of the war of 1812? While that flag was almost hidden from sight by the fire and smoke of battle and stout hearts called aloud for aid to sustain it Massachusetts was coldly debating questions of Constitutional law, and denying her reinforcements to its triumphant support—and now, forsooth she is the loudest in her zeal and most forward in her movement to make war upon what were lately her sister states, and who but for her traitorous doctrine of abolition would have continued in sisterhood with her and all 'to the last syllable of recorded time.' No, it is not the flag that has caused this great upheaving of the masses. There is a deeper feeling still lying at its foundation. That feeling can be none other than one of the bitterest hate towards the south—a feeling engendered in the bosom of the masses against Southern institutions by ambitious and reckless demagogues, who in their treasonable purposes have out-Catalined Cataline. And now, My Dear Sir, what remains to be done? A reconstruction of the Union would seem to be impossible. A Union without a fellowship of good feeling would be the last expedient to which a philosophical statesman would be likely to look. What would such reconstruction amount to, but an unavailing effort to make a Union as fragile as that of Nebuchadnezzar's image, of metal and clay without cohesion of parts. No, Sir, a Confederacy not cemented by affection and confidence between its members, is, in the nature of things, destined to an early grave. We must then look out for some

If your efforts succeed in pacifying the  
country, what a noble reputation, in the  
future page of its history, will be yours!

I am, my dear Mr.,  
Faithfully &c

Robert Dale Owen

His Excellency  
John Tyler

My suggestion to refer the great issues be-  
fore us to a National Convention finds much  
favor here.



## John Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

other expedient than that found in the reconstruction of the Union for a solution of our difficulties.

"If we cannot perform the work of reconstruction it is still fortunate that that of pacification, if at once entered upon, can be made to approximate it near enough to secure most of the blessings of the Old Union without incurring any of the hazards in a fruitless attempt to reconstruct. A treaty of commerce may be entered into between the Northern and Southern Confederacy ensuring to each the benefits of a favored interchange of commodities. The terms of that treaty might be enlarged into an alliance offensive and defensive. The quota of each confederate in such an alliance might be plainly and distinctly set forth. Postal arrangements satisfactory to all might be adopted and other rights and privileges be secured, so that the new arrangements might in fact possess more of vitality and power than was possessed by the old articles of confederacy under which we carried on the Revolutionary War, and brought it to a successful termination. After the renewed intercourse of a few years, that feeling of common brotherhood which once existed might be again restored and the defects of the system if any were developed might readily be corrected, and the States both North and South might repose in a condition of peace and safety. How much better this would be than the shedding of each other's blood in a senseless and inhuman contest? What man can contemplate with indifference the consequences of such a war as we are now threatened with? The ties which bind families together all severed. Hatred elevated to the endeared place of love and respect. Society upturned from its foundations. Commerce annihilated. Cities sacked and pillaged. A funeral pyre raised high almost as the heavens of the noble, the chivalrous and the brave—families driven out houseless and homeless—this is a faint picture—one not only to be realized in the South but in the North also—for be assured, that when a kindred people meet in deadly conflict, it is not this or that boastful paragraph in the newspapers of the one side that give assurance of victory and triumph. But who are they that desire to preside over such a scene? What demons in human form would keep such unholy orgies? And why, after all, this wild and ungovernable spirit of ill-will on the part of the North towards the South? What mighty wrong has been committed by us? The utmost extent of that wrong is to separate our connection with those who hate us—whose chief delight it has been to abuse us as a people never were abused before, for thirty years—whose teachings in the school-room are teachings of enmity, whose denunciations from the pulpit are low and vulgar—and whose communion table would be desecrated by the appearance of one of us at it—whose domestic hearths are invaded and whose property it is considered honorable to steal.

Shirwood Forest

May 8. 1856

My Dear Sir:

The breaking down of the  
Angwata and previous withdrawal of the  
Carter Park prevented the repetition of the  
lecture at the time appointed at Richmond  
Since then Mr. Washington has appeared  
in print with an emphatic declaration  
that as Virginia and the Federal govt.  
have no fault to make the freedom  
of Mr. Vernon, the property is no longer  
as in doubt. from which I infer a  
settled determination on his part not to  
sell the property, and have therefore said  
in a letter to Mr. Ritchie who represents  
the ladies of the Association, that I presume  
of Mr. Washington's intentions evidence

\* \* \* \* \*

for the public, and under the dispensation  
of friendly confidence. I write  
to you in the same vein and I beseech  
myself never -


1856

Letter to Col. Carr  
Winham on the  
subject of Pless  
publication.

Yours truly

John Tyler

Col. J. S. Cunningham



# J ohn Tyler's Views on the Eve of the War

"No, Sir, this work of pacification to be effectual must at once be entered upon. Already an open act of war is proclaimed by the blockade of our harbors and rivers—quite as much this an act of war as an invasion of the soil—and this is done amid professions of acting only on the defensive. Depend upon it Sir that no time should be lost in entering upon the work of restoring peace. The golden opportunity once lost can never be recovered."

No signature is attached to this letter, but the hand is that of President Tyler. On the verso of one of the sheets is the following, evidently written at an earlier date:

"To the people of the Northern States—

"We the people of Virginia in Convention assembled in the hope that our voice which in other days was heard and listened to attentively by you, no tone of which was ever uttered except for the common good and general welfare, desire to address you. For many years we lived together in peace and harmony—our institutions became the admiration of the world—our growth in prosperity and power awakened its astonishment and even to a great extent became the subject of political jealousy to old and powerful nations. We now stand antagonized and in hostile array and before the sword is unsheathed—while we yet stand face to face to each other both encased in hostile armour, Virginia calls a parley and demands to know the causes which have impelled you through your government, to lay aside your former feelings of fraternity and good will towards herself and her southern confederates. Why are you so thoroughly encasing yourselves in armour and why so loud in your threats of devastation and war? What—"

Here the paper ends abruptly.



## Wendell Foundations in American History



VERT JANSEN WENDELL, or Wendel, progenitor of the Wendell family in America, was born in 1615 in Emden, Germany. Emden is situated on the river Ems, "on the confines of the united province of Holland, northwestern part of Hanover, Germany." The family was Dutch, however, not German, but had left Holland and removed to Germany at the time of the occupation of Holland by the Spanish army under the Duke of Alva.

Evert was, as shown by his name, the son of Jan, or John. He came to the New Netherland in 1642, and settled in New Amsterdam, the busy, turbulent little Dutch metropolis of colonial America. On 8 February, 1647, he obtained a patent for a lot in what was then called the "Graft"—now Beaver Street. His land is described as "on Beaver lane, between the Breedweg and Brugh straat." The "Breedweg" is our modern, seething, glittering Street. His land is described as "on Beaver lane, between the Breedweg and Brugh straat." The "Breedweg" is our modern, seething, glittering Broadway.

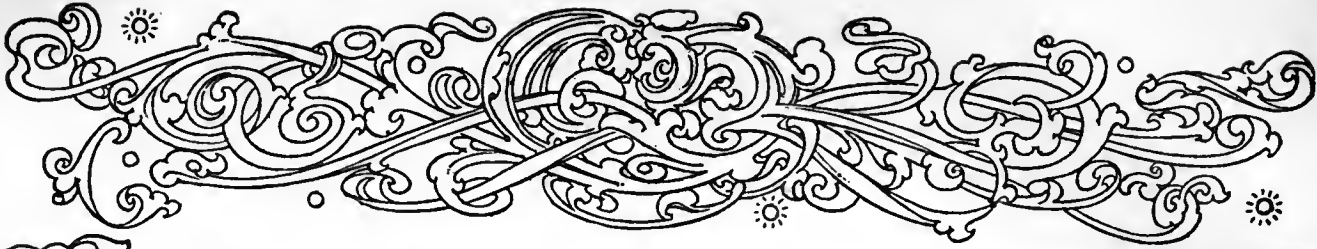
Evert Wendell married Susanna du Trieux. This name has been modernized to Truax, and to this family belonged the late Judge Charles Truax of New York. Evert and Susanna Wendell had eight children.

In 1651 the family removed from New Amsterdam to Fort Orange, as Albany was then called. Their mansion at Fort Orange stood on the corner of James and State Streets, and another street was named Wendell after the first American of his line. Evert Jansen Wendell was a magistrate and was appointed Orphan Master. His first wife, Susanna du Trieux, died in 1660, and he married, second, Maritje Abrahamse, the daughter of Abraham Pieter Vosburg, and the widow of Thomas Jans Mingael. By this second marriage were born four children: Abraham, Catharine, Maria and Susanna. He married a third time, his last wife being named Ariaantje.

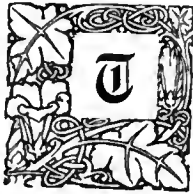
Marriage connections of the New York Wendells include the Van Ness, Ten Broeck, de Kay, Van Vechten, Hun and Schuyler families. Descendants of one branch of the Wendells are among the myriad claimants of the famous "Anneke Jans" estate.

The New England Wendells claim as ancestor Evert Jansen, through his grandson, Abraham. No one can think of the Wendells of New England without remembering Oliver Wendell Holmes and Wendell Phillips.

The Wendell Coat-of-Arms is blazoned: Per fesse azure and argent, in chief a ship in full sail of the second, in base two anchors in saltire, rings downward, sable. Crest: A ship in full sail proper. Motto: Regerenden Dijaken. When the old Dutch church in Albany was demolished in 1806, one window was saved. It had nine panes of glass upon which these Wendell Arms were emblazoned.



## Brooks Foundations in American History



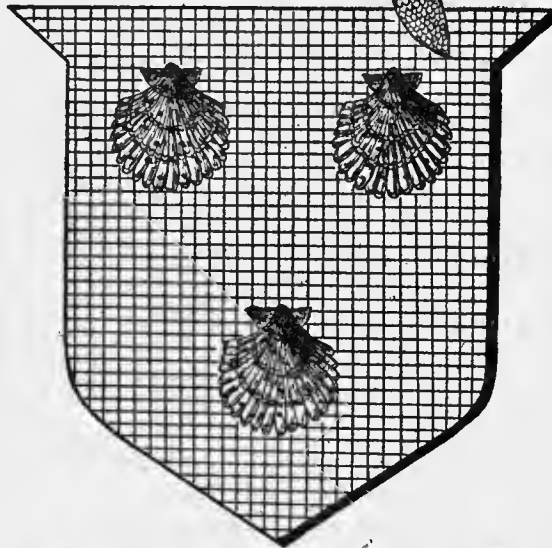
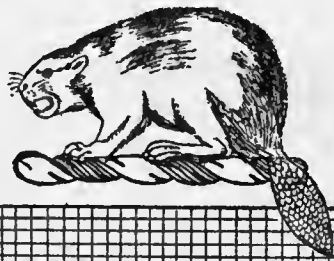
THE family has long been seated at Whitchurch, in Hampshire. Charles I spent a night in the mansion there. "The night of October 18, 1644, the King lay at Whitchurch, at Mr. daughter of Sir Thomas Forster. The father of Thomas Brooke of Whitchurch and his wife. She was Susan, the daughter of Sir Thomas Forster. The father of Thomas Brooke was Richard Brooke, "gent," who married in 1552 Elizabeth Tioyne, heiress of the Manor of Fosburg.

The Maryland family of Brooks, or Brooke, descends from Robert, the grandson of Richard, and son of Thomas and Susan (Forster) Brooke of Whitchurch. In 1649 he was commissioned by Lord Baltimore "commander of a new county in Maryland, with full powers." His son, Robert, was one of the famous Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, and another son, Major Thomas, was a member of the House of Burgesses. Major Thomas' son was Colonel Thomas of Brookfield, Prince George County, Governor of Maryland.

Gilbert Brooks came to Massachusetts in the "*Blessing*," and was a founder of Scituate in 1635. Henry Brooks was a Selectman of Woburn, Massachusetts, 1649. His first wife was Susanna, and he married, second, Annis Jaquith. A Henry Brooks came from Scotland to Boston in 1630. 7 December, 1636, Thomas Brooks, or Brooke, was admitted as Freeman of Watertown, Massachusetts. He was Deputy to the General Court, Captain of Militia, and became one of the founders of Concord. John Brooks, Governor of Massachusetts, was a descendant of Thomas Brooks and the latter's wife, Susanna Atkinson. Robert Brooks, with his wife, Ann, and several children, came in the "*Hercules*," in 1635, from Kent. Another Robert, of the Plymouth Colony, married Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Edward Winslow.

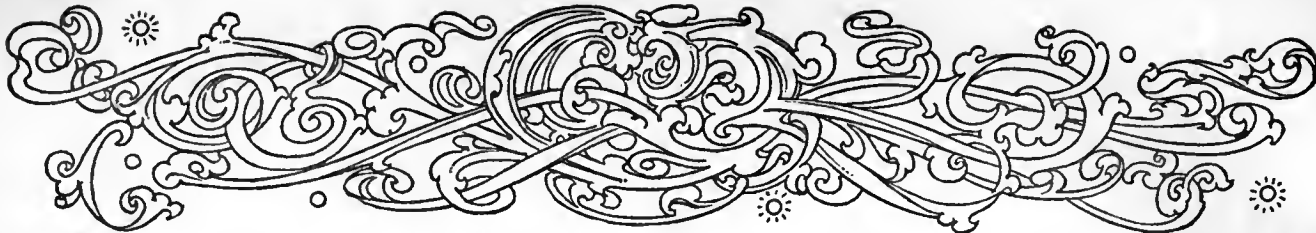
Among Revolutionary soldiers were: Sergeant Almarin of New Jersey; Adjutant John and Lieutenant David of Pennsylvania and Lieutenants Zachariah and Caleb of Massachusetts. Eleazer Brooks, born at Concord, Massachusetts, 1727, was Captain of Militia, 1773. He fought in the Revolution, and became Brigadier-General. John Brooks, later Governor of Massachusetts, served as Minute Man at Lexington and Concord. Lieutenant Francis Brooks of Virginia was an associate of Washington. His brother, George, was brevetted for bravery in the War of 1812. Commodore Walter Brooke purchased, at the close of the Revolution, a plantation near Washington's home at Mt. Vernon, to which he gave the name, "Retirement." It was for Commodore Brooke's son, Taliaferro, that Washington ordered, through home at Mt. Vernon, to which he gave the name, "Retirement." It was for La Fayette, a monument made in Paris. The Coat-of-Arms here emblazoned is ascribed to Henry Brooks of Boston, 1630. It is: Sable, three escallops or. Crest: A beaver passant. Motto: Perseverando.





Brooks





## Du Bois Foundations in American History



CHRÉTIEN du Bois, of Artois in France, a descendant of Macquaire du Bois, Count de Ronsoy, living at the beginning of the Twelfth Century. Two sons of Chretien du Bois, Louis and Jacques, were the first American ancestors of the family.

Louis du Bois, as he always wrote his name,—“Dubois” being wholly a modern usage,—was born in 1626. He was about thirty-four years old when he arrived in America with his wife, Catherine, whose maiden name was Blanshan, and their two sons, Abraham and Isaac. Old Testament names were much used by the Huguenots, and Louis and Jacques du Bois were Huguenots. Louis and his wife had been married in Germany. They settled at Kingston, New York, where their house is still in the possession of the family. Louis du Bois was one of the founders of the historic old Dutch Reformed Church at Kingston.

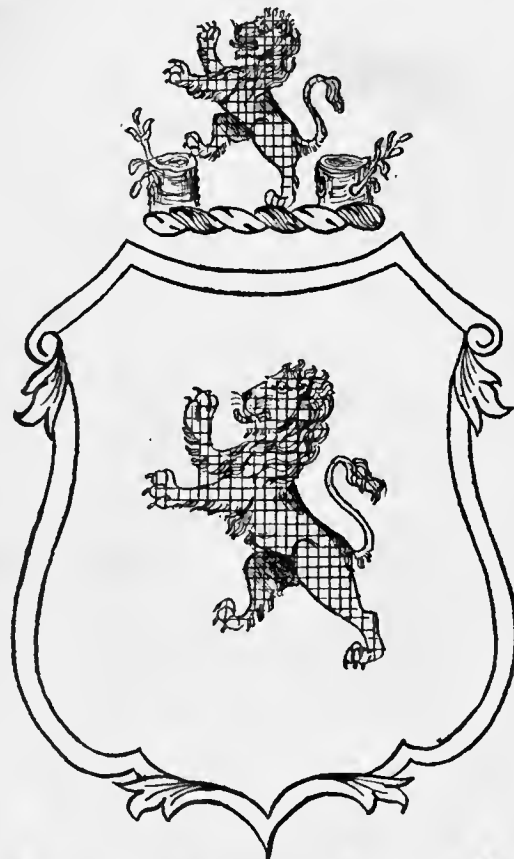
The wife of Louis du Bois and their three children were taken captive by the Indians in 1663 and they were rescued only just in time to save their lives. The prisoners had succeeded in delaying their executions by pleasing the savages with songs. One entitled “The Babylonish Captives” was, appropriately, the song which Catherine du Bois and her children were singing at the moment of their deliverers’ arrival.

Abraham du Bois, the son of Louis and Catherine, was one of the patentees of New Paltz, New York. This was settled largely by the German and German-French colonists from the Palatinate, which had been the home of Abraham’s mother, Catherine. Abraham married Margaret Deyo, and one of their daughters, Mary du Bois, became the wife of Philip Ferree. They lived in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Jacques du Bois, brother of Louis, settled at Esopus, near Kingston.

There was in Colonial times a family in South Carolina named Dubose, which name may well have been a corruption of du Bois. Captain Isaac Dubose of South Carolina was a soldier in the War of the Revolution. The New York branch was represented in the patriot army by Major Lewis, Captain David, and Lieutenants James and Henry.

Bishop John Dubois came to Virginia in 1791. He was born in Paris in 1764. In his splendid missionary work in this country it is said that he accomplished the work of three by his tireless energy and ardent zeal. Bishop Dubois was taught English by Patrick Henry.

The Coat-Armor here emblazoned is ascribed to Louis du Bois, the Huguenot settler of Kingston. It is: Argent, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules. Crest: Between two tree stumps vert, the lion of the Arms. Motto: Tiens ta foy.



TIENS TA FOY

Dubois





## Roosevelt Foundations in American History



ROOSEVELDT means "a field (veldt) of roses." As a surname it is traced back to the Twelfth Century, when it was assumed by a family in whose armorial bearings a rose was a charge. They were called Rosenveldt, or Van Roseveldt. Other variations are Rosenvelt, Rosavelt, Rosevelt, Roosenveldt, Roosvelt. The prefix, Van, so common in the early records, was dropped by the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

The first American ancestor was Klaes, or Claes, Martenzen Van Rosevelt of Holland, who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1649, with his wife, Janette Samuels Thomas. Their names are given after the Dutch custom, and may be interpreted as "Nicholas, son of Martin Van Rosevelt," and "Jane, daughter of Samuel Thomas." In a list of inhabitants of New York in 1665 appears the name of Bay Roosevelt, who arrived in 1663 in the "Rosetree." In the ship record his name is given as Bay Groesvelt. In 1664 he paid taxes on the equivalent of four hundred dollars' worth of personal property.

In 1728 Jacobus Roosevelt bought the "Beekman Swamp," as it was then called, in New York City, for £100. Here tanneries were established and streets laid out, one bearing his name, which it still possesses. Barclay Street, New York, was named for Andrew Barclay, whose wife was Helena, the daughter of Jacobus Roosevelt.

In 1730 Margreta Roosevelt married William de Peyster, a descendant of Johannes de Peyster, the founder of the famous New York family of that name. Other aristocratic Knickerbocker families allied with the Roosevelts are Roosa, Rutgers, Varick, Bogert, Aspinwall, Van Cortlandt, Provost, Dur-yea, Hoffman. Isaac Roosevelt, who married Cornelia Hoffman, built the first sugar house erected before the Revolution. It was on Wall Street. In 1772, when he moved further up-town, his advertisement read: "Customers may be supplied with double, middling and single refined loaf sugars, clarified muscovado and other molasses."

He was one of the first members of the Chamber of Commerce, and an incorporator of the first public hospital in New York. He served in the War of the Revolution, and helped to draw up the State Constitution. He was a State Senator under Governor Clinton's administration.

The Roosevelts were patriots always. James Roosevelt, the great-grandfather of Theodore Roosevelt, gave his services without pay during the entire period of the Revolutionary War.

The Roosevelt Arms are blazoned: Argent, on a mount vert a rosebush with three roses in full bloom proper. Crest: Three ostrich feathers per pale gules and argent. Motto: Qui plantavit curabit.



Roosevelt





## The Editor



WITH this issue The Journal of American History completes five years of its existence—five years of devotion to an Ideal, of faithful, earnest labor, to realize that Ideal, and of joy in seeing, in some faint degree at least, the Ideal's fulfilment. Every achievement of these years past is an added spur to our ambitions for The Journal in the future. Important as has been the Public Service for patriotism already rendered in its five years of life, The Journal of American History today stands at the threshold of a new year, strong with the determination to give still better, more inspiring and uplifting, service in union with the men and women of America who revere our Country's past, devote themselves by worthy lives to her present welfare, and look out through the coming years with faith in the American Spirit, hope for America's moral greatness, and the simple, deep love of children for a glorious Mother—the Queen of Nations.

With the first number of 1912 some of our plans for the future of The Journal of American History will begin to unfold themselves. There is probably no other magazine in which there exists quite the same relation between editors and subscribers as that which forms so important and beautiful an element in the conduct of The Journal. The subscribers have been an inspiration and encouragement from the very foundation of the magazine. All of them,—charter subscribers and those who have just begun to know our work,—are, we know, heartily in sympathy with the effort to build up the most unique historical magazine in the world, and after the double number of The Journal for January has been issued, the Editor-in-Chief will send to each subscriber a fuller announcement of our plans for 1912. We feel that the subscribers should be consulted in all important matters of policy in connection with The Journal of American History, and we shall await with confidence their counsel and criticisms.









